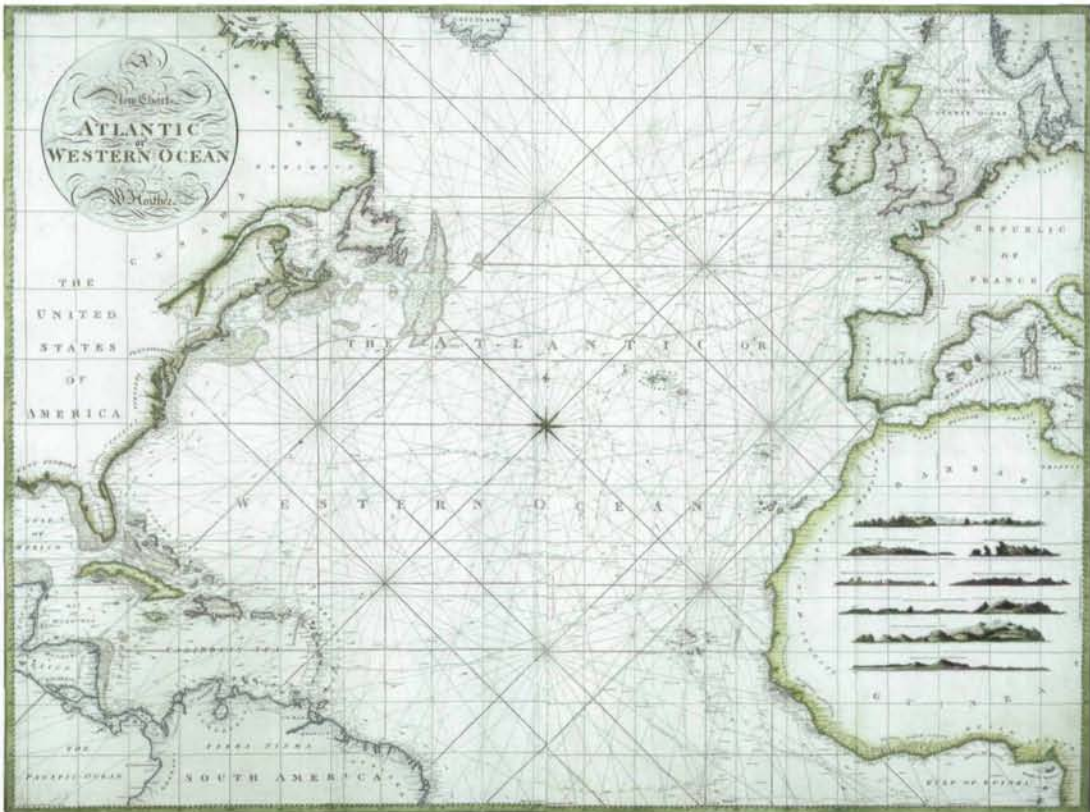


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The American Historical Review

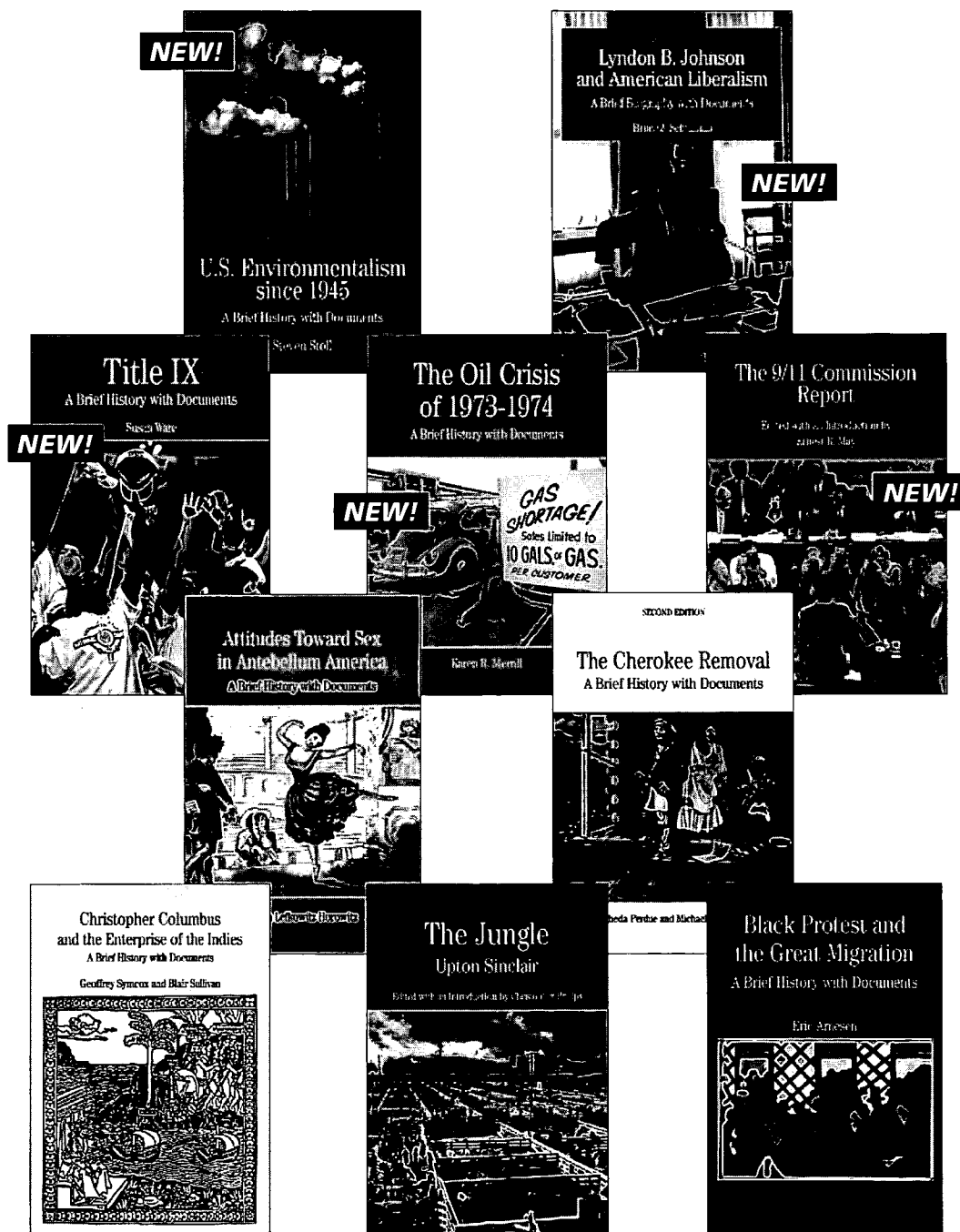
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In This Issue

This issue contains two articles and an *AHR* Forum. One article offers an argument for an expansive understanding of the history of sensibilities, while the other takes us to Berlin, circa 1800, for an analysis of the impact of public clocks on emerging notions of time discipline. The Forum provides three perspectives on the Atlantic world in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, focusing on the imperial presence of Britain, Spain, and France. As always, a large part of the issue is devoted to our extensive book review section, including four featured reviews.

Articles

In "What Is the History of Sensibilities? On Cultural Histories, Old and New," **Daniel Wickberg** queries the centrality of cultural representations in the field of cultural studies and seeks to map out an alternative way of thinking about cultural history that draws on a blend of older traditions and newer approaches. He sees this synthesis as embodied in the history of sensibilities. In studying sensibilities, he argues, we can access a broad and expansive cultural history that unifies and integrates a range of experiences and understandings, among them modes of perception, emotions, sensations, epistemologies, moral commitments, aesthetic values, and cosmologies. To inform its present uses, he examines the history of the concept of "sensitivity," and compares it to other kindred concepts that have been deployed by cultural historians, such as episteme, paradigm, *mentalité*, *habitus*, structure of feeling, and ideology. And he examines a number of disparate works of the last eighty years that can be seen as having contributed to the history of sensibilities. Wickberg's article argues for the analytical superiority of the history of sensibilities over approaches that privilege largely textual representations of categories of thought such as race, gender, and sexuality.

"Clockwatchers and Stargazers: Time Discipline in Early Modern Berlin," by **Michael J. Sauter**, argues that modern "time discipline" emerged during the eighteenth century with the rise of a more public and publicly discussed understanding of time. Taking eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Berlin as a case study, Sauter claims that before 1800, people disciplined clocks, but after 1800, clocks disciplined people. Several factors were responsible for this reversal of the disciplinary process. For one thing, there were significant advances in the technology of clock-

making. For another, the widely discussed emergence of a “public sphere” in the eighteenth century facilitated public discussion of time and time discipline. This print public sphere was complemented by the creation of urban public spaces, especially in metropolises such as Berlin, where publicly displayed clocks were prominent. Finally, advances of astronomy in the science of timekeeping meant that experts’ control over “natural” knowledge could be asserted ever more convincingly. Sauter’s article concludes with the general observation that the shift to modern time discipline was the product of a complicated series of changes in early modern Europe, but was ultimately the result of how Europeans produced and ratified knowledge about the world.

AHR Forum

Since its emergence, the study of the Atlantic world has figured prominently in the pages of this journal. This issue’s *AHR* Forum, “Entangled Empires in the Atlantic World,” can be seen as the latest report from that fertile field. The Forum comprises three articles and a comment. In “Politics of Colonial Sensation: The Trial of Thomas Picton and the Cause of Louisa Calderon,” **James Epstein** revisits the brief sensation caused by the trial of the first British governor of Trinidad for ordering the torture of a free woman of color. He examines how the sensation and its narrative presentation worked on the sensibilities of a British public shielded from the day-to-day violence of empire, and how empire returned “home” in the form of scandal, while acknowledging the political limitations of scandal and the recuperative capacity of the imperial state. The article traces a complex circuitry of cultural and political exchange running between Britain and the Caribbean. The case opens up a range of key issues pertaining to law, the rights of subjects, interracial sexuality, and the exercise of colonial authority in the age of revolution, disrupting a national self-image of humane British colonial rule. Epstein seeks not only to recover an incident notable for its absence from the recording of British history, but to underscore the difficulties in maintaining markers of difference thought to distinguish Britain from colonial sites and on which metropolitan authority was based.

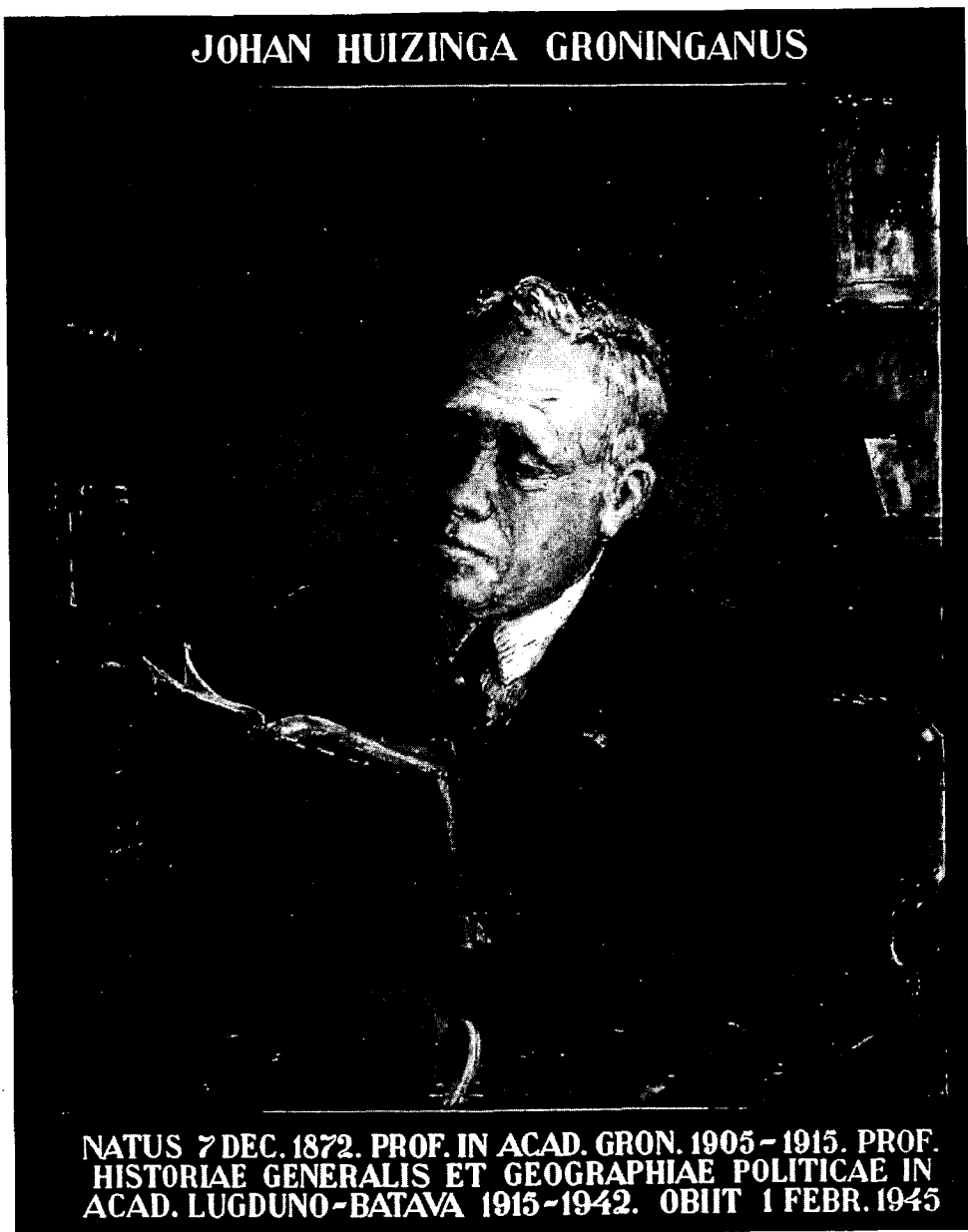
In “The Western Question: The Geopolitics of Latin American Independence,” **Rafe Blaufarb** argues that the collapse of Spanish rule in the Americas produced a revolution in Atlantic power relations by sparking international competition over the fruits of imperial implosion. He suggests that a “Western Question,” comparable to the “Eastern Question” raised by the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, resulted in a geopolitical rivalry over the fate of Spanish America, a rivalry that not only influenced relations between the Great Powers, but also figured significantly in the complex internal struggles within the transatlantic Spanish world. Just as the Powers sought to exploit factional rivalries in Spanish America for their own ends, the contending forces in the Spanish world saw in the Western Question opportunities to advance their respective causes by playing upon the hopes and fears of the rival countries. All of this created a vacuum into which freelance adventurers inserted themselves, giving rise to a kind of transnational diplomatic history “from below.”

By bringing together the international and internal, the geopolitical and local dimensions of the collapse of Spanish rule in the Americas, Blaufarb situates the movement for Latin American independence as part of the process of geopolitical realignment in the post-Napoleonic world.

Eliga H. Gould's "Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery" interrogates the use of comparative methods in Atlantic history, proposing "entangled history" as an alternate model for histories that examine more than one national community. In the case of the Spanish and English-speaking Atlantic worlds, Gould argues that Spain's Atlantic empire played a central role in the history of the early modern British Empire and the early American Republic; at no point, however, were these communities distinct from each other, as comparative histories tend to suggest, nor were their histories in any way "comparable." Although historical comparison remains an important way to examine discrete parts of larger relationships and to engage in close analysis of a sort that is often missing from broader studies, Gould suggests that Atlantic historians need to think equally hard about what it means to write entangled history, especially when the history involves such interconnected but dissimilar communities.

Finally, **Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra's** "Entangled Histories: Borderland Historiographies in New Clothes?" offers a comment on the three articles and suggests other ways in which we might understand the complex relationships between imperial powers in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world.

JOHAN HUIZINGA GRONINGANUS



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ACAD. LUGDUNO-BATAVA 1915-1942. OBIIT 1 FEBR. 1945

Courtesy of Leiden University

What Is the History of Sensibilities? On Cultural Histories, Old and New

DANIEL WICKBERG

FOR THE PAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS, the new cultural history that arose out of the social history revolutions of the 1960s and 1970s has contained within it two broad impulses or interpretive directions. The dominant one, especially in fields such as modern European and American history, has been influenced by various forms of cultural studies and the foregrounding of categories of race, class, and gender in social history itself. It has concerned itself with issues of discourse and cultural representation. In this body of scholarship, race, class, gender, and various other objects of representation—ethnic identities, the body, the natural world, forms of labor, colonial subjects—are foregrounded and treated as the central objects of cultural analysis; culture is seen largely as a forum for constituting these categories, which are held to have primary significance within the societies being investigated. The focus on cultural representation—in visual or written texts of various kinds, including documentary, fiction, medical and advice treatises, political tracts, social science, the arts, photography, film, popular forms such as comic books and dime novels, and more broadly “discourse”—is guided by the notion that relations of race, class, and gender are the fundamental or primary objects of discourse or cultural representation. If it now seems naïve to ask what women actually experienced in the past, it is because the sophisticated question has become how gender relations and identities were “constructed” in discourse or particular texts. Private journals and letters, once thought to offer unmediated access to the experiences of persons in the past, are now seen as linguistic documents; they contain culturally developed ideologies rather than direct records of experiences. The movement from social history to cultural history has been a movement from the primacy of social experience to the primacy of discursive representation; the cultural historian is concerned less with recovering the experiences of past persons, and more with charting changes in the images of persons and things.¹

But if this focus on the representation of fundamental cultural categories has

An earlier version of this essay was presented before the Dallas Area Social History (DASH) Group. I want to thank the members of that group for their insights and criticism, and for allowing me to use them as a sounding board for my heterodox views over a number of years. My thanks especially to Alexis McCrossen, who invited me to give that talk to the group. In particular I wish to acknowledge the helpful comments of my colleague at UTD Erin Smith, who pushed me to consider alternative formulations by cultural and social theorists as a way to better define what I meant by sensibilities. My thanks also go to the anonymous reviewers for the *AHR* and to Sarah Knott for their helpful criticisms.

¹ For discussions of this shift from social to cultural history, see Daniel Wickberg, “Heterosexual White Male: Some Recent Inversions in American Cultural History,” *Journal of American History* 92,

been the dominant interpretive direction of the new cultural history, alongside it has existed another direction, owing as much to the “old” cultural history as to the new: what, using Lucien Febvre’s nomenclature, if not his precise meaning, can be called the history of sensibilities.² If the cultural history of representation focuses on the primacy of the objects being represented—for example, the body as a site of cultural meaning, or the study of blackface minstrelsy as racial representation—the history of sensibilities focuses on the primacy of the various modes of perception and feeling, the terms and forms in which objects were conceived, experienced, and represented in the past. To give an example from modern American cultural history, the history of whiteness as developed by David Roediger, Grace Hale, Matthew Frye Jacobson, and others organizes its analysis around the way whiteness as a category and an identity was defined and represented through opposition to racial others—particularly blacks—under specific national, regional, and industrial laboring conditions. The underlying notion is that the strategies and forms of representation were specific to the category of whiteness itself, that they were about “race” in some fundamental way.³ The history of nineteenth-century sentimentalism developed by Ann Douglas, Jane Tompkins, and a spate of followers and challengers in their wake, on the other hand, foregrounds the sensibility—the terms of representation, the generalized values and modes of perception and feeling in which various objects could be conceived and represented—rather than the objects of representation themselves.⁴

Nineteenth-century sentimentalism as a sensibility might perceive some objects—one thinks of motherhood, death and loss, the home—as more important than others, of course, and much of the work in this field has focused on sentimental representations of gender and race. But this is a function of sentimentalism’s underlying epistemological, moral, and aesthetic framework for comprehending reality,

no. 1 (2005): 136–157; Geoff Eley, *A Crooked Line: From Cultural History to the History of Society* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2005).

² Lucien Febvre, “Sensibility and History: How to Reconstitute the Emotional Life of the Past,” in *A New Kind of History: From the Writings of Febvre*, ed. Peter Burke, trans. K. Folca (New York, 1973), 12–26.

³ David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London, 1991); Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890–1940* (New York, 1998); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); David R. Roediger, *Colored White: Transcending the Racial Past* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002); Roediger, *Working toward Whiteness: How America’s Immigrants Became White—The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs* (New York, 2005); Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Peter Kolchin, “Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America,” *Journal of American History* 89, no. 1 (2002): 154–173; Eric Arnesen, “Whiteness and the Historians’ Imagination,” *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 60 (2001): 3–32.

⁴ Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York, 1977); Jane P. Tompkins, *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790–1860* (New York, 1985); Shirley Samuels, ed., *The Culture of Sentiment: Race, Gender, and Sentimentality in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1992); Andrew Burstein, *Sentimental Democracy: The Evolution of America’s Romantic Self-Image* (New York, 1999); Mary Chapman and Glenn Hendler, eds., *Sentimental Men: Masculinity and the Politics of Affect in American Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999); Bruce Burgett, *Sentimental Bodies: Sex, Gender, and Citizenship in the Early Republic* (Princeton, N.J., 1998); John Phillips Resch, *Suffering Soldiers: Revolutionary War Veterans, Moral Sentiment, and Political Culture in the Early Republic* (Amherst, Mass., 1999); Kristin Boudreau, *Sympathy in American Literature: American Sentiments from Jefferson to the Jameses* (Gainesville, Fla., 2002); Elizabeth White Nelson, *Market Sentiments: Middle-Class Market Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Washington, D.C., 2004); Lori Merish, *Sentimental Materialism: Gender, Commodity Culture, and Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (Durham, N.C., 2000).

and not a reflection of the fact that sentimentalism arises out of an inherent or primary interest in motherhood, death, gender, or race itself; there are, in fact, all kinds of texts that we would deem "sentimental" that fail to make motherhood central. In other words, the cultural sensibility we label "sentimental" is the primary reality, and the objects represented in various sentimental genres are secondary. Many antislavery texts partake of a sentimental sensibility, but that does not mean that slavery is a core feature of the sensibility; sentimentalism is an important aspect of liberal Protestant theology, but not all sentimental representations are theological.⁵ The sensibility is anterior to the objects it represents in various concrete manifestations.

The distinction between these two forms of cultural history seems somewhat abstract. In reality, of course, much of the new cultural history lies somewhere between these two ideal types, and is concerned with both objects of representation and sensibility, as should be clear in the attention to issues of race and gender in much of the recent work on the history of sentimentalism. The distinction is drawn more sharply here for heuristic purposes. One way to clarify that distinction is to make it more concrete and specific. Take, for example, one of the foundational texts of the history of sensibilities, Johan Huizinga's *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*. Originally published in Dutch in 1919 and translated into English as *The Waning of the Middle Ages* in 1924, this text was particularly influential in the post-World War II era, as the anthropological concept of culture came to permeate American academic discourse, especially the branch of American historiography that John Higham characterized as "consensus history" and others have called "counterprogressive" history.⁶ A new translation was published in 1996.

In the opening chapter, "The Passionate Intensity of Life," Huizinga says:

When the world was half a thousand years younger all events had much sharper outlines than now. The distance between sadness and joy, between good and bad fortune, seemed to be much greater than for us; every experience had that degree of directness and absoluteness that joy and sadness still have in the mind of a child. Every event, every deed was defined in given and expressive forms and was in accord with the solemnity of a tight, invariable life style. The great events of human life—birth, marriage, death—by virtue of the sacraments, basked in the radiance of the divine mystery. But even the lesser events—a journey, labor, a visit—were accompanied by a multitude of blessings, ceremonies, sayings, and conventions.⁷

⁵ On slavery as an object of sentimental texts, see, for instance, Shirley Samuels, "The Identity of Slavery," in Samuels, *The Culture of Sentiment*, 157–171. On liberal Protestantism and sentimentalism, see, for instance, James Turner, *Without God, Without Creed: The Origins of Unbelief in America* (Baltimore, Md., 1985), 73–113.

⁶ Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., "Clio and the Culture Concept: Some Impressions of a Changing Relationship in American Historiography," in Louis Schneider and Charles Bonjean, eds., *The Idea of Culture in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 77–100; Gene Wise, *American Historical Explanations* (Homewood, Ill., 1973); John Higham, "The Cult of the 'American Consensus': Homogenizing Our History," *Commentary* 27 (1959): 93–100; Higham, "Beyond Consensus: The Historian as Moral Critic," *American Historical Review* 67, no. 3 (April 1962): 609–625. For an example of the use of the term "counterprogressive history," see David W. Noble, *The End of American History: Democracy, Capitalism, and the Metaphor of Two Worlds in Anglo-American Historical Writing, 1880–1980* (Minneapolis, 1985).

⁷ Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago, 1996), 1. On the significance of Huizinga, see William J. Bouwsma, "The Waning of the Middle Ages Revisited," in Bouwsma, *A Usable Past: Essays in European Cultural History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990), 325–335.

Leaving aside for the moment the question of whether “everyone” experienced the world in these terms, and the generalizing propensity of this older style of cultural history, it is significant that Huizinga defines as the object of historical study not the events, nor the ideas, nor the social structures of the past, but the modes of perception and feelings, which are pictured as collective and historically variable. This brand of cultural history looks not at the content of thought, but at the forms in which that content is perceived, given, and expressed. History, in Huizinga, goes beyond the level of external circumstances that vary from society to society and through time; the internal states and structure of feeling and consciousness, and not just the objects of consciousness, vary historically. Instead of treating a particular object or event as the focus of culture or consciousness, Huizinga gives us the structure, form, and terms in which *any* event is comprehended. What separates people in the past from our contemporaries in the present is not so much the things they were concerned with, but the alien ways in which they sensed and felt those things. Sensation of all things was more immediate. Emotions were not mixed and conflated; they were pure and distinct, and far more intense. The world was not just understood intellectually as a fixed order; it was immediately experienced and felt as such. Whether this is an accurate depiction of the past, or whether Huizinga was right or wrong in his particular characterization of the late Middle Ages, is not at issue here; it is his approach to understanding the ways in which the past is different from the present that is important. In Huizinga, the difference is not exactly a difference of beliefs, of values, modes of representation, or states of feeling, although it seems to encompass all of these. Rather, it is a difference of sensibilities.

BUT WHAT, EXACTLY, IS MEANT HERE BY “SENSIBILITY”? Raymond Williams famously said that “culture” is “one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language.”⁸ The proliferation of forms of cultural history, and the general capaciousness of any field of study involving “culture,” should confirm his observation.⁹ While “sensibility” is not as complex as “culture,” its variability of meaning and its history share a great deal with those of “culture.” A short, general history of the term will inform and limit its contemporary use in the practice of cultural history but not determine or fix it; the point is to capture the capaciousness of the concept as revealed in its history, not to show how an eighteenth-century meaning can be fruitfully applied to the present terms of analysis. Also, sensibility needs to be distinguished as an object of study from some of the other related terms that cultural historians have used to describe the things they purport to be studying. There are ways in which sensibility is different from—and in some fundamental ways, superior to—competing and overlapping terms such as “ideology,” “worldview,” “habitus,” “structure of feeling,” “episteme,” “mentalité,” “or paradigm.”

While the term “sensibility” dates from the fourteenth century, the roots of the

⁸ Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York, 1983), 87.

⁹ On the different forms of cultural history, see Peter Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997), especially 183–212; Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989); Hunt and Victoria Bonnell, eds., *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999).

modern concept of sensibility lie in seventeenth-century British empiricism and sensationist psychology. The notion—found most systematically developed in John Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*—that all knowledge is derived from sense experience, and that the human mind is a blank slate prior to sense experience, pushed the capacity for sensation, as opposed to the capacity for abstract reason, to the fore in understandings of the human mind. This generalized capacity for sensation came to be known as "sensibility," as did the faculty of mind responsible for perception. From the British empiricist philosophy of the eighteenth century through the neurological science and materialist psychology of prominent Victorian thinkers such as Alexander Bain and George Henry Lewes, one stream of definitions limited sensibility to the specific capacity of the five senses to receive sense impressions. As Bain put it, "sensibility everywhere demands a distribution of nerve fibers." To have sensibility, in this definition, is simply to possess the material equipment to receive impressions from external sources.¹⁰

Given the empiricist epistemology that lay in back of it, it is interesting that a second lineage developed, emphasizing the moral, emotional, and literary elements of character, rather than simply its material sense-receiving capacity. The so-called "cult of sensibility" that arose in Britain in the mid-eighteenth century stressed a set of values that partook of the idea of sensation as moral and emotional capacity, moving the idea of sensibility beyond the narrow and technical capacity for receiving impressions from the external world. Influenced by British moral philosophers such as the Earl of Shaftesbury and Francis Hutcheson, who argued that human beings possessed a moral sense and a sense of beauty—among other "internal senses"—by which moral and aesthetic judgments were rendered in response to immediate perception of objects, and David Hume and Adam Smith, who saw sympathetic identification with others as a natural response to viewing their experiences, the cult of sensibility came to associate sensibility with refined feeling, discrimination, and taste, as well as an intense sensitivity to the suffering of others.

If sensibility was the necessary condition for cognition and the formation of ideas for the empiricist tradition, it was strongly linked to the capacity for feeling and emotion as responses to sense experience in the more general intellectual and literary culture of the eighteenth century. The characterological embodiment of sensibility, the so-called "Man of Feeling," with his propensity for tears at the sight of any suffering creature, was the bleeding-heart liberal of his day. Even as the cult of sensibility became the object of parody and satire, leading to its decline in late-eighteenth-century Britain, it provided much of the moral orientation of nineteenth-century American middle-class culture. In the American context, the intensity of evangelical Protestantism and its epistemologies infused sensibility with a new power and reform orientation that was less evident in nineteenth-century British culture, and helped to define a new middle-class set of values to which historians have given the name "sentimentalism."¹¹

¹⁰ S.v. "sensibility," *Oxford English Dictionary*; Alexander Bain, *The Senses and the Intellect*, ed. Daniel N. Robinson (1855; repr., Washington, D.C., 1977), 122; George Henry Lewes, *The Physical Basis of Mind: Being the Second Series of Problems of Life and Mind* (Boston, Mass., 1877); E. Hamilton, "Mr. Lewes's Doctrine of Sensibility," *Mind* 4, no. 14 (1879): 256–261; Edgar A. Singer, Jr., "On Sensibility," *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods* 14, no. 13 (1917): 340.

¹¹ Erik Erämetsä, *A Study of the Word "Sentimental" and of Other Linguistic Characteristics of Eigh-*

In both Britain and the United States, the Victorian extension of this idea of sensibility as a moral quantity amounted to the definition of a kind of intrinsic character element of the socially refined and cultivated person. Sensibility in the nineteenth century was something that one had or one lacked in varying degrees, in the same way that Victorians saw culture as something possessed in quantities. To have sensibility was to have a capacity for sensitivity to moral and aesthetic experience. To lack sensibility was to be a moral and/or social idiot, unable to discriminate right from wrong, good art from bad, things to be valued from those to be deplored. In some ways, this notion of sensibility is similar to what today would be described in positive moral terms as a "sensitive" character—a person who feels deeply, is inclined to have "hurt" feelings, but who is compassionate and caring, capable of higher moral feeling. Sensibility was strongly associated with the eighteenth-century aesthetic category of "taste," linking moral refinement to aesthetic discrimination, education, and class identity. While sensibility could be qualified as "fine" or "generous," it was largely seen as a fixed substance that a person could have more or less of, and as an index to character in general.¹²

Up until the twentieth century, then, the idea of sensibility diverged along two paths, one emphasizing sense experience, the other moral and aesthetic discrimination and feeling. But they shared a common notion that sensibility was a unitary, singular thing. In the nineteenth century, the plural "sensibilities" referred to a set of capacities possessed by individuals, such as "moral and aesthetic sensibilities," rather than the different sensibilities possessed by different people. The twentieth-century revolution in meaning would pluralize sensibility and in the process remove it from the hierarchical claims of possession vs. non-possession. Just as cultural relativism under Franz Boas and his followers turned the Victorian idea of culture—as in Matthew Arnold's famous unitary definition of "the best that has been said and thought"—into the idea of plural cultures, so did the movements in modern art of the early twentieth century take aesthetic sensibility and turn it into sensibilities.¹³

The implication was twofold. On the one hand, sensibility became strongly associated with aesthetics and art criticism, and the notion that various artists or artistic movements expressed specific sensibilities—ways of seeing, feeling, and organizing sense perception into expressive forms. One result of the departure from older meanings was that sensibility was no longer solely a matter of passive perception and

teenth Century Sentimentalism in England (Helsinki, 1951), 88–90; Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (London, 1986), 7–8, 23–31, 88–109; John Mullen, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1988); G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago, 1992); Markman Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility* (New York, 1996); G. S. Rousseau, *Nervous Acts: Essays on Literature, Culture, and Sensibility* (New York, 2004). For an examination of sensibility in the eighteenth-century American context, see Sarah Knott, "Sensibility and the American War for Independence," *American Historical Review* 109, no. 1 (February 2004): 19–40.

¹² Williams, *Keywords*, 280–283.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 89–91; Adam Kuper, *Culture: The Anthropologists' Account* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999); Regna Darnell, *Invisible Genealogies: A History of Americanist Anthropology* (Lincoln, Neb., 2001); Clifford Geertz, "The Impact of the Concept of Culture on the Concept of Man," in Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973), 33–54; George W. Stocking, Jr., *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (New York, 1968); Stocking, *A Franz Boas Reader: The Shaping of American Anthropology, 1883–1911* (Chicago, 1989); Richard Handler, "Boasian Anthropology and the Critique of American Culture," *American Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (1990): 252–273.

discrimination, but now also included an expressive element: works of art embodied or expressed underlying sensibilities. On the other hand, the notion of sensibilities implied a kind of cultural pluralism. For the Victorians, the question was whether one had or did not have sensibility. For the modernists of the first half of the twentieth century, the question was what kind of sensibility one had; after all, everybody had a sensibility, and differences were differences in kind rather than in quantity. The result was potentially to democratize the concept of sensibility by making it, like culture, relative to the specific social groups, artistic movements, and individuals who possessed it. This notion of sensibility would be dominant in art circles until the 1960s and 1970s, when it fell into disuse as a primary analytical category that linked formal, emotional, and sensual elements of art. As the art world came under the influence of postmodern theory, multiculturalism, and identity politics in the last third of the twentieth century, the concept of sensibility appeared as a slightly antiquated artifact of modernist aesthetics, and while it never disappeared, it became less central to the vocabulary of art criticism.¹⁴

In the world of art criticism, sensibilities could be possessed by groups of artists, movements, or even individuals. When mid-century literary and cultural critics such as Lionel Trilling and Susan Sontag took up the concept, they emphasized its collective nature and tied its moral to its aesthetic content. Cultural sensibilities were the ways of seeing, knowing, and feeling that were characteristic of specific civilizations and their forms of literature and life. Although Trilling used the word infrequently, many of his essays are concerned specifically with liberalism, not as a formal political ideology, but as a sensibility revealed through the moral, epistemological, and ontological dispositions of literature and criticism.¹⁵ Sontag, who famously rejected much of the modernist orientation associated with critics such as Trilling, made sensibility—which she equated with collectively held forms of taste—central to influential essays such as “Notes on Camp” and “One Culture and the New Sensibility.” In a footnote to the former essay, which is a detailed attempt to describe a particular modern sensibility, she in fact makes the case for the history of sensibilities:

The sensibility of an era is not only its most decisive, but also its most perishable, aspect. One may capture the ideas (intellectual history) and the behavior (social history) of an epoch without ever touching upon the sensibility or taste which informed those ideas, that behavior. Rare are those historical studies—like Huizinga on the late Middle Ages, Febvre on 16th century France—which do tell us something about the sensibility of the period.¹⁶

Hence the concept of what was sometimes called “the modern sensibility,” in which the modes of feeling and experiencing the world in modern societies were marked off from the modes characteristic of past ages. Art and literature were where sensibility was expressed, or given a codified or articulated form, but the larger notion

¹⁴ See, for instance, Henry-Russell Hitchcock, “Food for Changing Sensibilities,” *Perspecta* 6 (1960): 2–3.

¹⁵ Lionel Trilling, *Beyond Culture: Essays on Literature and Learning* (New York, 1965). See especially the reference to “the modern spiritual sensibility” on p. 78. Trilling, *The Liberal Imagination: Essays on Literature and Society* (1950; repr., New York, 1976). See Thomas Bender, “Lionel Trilling and American Culture,” *American Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (1990): 324–347.

¹⁶ Susan Sontag, *Against Interpretation and Other Essays* (New York, 1966), 276.

seemed to be that sensibilities, like cultures, belonged to collectives—nations, classes, ethnic groups, civilizations, religions. One might distinguish a French sensibility from an English sensibility, a Catholic from a Protestant, a southern from a northern, a rural from an urban.

When Clifford Geertz picked up this notion of sensibility in explicating his particular brand of symbolic anthropology, in essays such as “Found in Translation: On the Social History of the Moral Imagination” (1977) and “Art as a Cultural System” (1976), he clarified the linkage between culture, in the anthropological sense, and sensibility. What marked peoples as different from one another was precisely the difference in the structure of perception, feeling, and value that could be designated as “sensibility”; the task of cultural anthropology was to translate one sensibility into another without collapsing the differences between them.¹⁷ The influence of Geertz on the new cultural history is well known, although many seem to read that influence primarily through his essays on thick description or the Balinese cockfight because they fit well with the dominant model of cultural representation, rather than his essays in which the gap between sensibilities provides the basis for the ethnographic and interpretive imagination. But Geertz was in fact explicit in identifying his own approach to cultural anthropology with Trilling’s concerns in his cultural criticism—they were hunting the same beast, and its name was sensibility.¹⁸

Not all twentieth-century definitions of sensibility pluralized the concept in terms of cultural differences as Trilling, Sontag, and Geertz did. A separate but parallel redefinition was taking place in the debate that came to surround T. S. Eliot’s concept of the dissociation of sensibility. According to Eliot, modern culture after the metaphysical poets of the seventeenth century was marked by a fundamental and negative change: a previously comprehensive and immediate way of regarding the world was fragmented into its component parts of thought and feeling. For Eliot, and those who followed him, sensibility involved the integration of ideas and emotions, cognition and feeling, or, as he put it, a structure of experience that involved “a direct sensuous apprehension of thought.” Its dissociation split experience and perception in two, creating a kind of self-alienation in which an unbridgeable gap between the intellect and the emotions was the modern condition. As a result, the intellectual life of the scientist and rational analyst was split from the expressive life of the artist. Like other literary modernists, Eliot identified literary and artistic expression as the embodiment of a more widely shared cultural sensibility, and believed that changes in literature signified larger shifts in modes of perception and being.¹⁹ The significance of the much-debated argument on the dissociation of sensibility lay in the fact

¹⁷ Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York, 1983), 36–54, 94–120.

¹⁸ On the influence of Geertz on the new cultural history, see Ronald G. Waters, “Signs of the Times: Clifford Geertz and Historians,” *Social Research* 47, no. 3 (1980): 537–556; Lynn Hunt, “Introduction: History, Culture, and Text,” in Hunt, *The New Cultural History*, 12–13; Aletta Biersack, “Local Knowledge, Local History: Geertz and Beyond,” *ibid.*, 72–96; Richard Biernacki, “Method and Metaphor after the New Cultural History,” in Hunt and Bonnell, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, 62–92; Jean-Christophe Agnew, “History and Anthropology: Scenes From a Marriage,” *Yale Journal of Criticism* 3, no. 2 (1990): 29–50. Probably the most widely cited of Geertz’s essays on historical writing are “Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture,” in Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 3–30; and “Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight,” *ibid.*, 412–453.

¹⁹ T. S. Eliot, “The Metaphysical Poets” (1921), in Eliot, *Selected Essays, 1917–1932* (New York, 1932), 241–250, quotation from 246. F. W. Bateson, “Contributions to a Dictionary of Critical Terms:

that while it retained the notion of sensibility as a singular, unitary entity (the seventeenth century had it; we have lost it), it made explicit the linkage between ideas and emotions contained in the concept. A sensibility was not what would come to be called an ideology; nor was it simply what Raymond Williams would later call a structure of feeling. Rather, it was a pattern in which idea and emotion were bound up with one another.

Given its history, then, it is understandable why the concept of sensibility has proved to be a fruitful one for contemporary cultural historiography: by bringing together the elements of sense perception, cognition, emotion, aesthetic form, moral judgment, and cultural difference, it provides a way of talking about an object of historical study that is both ubiquitous and yet strangely invisible. Because so much historical study of cultural values is focused on the objects of representation, or the content of thought and writing, historians have frequently overlooked the terms of perception and the forms of expression, both of which embody the linkages between, say, ontological commitments and pre-cognitive dispositions, moral values and categories of sense perception, ideas and emotions. But sensibilities are not organized in archives and conveniently visible for research purposes; they are almost never the explicit topics of the primary documents we use. We need a concept that lets us dig beneath the social actions and apparent content of sources to the ground upon which those sources stand: the emotional, intellectual, aesthetic, and moral dispositions of the persons who created them. That concept is sensibility.

As with all concepts and categories used by historians and other cultural analysts, the fact that the concept of sensibility has a history does not fix a meaning for the present; in fact, it reveals the extent to which that meaning has changed and will likely change again. This is true of all words and concepts, and the attempt to find a trans-historical or timeless set of conceptual categories by which the analyst can step into a neutral space outside of culture is (and should be) doomed to failure. If nothing else, historical consciousness compels us to see our own thought and practice as in history rather than outside it. A genealogy of the term can suggest the embeddedness of a set of conceptual associations, orientations, and distinctions within the heritage of the language handed down to us, and set both limits and possibilities for the meaning of the term in the present. Contra Lewis Carroll's Humpty Dumpty, we are not free to make words mean anything we want them to mean, but the converse of this powerlessness is that the history of a word provides us with a stock of meanings that can be fruitfully applied, developed, and transformed. Undoubtedly there is something new or different in the way the term "sensibility" is being used here, but it lies in the minor rearrangement of existing elements rather than in some wholesale reinvention of meaning. What is suggestive about the concept is its loose affiliation of—among other things—categories of perception, emotional states, a collective or cultural orientation, moral presupposition, and matters of taste and style. The value of the concept of sensibility lies not in its ability to define a fixed entity in a trans-historical way, but in condensed meanings that we encounter in the language available to us.

II. Dissociation of Sensibility," *Essays in Criticism* 1 (1951): 301–312; Frank Kermode, *Romantic Image* (New York, 1961), 138–166.

BUT WHY IS SENSIBILITY PREFERABLE TO OTHER CONCEPTS that historians have used and developed in the past half-century to describe the systematic and collectively held mental maps or dispositions of persons? Given its history, it is a broader concept that integrates ideas, emotions, beliefs, values, and perceptions in a way that terms such as “ideology,” “mentalité,” and “paradigm” do not, or at least have not, in their application. The term “ideology,” for instance, has been used in a number of ways and has proved itself significant, particularly for historians of political thought and language. While Marxists and others have used the concept in a fairly narrow way to designate a formal body of political ideas that reflect social structures and/or guide political action, such as classical liberalism and revolutionary socialism, others, including the historians of classical republicanism, have seen ideology as a screen through which people perceive the world and impose a meaningful pattern upon experience. But a history of ideologies, understood even in its broadest application as the system of mental categories by which experience is organized and given sense, or in Geertz’s terms as a “cultural system,” defines mental life exclusively in terms of ideas and logics.²⁰

The life of emotions, desires, and inclinations is oddly absent from most of the concepts that historians have used to understand the deep structure of belief systems. Michel Foucault’s “episteme” and Thomas Kuhn’s “paradigm,” for instance, are explicitly concerned with knowledge systems, and as such reproduce the modern Western separation between idea and emotion in their approach to science; there is no room even for consideration of emotion in the maps of reality that they draw. Kuhn suggests that the choice of paradigms under revolutionary conditions may be guided by criteria that are non-rational, and even aesthetic in nature, but the content of paradigms themselves is entirely ideational and non-emotional. More generally, such terms simply have not been defined in broad enough ways to go much beyond the boundaries of the history of science or “knowledge regimes,” into the murky worlds of belief and feeling that lie outside the organized institutions of knowledge.²¹

The concept of *mentalité*, first developed by the mid-twentieth-century *Annales* School of French historians as an alternative to intellectual history or the history of ideas, suggests another way to approach the problem. The advocates of the concept of *mentalité* drew a distinction between the formal systems of thought associated with intellectual history and the popular thought of the many, which was held to be less systematic, more informal, and less articulate or explicit than the subject matter of intellectual history. In general, the history of *mentalités* brought a host of new objects under historical scrutiny: popular attitudes toward death, sex, and family, for

²⁰ On the Marxist concept of ideology, see Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford, 1977), 55–71. On the use of the notion of ideology by historians of republicanism and political thought, see Daniel T. Rodgers, “Republicanism: The Career of a Concept,” *Journal of American History* 79, no. 1 (1992): 11–38. On Geertz’s notion of ideology, see Geertz, “Ideology as a Cultural System,” in Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 193–233.

²¹ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York, 1971); Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, 1962). On Kuhn and his use by historians, see David A. Hollinger, “T. S. Kuhn’s Theory of Science and Its Implications for History,” in Hollinger, *In the American Province: Studies in the History and Historiography of Ideas* (Baltimore, Md., 1985), 105–129; Robert Berkhofer, Jr., *Beyond the Great Story: History as Text and Discourse* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 112; Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988), 526–537.

instance, or popular religious beliefs and ideas about manners and social behavior. Following Febvre's groundbreaking work on the cultural limits of belief and on the cultural history of emotions, it also conceptualized the history of mind and psychology in terms of culture, belief, and feeling.²²

The tendency of the history of mentalités, however, was to draw an invidious distinction between social, political, and intellectual elites—who appeared to have ideas and to approach the world rationally through formal bodies of thought—and the broader populace of all eras—who had mentalités, or subrational compounds of attitudes, beliefs, and prejudices. The notion of sensibility, on the other hand, can easily be applied to all persons; elite writings embody sensibilities as much as do popular entertainments, and there is no *a priori* notion that rationality somehow rises above emotion and attitudes, instead of being an affective disposition, or what William James called “the sentiment of rationality.”²³ In addition, sensibility refers to forms of expression and aesthetic commitments in a way that the term “mentalité” generally has not; it is more comprehensive in the domain that it defines. If the idea of mentalités partakes of a sociological vision of thought and reality, the idea of sensibilities navigates between the sociological and a more humanistic or aesthetic domain of experience. And the study of sensibilities, unlike that of mentalités, tends to lead us away from the specific objects of consciousness—such as attitudes toward childhood and death—and toward the terms in which any such objects might be perceived and felt.

Perhaps closer to the idea of sensibilities is what Raymond Williams has called “structures of feeling.” “‘Feeling,’” says Williams, “is chosen to emphasize a distinction from more formal concepts of ‘world-view’ or ‘ideology’ . . . We are talking about characteristic elements of impulse, restraint, and tone; specifically affective elements of consciousness and relationships: not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought: practical consciousness of a present kind, in a living and interrelating continuity.”²⁴ But this definition, and the cultural Marxism that comes along with it, tends to pit formal thought against informal or “lived” experience, with the implication that formal systems of thought do not contain particular structures of feeling, but are the very antithesis of them. For Williams, if one finds ideology in the writings of social theorists and political economists, for instance, one finds structures of feeling not only in everyday experience, but in art and literature. The concept of sensibility as used here, on the other hand, is no respecter of invidious

²² As most commentators on the idea of a history of mentalities or mentalités note, there has been a great deal of vagueness in the use of the term. Some seem to use it as a synonym for “popular attitudes,” others for “informal thought,” others for “cultural psychology.” See Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History*, 162–182; Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), 19–52; Patrick H. Hutton, “The History of Mentalities: The New Map of Cultural History,” *History and Theory* 20, no. 3 (1981): 237–259; Hutton, “Philippe Ariès and the Secrets of the History of Mentalities,” *Historical Reflections* 28, no. 1 (2002): 1–19. The most widely known example of Febvre's work on the limits of cultural belief is Lucien Febvre, *The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century: The Religion of Rabelais*, trans. Beatrice Gottlieb (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

²³ William James, “The Sentiment of Rationality” (1882), in James, *The Will to Believe and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy* (London, 1897), 63–110.

²⁴ Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 128–135, quotation from 132. The idea of “structures of feeling” has proved much more popular with students of literary and cultural studies than with historians. For a work that uses Williams's concept, see Glenn Hendler, *Public Sentiments: Structures of Feeling in Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001).

distinctions between practice and theory, low and high, informal and formal, art and philosophy; all embody sensibilities. The historian of sensibilities takes her objects where she can find them—which is everywhere. Formalism, in fact, is a specific element of some sensibilities, so much so that we might distinguish between formalist and anti-formalist sensibilities.²⁵ In addition, the term “structure of feeling” is somewhat misleading, as Williams himself admits, for on the surface it seems to partake of the sharp distinction between emotion and thought that it is intended to overcome.

A related concept that has been taken up by some cultural studies scholars, and in a very limited way by a few historians, is the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's concept of “habitus.” Much of Bourdieu's social and cultural theory, deriving its orientation from Émile Durkheim's concern with collective and unconscious representation of social forms, is opaque and lacking in definition. It is impossible, for instance, to find a clear definition of habitus in his writings, despite the centrality of the idea to his sociology. Like Norbert Elias's influential *History of Manners*, Bourdieu's sociology is concerned with finding a set of collective and virtually pre-conscious dispositions that societies create within individuals and which can then be connected to a larger social organization and its determinations; as a consequence, the concept of habitus bears the impress of his particular theory of social action. In classic sociologese, Bourdieu's *Distinction* tells us, for instance, that the habitus is “not only a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perceptions of practices, but also a structured structure”—which seems to mean that cultural dispositions are given structure by social structures, and in turn shape the perceivable social order in terms of their practical consequences. One distinctive feature of the idea of habitus is its emphasis on the body and its dispositions. In this sense, it has something in common with the concept of “attitude” as it was developed and used by twentieth-century psychologists and social scientists—an attempt to make a bodily stance into a pre-rational cultural orientation.²⁶

However, as appealing as it is for those who wish to connect cultural dispositions and social structures in a systematic way, the notion of habitus is lacking that sense of the interior mental and emotional life that the concept of sensibility captures so well; its problem in some sense is that it is too rigid in its focus on system and structure to capture the looseness and fluidity of sensibilities. And it is unclear how the habitus can be seen as a collective feature of groups when it is tied so closely to individual bodies. As Richard Jenkins says,

The concept of the habitus—*embodied* dispositions—functions as an analogue for culture when it comes to explaining behaviour. But what does embodiment *mean* in this context, other than a gesture of faith in the direction of materiality (as in ‘biological individuals’)? What exactly is the habitus? How does it relate to the notion of ‘culture’? How can individuals, social

²⁵ For the distinction between formalism and anti-formalism as elements of religious cultures, see Ann Taves, *Fits, Trances, and Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James* (Princeton, N.J., 1999). Formalism and anti-formalism have been treated much more extensively by intellectual historians. See Morton White, *Social Thought in America: The Revolt against Formalism* (Boston, 1957); Wilfred McClay, *The Masterless: Self and Society in America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994), 149–188; Thomas L. Haskell, *Objectivity Is Not Neutrality: Explanatory Schemes in History* (Baltimore, Md., 1998), 307–367.

²⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 170; Donald Fleming, “Attitude: The History of a Concept,” *Perspectives in American History* 1 (1967): 287–365.

classes (groups) and fields all, in some way, 'have' distinctive and characteristic habituses? The criterion of embodiment makes habitus a reasonable enough individualistic concept—allowing for its problems of definition—but a wholly implausible attribute of collective or abstract social entities.

For those historians, social theorists, and cultural analysts who are concerned with the classic antinomies of agency and structure, power and resistance, dominance and subalterity, Bourdieu's habitus seems to provide a way to talk about cultural dispositions that is consistent with these theoretical concerns.²⁷ One of the virtues of the concept of sensibility, unlike some of the other competing formulations, is that it comes unburdened with specific theoretical baggage—one can hardly say that of habitus, episteme, paradigm, or structure of feeling.

THE POTENTIAL CRITICISMS OF AN APPROACH TO CULTURAL HISTORY that focuses on sensibilities are many. This is not the forum in which to provide a full-scale examination of those criticisms, but it is worth mentioning some of the most obvious. Anyone who has been following cultural historiography—and cultural studies more generally—for the past thirty years cannot be unaware of the centrality to the field of issues of power, hegemony, and domination, on the one hand, and agency, resistance, and complicity, on the other. The influence of cultural Marxism, Foucauldian postmodernism, and the various forms of critical race theory, queer theory, and gender theory has animated much of the focus on cultural representation precisely in terms of issues of power and agency. From the point of view of historians trained in these modes of thinking, the biggest problem with the history of sensibilities might be that it seems silent on the issue of power and agency. In the first place, it apparently posits a deep structure of mind that lies in back of, and is a precondition for, action or agency. If the new cultural history of representations sees cultural texts as actions, as plays in an ongoing game of power in which meaning is an instrument of domination or resistance, the cultural history of sensibilities sees them as embodying relatively stable predispositions; meaning is not "negotiated," but is already given. The complaint of those historians who would see a false uniformity, stability, and consensus in such approaches is the same one that has been voiced at Geertz and others: Why has no attention been paid to the dimension of power that is necessarily implicated in culture? Second, the history of sensibilities might seem to be concerned more with description than with explanation, and thus to be content to avoid issues having to do with why sensibilities take the form they do or what their social roots or sources are. In sidestepping questions of the social determination of cultural forms, such an approach necessarily avoids questions of power and agency. By focusing on cultural representation, we can identify the social roots and agencies

²⁷ Richard Jenkins, *Pierre Bourdieu* (New York, 1992), 92–93. For an example of a historian's use of habitus, see Linda Young, "'Extensive, Economical and Elegant': The Habitus of Gentility in Nineteenth Century Sydney," *Australian Historical Studies* 24 (2004): 201–220. On issues of structure, agency, and power in social theory and history and how Bourdieu fits into those issues, see William H. Sewell, Jr., *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago, 2005), 137–139. For an interpretation that stresses Bourdieu's consistency with the political outlooks of social history and distinguishes habitus from *mentalité* in terms of agency, see Julian Vincent, "The Sociologist and the Republic: Pierre Bourdieu and the Virtues of Social History," *History Workshop Journal* 58 (2004): 140.

of culture, and the ways in which culture is implicated in power relations. That would seem to be the nature of this criticism.²⁸

What this brand of criticism might see as a fundamental flaw, however, can actually be regarded as a virtue. The overwhelming focus on instrumentalizing culture as a tool of power in some of the dominant forms of cultural history finds no room for those elements of culture that cannot be implicated in power relations. Culture is *not* power, nor is power the only or the most important element of culture. Power is but one dimension of culture, a dimension that might be more or less important for the historian and analyst, depending upon the concrete specifics of the cultural moment being studied. It is an impoverished vision of human life that insists on turning people's whole ways of experiencing, perceiving, and feeling into expressions of one dimension of human life. Whatever the important intellectual gains and successes that have been achieved by the cultural historians of representation, and their view that historical analysis means explaining the ways in which culture both expresses and constitutes power relations, there is a world of meaning that falls by the wayside when this view predominates. The debate over agency ends up insisting that culture is an object of negotiation or a forum for manipulation of meaning based on some pre-cultural standing; the idea of a history of sensibilities, on the other hand, finds culture to be the condition of being and action rather than primarily an instrument or object of action.

One of the consequences of the sensibilities approach to history is the foregrounding of the "what" of history, and the backgrounding of the "why." Thus historians who are focused overwhelmingly on providing causal explanations might find this approach inadequate to their conception of history.²⁹ All historians purport to give explanations, and it would be hard to imagine a form of historical writing that did without any causal mechanisms at all; the absence of explanation would be a genre violation, if nothing else. That said, the relative emphasis of a sensibilities

²⁸ I am assuming that the criticisms that anthropologists and historians have aimed at the early- and mid-twentieth-century concepts of culture, as well as at more recent Geertzian notions of culture as a semiotic system, would be similar in kind to those aimed at the approach I am advocating—that they provide a false notion of uniformity and consensus, thereby hiding the battle over meaning arising from differential power situations. See Agnew, "History and Anthropology"; Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, and Sherry B. Ortner, eds., *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory* (Princeton, N.J., 1994), especially 22, where the editors state that Geertz "never confronted the issue of power"; George E. Marcus and Michael M. J. Fisher, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences* (Chicago, 1986); Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula Treichler, eds., *Cultural Studies* (New York, 1992); Sherry B. Ortner, *Anthropology and Social Theory: Culture, Power, and the Acting Subject* (Durham, N.C., 2006); William H. Sewell, Jr., "The Concept(s) of Culture," in Gabrielle Spiegel, ed., *Practicing History: New Directions in Historical Writing after the Linguistic Turn* (New York, 2005), 76–95.

²⁹ The difference between interpretive and explanatory approaches, or descriptive and causal accounts, goes deep into the history of historiography and the philosophy of history. Perhaps its most explicit formulation was in the debate between Carl Hempel and William Dray over "covering laws" in historical explanation, in which Hempel argued that all historical accounts involve causal explanations deduced from general laws, while Dray followed Collingwood and others in emphasizing that historical accounts involve a rethinking of the motives and understandings of historical actors, or a kind of descriptive explication of meaning. The issue thus speaks to whether history is to be understood as a nomothetic or ideographic discipline, as a social science or a humanistic discipline. See Hempel, "The Function of General Laws in History," *Journal of Philosophy* 39 (1942): 35–48; Dray, *Laws and Explanations in History* (New York, 1957); Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 393–400; Haskell, *Objectivity Is Not Neutrality*. On the shift in the social sciences from causal mechanics to interpretive understandings, see Geertz, "Blurred Genres: The Refiguration of Social Thought," in Geertz, *Local Knowledge*, 19–35.

approach to history is on explicating what makes the cultures of the past different from those of the present, and not on applying causal mechanics to cultures. The history of sensibilities seeks to understand what and how other peoples have perceived, thought, and felt, and sometimes that understanding requires a willingness to avoid the necessary reductionism and instrumentalism that all causal accounts require. The history of sensibilities involves a kind of interpretation that is analytical and descriptive in its orientation and imaginative in its capacity to understand otherness, but that gives secondary importance to causal explanation.

The history of sensibilities is compatible with various kinds of historical explanations as they have been rendered in the writings of historians, but it is not compatible with any approach that says that understanding is equivalent to providing a causal explanation. Although debates about causality might provide great fodder for drawing lines of historiographical difference, if we look at what historians actually do, much of their attention is given to issues of explication, description (both "thick" and "thin"), and presentation of what was, rather than what "caused" events. In this sense, the approach being advocated here is consistent with the general sensibility of historians, if not with those who lean in the most social scientific and theoretical direction.

A related criticism of the concept of a history of sensibilities, and its association with an older style of cultural history, is its propensity for use in a sweeping and over-generalizing fashion. Like "zeitgeist" or "mind," terms used to characterize the culture of particular epochs, the idea of sensibility is perhaps associated with a version of history that makes claims about the uniform or "consensus" culture of entire periods of cultural life. This way of regarding the past runs like a thread through much of the writing of cultural history in the twentieth century; we find it, for instance, in the passages from Huizinga and Sontag quoted above. And it is probably responsible for the low esteem in which such history has been held since the social history revolutions of the 1960s and 1970s. But there is nothing inherent in looking at past sensibilities as collective predispositions that requires this kind of generalization. It is perfectly reasonable, and very much in line with any serious attention to the past, to recognize that multiple and overlapping cultural sensibilities exist at any given time, that there are countercultures as well as dominant orientations, that the concept of culture does not require uniform and homogeneous sensibilities. Any serious historian of sensibilities should be able to make a distinction between what is worth preserving in the older cultural history and what is indefensible. This does not mean that culture should necessarily be viewed as an arena of conflict and contest, or as a source of power.³⁰ Instead of regarding culture as an instrument of

³⁰ Marxist and Foucauldian approaches seem equally obsessed with the idea that power—however abstractly defined—is necessarily situated in culture; the analysis of cultural forms becomes a means of situating those forms and meanings in relationship to power. This view often leads back to the analysis of social categories, identities, and objects such as race, class, and gender as at the core of culture, since these social categories express power relations most explicitly. The foregrounding of such categories, however, may tell us much more about the sensibilities of contemporary analysts than about the sensibilities of those people in the past we are trying to understand. On the idea of power in cultural history, see Dirks, Eley, and Ortner, *Culture/Power/History*; Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York, 1980); Jeffrey C. Alexander, "Understanding the Relative Autonomy of Culture," in Alexander and Steven Seidman, eds., *Culture and Society: Contemporary Debates* (Cambridge, 1990), 21–25.

political and social conflicts, the history of sensibilities pulls us back to the substance of culture. It asks us not about how people used culture for social and political ends, but about the terms in which they experienced the world. It does, however, require us to recognize the diversity of sensibilities and to avoid making unsubstantiated generalizations about “the spirit of the age.”

The notion of a history of sensibilities might also be associated in a narrow way with literary or art history. Given its provenance—its ties to modern conceptions of taste and aesthetics—this association makes sense. But there is no reason why sensibilities should necessarily be understood in this narrow way, and for historians they should in fact be understood in the broadest possible way. All persons presumably have ways of perceiving, feeling, and experiencing the world. Literary texts are only one possible source for the historian of sensibilities, and certainly not her specific subject matter. Every document, insofar as it is the product of an author’s consciousness, embodies some element of a sensibility that can be reconstructed from it. A personal diary records aspects of a sensibility—those who choose to record only weather, births, and deaths obviously have different sensibilities than do those who record personal thoughts or the minutiae of social life. Account books reveal a sensibility, as do tax registers.³¹ As with all fields of historical research, most people did not leave firsthand accounts, and most of reality itself has gone unrecorded. But if this fact has not narrowed the scope of social or economic history, there is no reason why it should delimit the field of the history of sensibilities. Historians are always in the position of having to reconstruct the past from a tiny record of actual human existence; they simply need to find creative ways to use the existing sources. But this does not mean that sensibilities find a special place in literary texts or works of art, and that literary texts and works of art should be the distinctive sources for a history of sensibilities.

A good illustration of sensibilities comes from a somewhat unexpected place: the writing not of contemporary historians, but of the philosopher William James. In a well-known passage in his book *Pragmatism* (1907), James distinguished between two bodies of philosophical thought, which he characterized as “tough-minded” and “tender-minded.” Instead of discussing the empiricist and rationalist traditions as schools of modern philosophy based on specific doctrines, assumptions, logical conclusions, methods of argument, and the like—that is, as philosophies—James sinks philosophical thought into attitudes, dispositions, temperaments, feelings, and moral preferences—in a word, into sensibilities. Using two columns, he distinguishes the traits of the tough-minded and the tender-minded, and catalogues them thus: The “mental make-up” of the tender-minded is rationalistic (going by “principles”), intellectualistic, idealistic, optimistic, religious, free-willist, monistic, dogmatical. That of the tough-minded is empiricist (going by “facts”), sensationalistic, materialistic, pessimistic, irreligious, fatalistic, pluralistic, skeptical. Note that for James, the question is not whether one or the other of these sensibilities is concerned with some particular problem, issue, or object, but how each would comprehend *any* problem,

³¹ For an example of the ways in which account books can be used, in conjunction with the writings of political economists and novelists, to unpack a cultural sensibility, see Mary Poovey’s discussion of double-entry bookkeeping in *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society* (Chicago, 1998), 29–65.

issue, or object. The connections between these dispositions, feelings, and habits of thinking are not matters of logic or necessity in the way that James describes them. The tender-minded is not to be argued into tough-mindedness by appeal to argument, or vice versa; these are dispositions and ways of feeling that exist prior to argument, and they are the ground upon which argument can take place.³² In one important sense, however, these are not sensibilities as the concept is being used here. For James, these dispositions are not culturally specific; in fact, he indicates that one finds persons of these two dispositions in all times and places—a claim that many historians would be inclined to dispute. For him, these are psychological habits of persons, rather than cultural habits of collectivities. So James is no historian.

But the dispositions he describes, if we frame them as culturally specific collective forms, sound very much like sensibilities. They link an epistemological preference to a moral outlook to an ontology to a way of feeling. They define the terms in which people experience and make sense of the world, and in which they represent it to themselves and others. In other words, these philosophies are the subject not just of intellectual history or the history of ideas, but of the broader cultural history and study of collective forms of perception. Instead of thinking of thought as an autonomous realm of logic, reason, and argument, James links it to generalized values, emotions, and perceptions. Empiricism for James is not so much an epistemology as an emotional state—a foregrounding of some potential dispositions and a backgrounding of others, a “feeling for facts” tied to a clinical stance of detachment and a skeptical fatalism.

THERE ARE A NUMBER OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS who have taken up the history of sensibilities, going back, in fact, to an era prior to the social history revolution of the 1960s and 1970s. One of the best early examples is Richard Hofstadter, who shared many of the prevailing post–World War II liberal tendencies of contemporaries such as Lionel Trilling, particularly Trilling’s concern with liberalism as a temperament, a way of imagining, a set of dispositions. One of the primary architects of postwar “consensus history,” the prolific Hofstadter is probably best remembered today for his interpretations of Populism and Progressivism in *The Age of Reform* (1954), on which several generations of graduate students cut their teeth, and for his incisive and ironic portraits in *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (1948).³³ His contribution to the history of sensibilities is best exemplified in his analysis of what he called “the paranoid style” in American history. Looking at a long tradition of American conspiratorial thinking—from the anti-Masonic movement of the Jacksonian era, through Populism in the 1890s, nativist and anti-Catholic or-

³² William James, *Pragmatism and Other Writings*, ed. Giles Gunn (New York, 2000), 7–12.

³³ Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York, 1955); Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (New York, 1974). For discussions of Hofstadter and his role in American historiography, see David S. Brown, *Richard Hofstadter: An Intellectual Biography* (Chicago, 2006); Christopher Lasch, “Foreword,” in Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition*, vii–xxiv; Alan Brinkley, “In Retrospect: Richard Hofstadter’s *The Age of Reform*—A Reconsideration,” *Reviews in American History* 13, no. 3 (1985): 462–480; Daniel Joseph Singal, “Beyond Consensus: Richard Hofstadter and American Historiography,” *American Historical Review* 89, no. 4 (October 1984): 976–1004.

ganizations in the Progressive Era, and McCarthyism in the 1950s—Hofstadter found the continuous underpinnings of a “pseudo-conservative” sensibility operating within a set of American subcultures. His tendency to see the American right as pathological and deluded, and his penchant for psychological explanations based on a casual Freudianism, among other things, make his work appear dated today and very much of its own cultural moment. An entire subsequent generation of scholars has sought to demonstrate that conservative and far-right movements were anything but irrational and out of the mainstream of American life.³⁴

But Hofstadter’s analysis of the paranoid style was innovative in its search for a pattern of thought, perception, and feeling beneath the various expressions of right-wing movements. The paranoid style yokes a set of emotional states (fear, anger, powerlessness, resentment) to an ontology (an understanding of the world and far-flung events in it as controlled by secret forces and agencies) to an epistemology (a kind of “connect the dots” approach to reality, in which the absence of information serves as proof of the existence of an unseen reality, and education is distrusted as a tool of sophistry) to a moral order (in which the virtuous stand as exemplars of purity against the forces of disease, impurity, and crime associated with alien “others”) to a mode of action (the identification and purging of the source of corruption). The specific objects of right-wing movements might vary, in this understanding, but they all partake of a common sensibility or “style.”³⁵ And as conservative journalists found, by emulating the “reasonable” stance of postwar liberals such as Hofstadter, they were able to turn the tables on left-wing critics of the presidential administration of George W. Bush. The concept of the paranoid style, free of specific content, can easily be applied to those on the left wing of the political spectrum as well.³⁶

Another practitioner of the history of sensibilities is Jackson Lears, whose *Fables of Abundance* (1994) is at first glance a cultural history of advertising, but on deeper inspection reveals itself to be a history of the transformation of the relationship between mind and body, between a feeling for nature and the world and what Lears calls the modern de-materialization of consumer culture; the history of advertising serves as an entrée into the history of a modern sensibility. Lears describes an opposition between a premodern “animistic sensibility” and the modern disembodiment of abundance underwriting consumer culture; his reading of advertisements is focused on unpacking the cultural sensibilities that underlie them. Inverting the cultural critique that sees consumerism as rooted in a shallow materialism, Lears argues that Protestant demystification of the material world, capitalist instrumentalism, and

³⁴ See Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression* (New York, 1983); Leo Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War* (Philadelphia, 1983); Glenn Jeanson, *Gerald L. K. Smith: Minister of Hate* (New Haven, Conn., 1988); Kathleen M. Blee, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991); Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus* (New York, 2001); Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton, N.J., 2001).

³⁵ Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays* (Chicago, 1965), 3–40.

³⁶ David Brooks, “The Prosecutor’s Diagnosis: No Cancer Found,” *New York Times*, October 30, 2005, 13; William Kristol, “The Paranoid Style in American Liberalism,” *The Weekly Standard* 11, no. 16 (2006): n.p.

managerial rationality resulted in a separation of the desiring self from the embodied world of fertile forces, and an alienation of the consumer from his or her own body.

Compare the opening paragraph of *Fables of Abundance* to that of Huizinga's *Autumn of the Middle Ages*, cited earlier: "For centuries the hungry peasant bent to face the earth. *Homo* and *humus* were twinned. Death and rebirth mingled in the dung heap; filth and fecundity merged in formless, inchoate matter. Intimate acquaintance with dirt shaped dreams of deliverance from want. Ethereal visions of paradise were touched with significant soil."³⁷ Like Huizinga's romantic image of a non-alienated past, this is another variant of "the world we have lost," a trope that pervades so much of contemporary historiography and that has a distinguished lineage in Western culture.³⁸ And as with Huizinga, the difference in the worlds of past and present is figured as a matter of sensibility, as what Lears calls "ways of being in the world." Reading images and texts not so much in terms of the specific objects being represented or the goods being sold, but in terms of their approach to the world of matter and goods in general, Lears asks his readers to look beyond the "what" of consumer culture—its proliferation of commodities—to see the "how"—the separation of desire from the embodied world. His argument owes more than a little to Eliot's dissociation of sensibility.³⁹

Perhaps the best-known instance of historical concern with sensibility lies in the debate surrounding the rise of the humanitarian sensibility in eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Britain and America.⁴⁰ David Brion Davis had identified an enormous shift in moral perception in the eighteenth century, when slavery, which, with very little dissent, had seemed morally unproblematic in Western thought and culture, began to appear morally unacceptable to a significant minority of Britons and Americans. While Davis offered a multicausal explanation for the rise of antislavery thought and action in "the age of revolution," one of the key elements of his discussion was the development of a new literary, religious, and philosophical orientation in British culture that emphasized human benevolence, sympathetic concern

³⁷ Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York, 1994), 17. See also Lears, *Something for Nothing: Luck in America* (New York, 2003).

³⁸ The expression "the world we have lost" comes from Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (New York, 1973), but of course the idea of a golden age from which the present represents a falling away or a decline goes back at least to Hesiod and finds expression in central cultural symbols such as the Garden of Eden. Its use in modern historical argument derives more immediately from nineteenth-century sociology and its variety of binary distinctions between the social forms of medieval and modern. For an interesting discussion of the relationship between modern historical consciousness and the sense of a lost past, see Peter Fritzsche, "Specters of History: On Nostalgia, Exile, and Modernity," *American Historical Review* 106, no. 5 (December 2001): 1587–1618.

³⁹ The list of works that partake of some facet of the approach I am describing as the history of sensibilities is extensive. Some other exemplary works include Miles Orvell, *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880–1940* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1989); John E. Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America* (Baltimore, Md., 2001); Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: A History of the Modern Sensibility* (New York, 1983); Lawrence Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1977); Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982); James W. Cook, *The Arts of Deception: Playing with Fraud in the Age of Barnum* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001); Daniel Wickberg, *The Senses of Humor: Self and Laughter in Modern America* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998); David Shi, *Facing Facts: Realism in American Thought and Culture, 1850–1920* (New York, 1995).

⁴⁰ This debate, with contributions by John Ashworth, David Brion Davis, and Thomas L. Haskell, is compiled in Thomas Bender, ed., *The Antislavery Debate: Capitalism and Abolitionism as a Problem in Historical Interpretation* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992).

with suffering, and a revulsion from pain. The humanitarian sensibility united an ethics of feeling with an empiricist epistemology, a moral universalism and a notion of necessary action to alleviate suffering. Antislavery was a matter not only of a new set of ideas or an intellectual perspective, but of a new way of perceiving and feeling.⁴¹

It is ironic, then, that Thomas Haskell's well-known critique of Davis, which in fact made the term "humanitarian sensibility" central to the debate and to historians' vocabulary, had so little to say about the historically specific sensibility it purported to examine. The central debate about the causal relationship between the antislavery movement and the rise of capitalism—was it a matter of class interest and "hegemony," the mechanism of the market, or the valorization of the bourgeois family as a counterbalance to the market?—tended to shunt the discussion of the sensibility itself to the side, as did Haskell's rather abstract and speculative argument about markets, causal chains, and "recipes" for action. Haskell offered a powerful and sophisticated causal explanation linking capitalism to antislavery activism. But here is an excellent object lesson on the way in which the focus on causality leads the historian away from the specific and concrete historical sensibility to a more general and abstract process that instrumentalizes the sensibility. Haskell's argument simply assumed an equation between the antislavery movement and a humanitarian sensibility, and then proceeded to create a model of the market and its consequences for patterns of thought, with very little specific historical reference. That is, his formulation sought to explain the action of antislavery activism in relation to a presumed logic of the market without showing how historical actors perceived, sensed, and felt, or how texts created by them expressed a sensibility. By focusing on the outcome—antislavery activism—and the presumed intellectual consequences of capitalist markets, Haskell made the sensibility embedded in historical documents largely irrelevant to his account.

What Haskell seemed to see as the humanitarian sensibility was less a new pattern of moral and emotional understanding, and more a new imaginative capacity for understanding action at a distance through extended causal chains, and putting moral principle into action. If Davis linked Protestant latitudinarianism to Scottish moral philosophy to the literary culture of sentiment to evangelical experiential religion, and in doing so painted a picture of a new sensibility through the examination of a wide range of texts and documents, Haskell preferred to create abstract and speculative models of "starving strangers" and the capacity for imagining complex causal changes that he never showed as evident in any specific historical texts or documents. In order to emphasize the supposed new ways of imagining causal sequence provoked by the market, Haskell had to downplay the moral ideas and feelings of the new sensibility. His argument focused more on the rise of a new form of behavior (antislavery activism) and less on what made up the sensibility behind that activism. In fact, he insisted that as a matter of moral prescription, nothing had changed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: the Golden Rule contained all that anyone needed to know about prescriptive morality in antislavery thought, as

⁴¹ David Brion Davis, "What the Abolitionists Were Up Against," in Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975), 45–46; also in Bender, *The Antislavery Debate*, 22–23. For the more detailed argument, of which this is a summary and restatement, see Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966), 333–493.

if the prescription were itself self-evident and unchanging and required only new application to a world of imagined possibilities.⁴²

Those who followed Haskell in discussing the humanitarian sensibility were more concerned with analyzing the modes of perception, feeling, and being contained in the humanitarian sensibility. Thomas Laqueur, for instance, showed that realistic representation of concrete details in medical and reform texts, by foregrounding the specific and empirical, drew a moral connection between concreteness, immediate sensation, and ameliorative action. The rise of realism and descriptive empiricism, in this account, fosters not a fatalistic detachment, but a moral impulse to intervention. Karen Halttunen has taken this further by showing the flip side or “evil twin” of the humanitarian sensibility: the genre of horror, with its commitment to descriptive detail as a substitute for its inability to understand evil as a feature of human nature; and what she calls the “pornography of pain,” the detailed depiction of physical suffering as a form of titillation based on the same sensationalist epistemology as humanitarian depictions of suffering. And Elizabeth Clark has demonstrated the ways in which the logic of humanitarian sympathy and the emotive connections it drew between persons could underwrite a liberal political philosophy of rights. Scholarship on humanitarianism is one of the most fruitful areas of research in the history of sensibilities.⁴³

In addition to texts such as these, there are two bodies of historiography that seem to be developing elements of the history of sensibilities. The first is the history of emotions, which has received a very strong push from Peter Stearns, particularly in his role as editor of the *Journal of Social History*. It was Febvre who first proposed a history of emotions more than sixty years ago. Scholars such as Stearns, Jan Lewis, and William Reddy have sought to historicize emotions—first by looking at varying emotional rules as developed in prescriptive literature, or what Stearns and Stearns called “emotionology,” and then by developing the idea of emotional style as a his-

⁴² Thomas L. Haskell, “Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part I,” in Bender, *The Antislavery Debate*, 107–135, and “Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part II,” *ibid.*, 136–160; Haskell, “Convention and Hegemonic Interest in the Debate over Antislavery: A Reply to Davis and Ashworth,” *ibid.*, 200–259, especially 224, where Haskell argues that “The rule of reciprocity that the Golden Rule embodies is so central to moral judgment that everything else that can be said by way of prescribing moral duty is gilding the lily. The idea of reciprocity was not new; it has been available in the form of biblical precept for at least two millennia, and by itself it provided an adequate prescriptive basis for devoting one’s entire life to the liberation of slaves . . . [T]he sudden surge of humanitarian activism in the eighteenth century was not fundamentally a matter of prescription, no matter how indispensable prescription may have been to the outcome.” For an alternative reading of the prescriptive orientation of the Golden Rule in proslavery thought, see Eugene Genovese and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class: History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholder’s World View* (Cambridge, 2005), 613–624. The Haskell articles originally appeared, respectively, in the *American Historical Review* 90, no. 2 (April 1985): 339–361; 90, no. 3 (June 1985): 547–566; and 92, no. 4 (October 1987): 829–878.

⁴³ Thomas W. Laqueur, “Bodies, Details, and the Humanitarian Narrative,” in Hunt, *The New Cultural History*, 176–204; Karen Halttunen, “Early American Murder Narratives: The Birth of Horror,” in Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears, eds., *The Power of Culture: Critical Essays in American History* (Chicago, 1993), 67–101; Halttunen, “Humanitarianism and the Pornography of Pain in Anglo-American Culture,” *American Historical Review* 100, no. 2 (April 1995): 303–334; Elizabeth B. Clark, “‘The Sacred Rights of the Weak’: Pain, Sympathy, and the Culture of Individual Rights in Antebellum America,” *Journal of American History* 82, no. 2 (1995): 463–493. See also Michael Meranze, *Laboratories of Virtue: Punishment, Revolution, and Authority in Philadelphia, 1760–1835* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996); Susan M. Ryan, *The Grammar of Good Intentions: Race and the Antebellum Culture of Benevolence* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2005).

torical variable, as in Stearns's book *American Cool*, and finally by attempting to integrate psychological research on emotions with linguistic analysis of emotional speech acts, as in Reddy's *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*.⁴⁴ The problem with the history of emotions is its tendency to separate emotion from cognition, to treat emotions as if they were a discrete realm rather than seeing them as linked to larger characterological patterns involving modes of perception and thinking as well as feeling. In some ways, the focus on emotions as a discrete set of psychological phenomena would seem to confirm Eliot's notion that modern culture views emotions and thought as entirely distinct from one another. Intellectual historians want precious little to do with emotions, and historians of emotions want precious little to do with intellectual history.

The second body of scholarship focuses on the history of the senses themselves. As is frequently the case, the French were in the vanguard. Alain Corbin's studies of the history of odor and the history of sound in France laid the foundation for scholarship that would isolate sensory perception as a legitimate object of historical research, and that would lift sensation out of the realm of biology and psychology and into the realm of culture. American historians such as Mark Smith, Peter Charles Hoffer, and Richard Cullen Rath have built upon this foundation by identifying different sensory patterns in the colonial American past and linking the senses to such notable historical phenomena as race and segregation. Historians of technology have shown the ways in which changes in technologies have had consequences for the forms in which sound and vision are experienced.⁴⁵ Many of the works in modern European history have focused on cultural attitudes toward vision and its privileged place in the hierarchy of senses, in particular.⁴⁶ There is very little yet written on the

⁴⁴ Febvre, "Sensibility and History," is more an argument for the history of emotions than for the history of what I am calling sensibilities. For developments in the last twenty-five years, see Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," *American Historical Review* 90, no. 4 (October 1985): 813–836; Carol Zisowitz Stearns and Peter N. Stearns, *Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America's History* (Chicago, 1986); Peter N. Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style* (New York, 1994); Karen Lystra, *Searching the Heart: Women, Men, and Romantic Lives in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1989); Jan Lewis and Peter N. Stearns, eds., *An Emotional History of the United States* (New York, 1998); William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2001); John C. Spurlock and Cynthia A. Magistro, *New and Improved: The Transformation of American Women's Emotional Culture* (New York, 1998); Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History," *American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (June 2002): 821–845; Joanna Bourke, "Fear and Anxiety: Writing about Emotion in Modern History," *History Workshop Journal* 55 (2003): 111–133; Andrew Cayton, "Insufficient Woe: Sense and Sensibility in Writing Nineteenth-Century History," *Reviews in American History* 31, no. 3 (2003): 331–341.

⁴⁵ Alain Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass. 1986); Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside*, trans. Martin Thom (New York, 1998); Constance Classen, David Howes, and Anthony Synott, *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (New York, 1994); Mark M. Smith, *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001); Emily Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002); George H. Roeder, Jr., "Coming to Our Senses," *Journal of American History* 81, no. 3 (1994): 1112–1122; Mark M. Smith, "Making Sense of Social History," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (2003): 165–186; Peter Charles Hoffer, *Sensory Worlds in Early America* (Baltimore, Md., 2003); Richard Cullen Rath, *How Early America Sounded* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2003); Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Hearing Things: Religion, Illusion, and the American Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 2000); Mark M. Smith, "Making Scents Make Sense: White Noses, Black Smells, and Desegregation," in Peter N. Stearns, ed., *American Behavioral History: An Introduction* (New York, 2005), 181–198; Smith, *How Race Is Made: Slavery, Segregation, and the Senses* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006).

⁴⁶ See, for instance, Donald M. Lowe, *History of Bourgeois Perception* (Chicago, 1982). But Leora

history of the senses of taste or touch. The starting point for much of the history of the senses is a consciousness that modern cultures have privileged the visual and made the sense of sight the primary source of knowledge; those societies in which vision was not primary have been evaluated in terms of the visual, rather than the significance of the other senses. So we have yet another version of the world we have lost. Rath says in his introduction: "My hope is that by attending to sound I have been able to open up parts of these worlds, not to get a glimpse of them but to listen in. These were worlds much more alive with sound than our own, worlds not yet disenchanted, worlds perhaps even chanted into being."⁴⁷ The notion that the significance of various forms of sensory experience is culturally variable fits well with the approach examined here. Any cultural sensibility would seem to involve a particular hierarchy of sensory experience, rather than a fixed universal mode of sensation applicable across cultures. So far, however, the scholarship has focused more on the individual senses—smell, hearing—than on the way those senses fit into an overall pattern of sensation, or how they might be linked to emotional states.

SKEPTICS WILL SAY THAT SENSIBILITIES CAN BE FOUND only in representations, that it is only in discourse or texts of various kinds that sensibilities achieve any definition—and they are right. But instead of assembling a group of texts defined by their content, and then saying that these texts are all part of a discourse that is about that content in some fundamental way, that its terms of representation are somehow central to the object being depicted, historians might try to move away from the object and find the perceptual, emotive, and conceptual frameworks that make it possible for that object to be represented in that way. For instance, cultural studies of the discourse of slavery begin with the idea that slavery is an object of representation, and assemble various depictions, images, and discussions of slavery with the assumption that the discourse of slavery is defined by the common subject matter at the center of it, and not by preexisting sensibilities. The assumption is that the discourse of slavery is a response to slavery itself, rather than part of a broader set of perceptual orientations that make slavery visible.⁴⁸ To use James's categories, the tough-minded and the tender-minded will see and feel objects through different lenses; the detached scientist encounters a different world from that of the humanitarian sentimentalist. In order to see the object at all, we need to have the equipment for seeing; in order to find emotional response, we need to identify the orientation toward feeling. The humanitarian sensibility is not a response to slavery, for instance, even if slavery comes to be important in giving shape and content to that sensibility. Rather, slavery comes to be represented as a moral evil in the eighteenth and nine-

Auslander and others have argued that vision is denigrated as a source of knowledge in contemporary intellectual discourse by a relentless focus on language and abstraction. The advocates of "visual culture" are arguing that we have overlooked the visual, at the very moment that the advocates for a history of hearing or smelling are arguing that we have given primacy to the visual over the other senses. See Auslander, "Beyond Words," *American Historical Review* 110, no. 4 (October 2005): 1015–1045.

⁴⁷ Rath, *How Early America Sounded*, 9.

⁴⁸ For an example of an influential work that takes slavery as an object of representation around which to orient its cultural analysis, see Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1997).

teenth centuries at least in part because of the development of a humanitarian sensibility. Advocates of cultural studies have been so busy analyzing (or, as they like to say, "interrogating") the making, constructing, constituting, queering, and gendering of categories that they have neglected the ground of perception and feeling that makes such categories visible in the first place. So, without dismissing the influence of cultural studies altogether, let us make a modest plea for recovering what continues to be of value in the old cultural history. Historians will always need accounts that seek to explain historical events, movements, and actions; they will always need accounts that focus on the ways in which power structures cultural beliefs and practices. But the historical imagination also provides us with the capacity to see more than the objects of consciousness or the material circumstances of the past as different from those of the present. It gets us in back of the cultural world, and lets us see patterns of perception, feeling, thinking, and believing as fundamental to what makes one culture different from another. And it might even help us bind up the wounds of the dissociation of sensibilities, and put us on the road to recovery of those worlds we have lost.

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Clockwatchers and Stargazers: Time Discipline in Early Modern Berlin

MICHAEL J. SAUTER

No two things in this world have the same measure of time . . . Formulating it boldly, there are in the universe at one time an infinite number of times.

Johann Gottfried Herder,
Metacritique of the Critique of Pure Reason (1799)¹

HERDER'S CRITIQUE OF KANT'S TEMPORAL AESTHETIC mirrors the state of the literature on the history of human experience with clocks and time. Whereas Kant postulated one philosophical manifold that made possible the apprehension of time, Herder emphasized the multiplicity and cultural embeddedness of temporal experience.² A similar divergence has occurred in the work on time regimes. The field has long been concerned with the rise of time discipline, which historians characterize as a process in which Westerners shifted from being aware of clocks to being dominated by them. This approach proceeds from two key assumptions: that time discipline is a simple behavior, and that it owes its existence to a single cause. Put another way, much of the scholarship presupposes that modern time discipline has worked in the same manner everywhere and, more specifically, that it has always emerged from capitalist forms of production. Over the past fifteen years, however, scholars have undermined this interpretation, noting not only the variety of time disciplines in both Europe and North America, but also the many origins of this behavior. As a result, the accepted view of the history of time discipline has begun to dissolve.

In order to understand the significance of recent critiques, we need first to consider the substance of the traditional narrative, which runs as follows: From the Middle Ages until today, awareness of time has increased steadily in the Western

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¹ Johann Gottfried Herder, *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Bernhard Suphan, 33 vols. (Hildesheim, 1967), 21: 59. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

² On Kant's understanding of time and space, see Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. Norman Kemp Smith (New York, 1965), 65–91.

world.³ This process began in medieval cities and included both conceptual and technological changes. At the conceptual level, merchants shattered the theological idea that all time belonged to God by carving it into smaller, secular times within which one could make money, while Europe's monastic communities taught everyone the virtue of organizing one's days according to a schedule.⁴ (Our "noon" was once *nones*, the call to prayer announced at roughly 9 A.M. by a monastery's bells.) At the technological level, the introduction of mechanical public clocks to European cities during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries made clock time a daily experience for increasing numbers of people, a trend that was augmented by emerging market forces that in turn may have connected time to production.⁵ Finally, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, profit-maximizing industrialists both united and intensified the existing trends through the elaboration of the factory system, which forced workers to internalize what had been a diffuse if growing awareness of time. In this way, time awareness became our modern compulsion.⁶

The cornerstone of this narrative remains E. P. Thompson's classic article "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism."⁷ First published in *Past & Present* in 1967, and reprinted many times since, this essay distilled Thompson's view that capitalism created modern time discipline by changing the nature of work. Thompson argued that whereas labor was task-oriented before 1700, with workers putting in only the hours needed to complete a given task, by 1800 the factory system had disciplined workers to arrive at a certain time and to work continuously for a specific duration.⁸ For Thompson, a critic of capitalism, this new work discipline was alien to workers' culture, and thus was as worthy of scorn as other capitalist innovations.⁹ Thompson's critical opposition to modern labor-capital relations, in turn, became fundamental to the subsequent literature, as many scholars accepted the idea that

³ Carlo M. Cipolla, *Clocks and Culture, 1300–1700* (London, 1967); and David S. Landes, *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge, 1983). For a critical view, see Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour: Clocks and Modern Temporal Orders* (Chicago, 1996).

⁴ On merchant time, see Jacques Le Goff, *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1980), 29–52. On monastic time, see Barnabas Hughes, "Friars, Hourglasses and Clocks," *Collectanea Franciscana* 53, no. 3–4 (1984): 265–278. See, however, the critical comments in Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour*, 33–39.

⁵ In general, see Otto Mayr, *Authority, Liberty, and Automatic Machinery in Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore, Md., 1986), 3–27. For Germany, see Igor A. Jenzen and Reinhard Glasemann, eds., *Uhrzeiten: Die Geschichte der Uhr und ihres Gebrauchs* (Frankfurt am Main, 1989). On work and urban time, see Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour*, 232–236; and Landes, *Revolution in Time*, 72–74.

⁶ David Landes calls this the shift from time obedience to time discipline; Landes, *Revolution in Time*, 2.

⁷ E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past & Present*, no. 38 (1967): 56–97.

⁸ For some useful critical comments, see Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift, "Reworking E. P. Thompson's 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism,'" *Time & Society* 5, no. 3 (1996): 275–299; Glennie and Thrift, "The Spaces of Clock Times," in Patrick Joyce, ed., *The Social in Question: New Bearings in History and the Social Sciences* (London, 2002), 151–174; and Ulla Merle, "Tempo! Tempo!—Die Industrialisierung der Zeit im 19. Jahrhundert," in Jenzen and Glasemann, *Uhrzeiten*, 161–217.

⁹ On Thompson's role as critic and activist, see Michael D. Bess, "E. P. Thompson: The Historian as Activist," *American Historical Review* 98, no. 1 (February 1993): 19–38. On irregular work rhythms, see Douglas A. Reid, "The Decline of Saint Monday, 1766–1876," *Past & Present*, no. 71 (1976): 76–101; Reid, "Weddings, Weekdays, Work and Leisure in Urban England, 1791–1911: The Decline of Saint Monday Revisited," *Past & Present*, no. 153 (1996): 135–163. For a critical view, see Mark Harrison, "The Ordering of the Urban Environment: Time, Work and the Occurrence of Crowds, 1790–1835," *Past & Present*, no. 110 (1986): 134–168.

the diffusion of work-based time discipline was merely another baleful consequence of the worldwide expansion of industrial capitalism.¹⁰ For better or worse (usually worse), Western capitalists compelled the next reluctant population—be they rural European peasants or non-Western peoples—to submit to the clock.¹¹

The Thompsonian approach has not, however, been without its critics. On the one hand, historically minded scholars have noted that in Europe and the United States, time discipline not only preceded industrialization, but also emerged from a variety of factors that were not related to the factory system, including religious strictures, the complexities of city life, and the rigors of rural poverty.¹² On the other hand, sociologists and anthropologists have argued that a uniform understanding of time discipline obscures the variety in temporal experience.¹³ In particular, they see the concentration on factory or even merchant time as gendered and Eurocentric, because it ignores women's time and non-Western, pre-industrial people's time. These critiques are all well-founded; not everyone can experience time discipline in the same way.¹⁴ Nevertheless, none of them undermines Thompson's basic insight that a clock-based time discipline dominates modern life, even if some still resist its charms.¹⁵ What is needed, therefore, is to construct a history that recognizes time discipline's inexorable march while also leaving room for variations in its application.

Thompson was right to note the significance of human submission to clock time, but he incorrectly identified the historical origins of time discipline. First, time discipline in Europe was not an invention of capitalism, but rather an outgrowth of the early modern European tradition of disciplining.¹⁶ This disciplining dated back to

¹⁰ For a work in the Thompson tradition, see Hoyt Alverson, "From 'Storied Time' to 'Clock Time' in Economic Globalization at the New Millennium," in Marlene P. Soulsby and J. T. Fraser, eds., *Time: Perspectives at the Millennium (The Study of Time X)* (Westport, Conn., 2001), 177–188. On railroads, see Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986); and Carlene Stephens, "'The Most Reliable Time': William Bond, the New England Railroads, and Time Awareness in 19th-Century America," *Technology and Culture* 30, no. 1 (1989): 1–24.

¹¹ Keletso E. Atkins, "'Kaffir Time': Preindustrial Temporal Concepts and Labour Discipline in Nineteenth-Century Natal," *Journal of African History* 29, no. 2 (1988): 229–244; Mike Donaldson, "The End of Time? Aboriginal Temporality and the British Invasion of Australia," *Time & Society* 5, no. 2 (1996): 187–207.

¹² On religion, see Max Engammare, *L'ordre du temps: L'invention de la ponctualité au XVIe siècle* (Geneva, 2004). On rural life, see Paul B. Hensley, "Time, Work, and Social Context in New England," *New England Quarterly* 65, no. 4 (1992): 531–559. On cities, see Harrison, "The Ordering of the Urban Environment."

¹³ For useful overviews, see Nancy D. Munn, "The Cultural Anthropology of Time: A Critical Essay," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21 (1992): 93–123; and Werner Bergmann, "The Problem of Time in Sociology: An Overview of the Literature on the State of Theory and Research on the 'Sociology of Time,' 1900–82," *Time & Society* 1, no. 1 (1992): 81–134.

¹⁴ On rural time discipline in North America, see Mark M. Smith, "Counting Clocks, Owning Time: Detailing and Interpreting Clock and Watch Ownership in the American South, 1739–1865," *Time & Society* 3, no. 3 (1994): 321–339; Smith, "Old South Time in Comparative Perspective," *American Historical Review* 101, no. 5 (December 1996): 1432–1469; Martin Bruegel, "Time That Can Be Relied Upon: The Evolution of Time Consciousness in the Mid-Hudson Valley, 1790–1860," *Journal of Social History* 28, no. 3 (1995): 547–564; and Hensley, "Time, Work, and Social Context." For Germany, see Jan Carstensen, "Die Uhr im Haus: Zur Aufstellung von Bodenstanduhren in Stube, Küche und Entree," in Carstensen and Ulrich Reinke, eds., *Die Zeit vor Augen: Standuhren in Westfalen* (Münster, 1998), 141–177. We still need a thorough analysis of the relationship between rural time sense and urban factory discipline. A good start is Thomas C. Smith, "Peasant Time and Factory Time in Japan," *Past & Present*, no. 111 (1986): 165–197.

¹⁵ James Surowiecki, "Punctuality Pays," *The New Yorker*, April 5, 2004, 31.

¹⁶ On discipline, see Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York,

the late Middle Ages and became especially strong after 1500, when growing state apparatuses, more intrusive religious institutions, and increased economic competition imposed greater behavioral control on many segments of the populace.¹⁷ Not coincidentally, public clocks became numerous at the same time, as an ever-growing number of local authorities installed clocks in Europe's cities and towns through the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁸ Second, time discipline began as an urban product and emerged not from the factory floor but from the streets, where most people in the early modern world would have encountered clocks. Third, this early modern time discipline began as "local knowledge."¹⁹ A given city's inhabitants "knew," for example, where their clocks were located, whether they ran well, who used them, who maintained them, and what public events might have been organized with reference to them. This local knowledge, in turn, was indexed to a seemingly universal public standard, the sun, which gave local clockwatchers a point of comparison.²⁰ Finally, this arrangement produced a "disciplining public": local knowledge wrought local discipline, as throughout the early modern period, people continually monitored and disciplined their often wayward public clocks.²¹

Thompson also misunderstood the nature of modern time discipline. Whereas he saw it as an externally imposed compulsion, modern time discipline is founded on submission not to another's discipline, but to a standard that is determined by people with specialized knowledge and skills. Until the end of the eighteenth century, clocks were set by clockmakers in accord with the sun—a standard to which all had access. From roughly 1800 onward, however, scientists calculated the time with respect to a star, a process that required knowledge to which the public had little access. Moreover, the rise of the factory system did not impel this transformation; it was, rather, a product of the eighteenth-century public sphere. The process was complicated, but at root, the expansion of print and sociability in the eighteenth century effected key changes in the foundation of local temporal discipline. Thanks to the proliferation of both print materials (newspapers, journals, pamphlets, and books) and places to read and discuss them (coffeehouses, salons, and Masonic lodges), people were suddenly able to compare foreign temporal practices with their own. In this context, broader questions about public time arose. What constituted accuracy? Should there

1977); and Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London, 1970). For an overview, see Henry Kamen, *Early Modern European Society* (London, 2000), 177–205. On the state and disciplining, see Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, ed. Brigitta Oestreich and H. G. Koenigsberger (Cambridge, 1982); and Marc Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State: Social and Institutional Change through Law in the Germanies and Russia, 1600–1800* (New Haven, Conn., 1983). For a sociological view, see Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford, 1994); and Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York, 1983).

¹⁷ Hans-Joachim Voth, "Time and Work in Eighteenth-Century London," *Journal of Economic History* 58, no. 1 (1998): 29–58.

¹⁸ On the spread of large public clocks, see Cipolla, *Clocks and Culture*, 48.

¹⁹ On local knowledge, see Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York, 1983).

²⁰ In Berlin, time sense was dictated in part by performances of the opera and the continual military parades in the Lustgarten. On opera, see Walter H. Bruford, *Germany in the Eighteenth Century: The Social Background of the Literary Revival* (Cambridge, 1935), 83–85. On the military and time, see below.

²¹ Landes, *Revolution in Time*, 73–75. Eighteenth-century Berlin's preachers monitored their clocks' performance to ensure that their congregants had no excuse for tardiness. Landesarchiv Berlin [hereafter LAB], A Rep. 004, No. 585, Die Uhr und die Glocken der St. Marienkirche, 1767–1875, fol. 28r.

be a uniform standard? Who should determine that standard? How should it be distributed to other clocks? In Berlin, science and the state imposed a final answer, but only after the clockwatching public had expended much effort complaining about an increasingly unacceptable status quo. It was the conceptual shift from a locally defined time to an official regional standard that marked the arrival of modern time discipline.

ON AUGUST 23, 1787, EWALD VON HERTZBERG, curator of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, gave a speech to the Academy.²² Celebrating the new king's supposed reformism, Hertzberg announced "measures to have a clever clockmaker install . . . in the Academy's Grand Hall a clock, which our intelligent astronomer, Herr Bode, will set daily according to the true meridian, so that all city clocks can be set by it."²³ The clock was installed in October 1787, just above the Academy's main entrance, and rapidly gained favor among Berliners, who checked their pocket watches against it. A sign of the growing prestige of science in the city, the Academy clock became fundamental to Berlin's public sphere. In 1822, Heinrich Heine wrote:

It is barely noon, the time when the beautiful people go for a walk. The well-groomed masses move up and down the Linden. You wonder why all the men stop here suddenly, reach into their pockets, and look up? My dear fellow, we are standing directly in front of the Academy clock, which is the most accurate of all of Berlin's clocks, and each passerby takes the opportunity to set his watch by it.²⁴

In 1787, the Academy clock was an expression of reform by Berlin's elite; forty years later, it had become an institution in the city's daily life.

The Academy clock highlights complicated changes that were under way in early modern Berlin's time regime. From roughly 1650 to 1750, most Berliners relied on turret clocks, which meant that they acquired time aurally and judged its accuracy by whether a clock's bells rang synchronously with those of other clocks.²⁵ This behavior was dictated to some extent by limits in technology, as older public clocks generally used verge-and-foliot regulators, which routinely lost ten or more minutes per day, if they worked at all.²⁶ Thus there was little point in installing minute arms

²² The Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin has had a number of names since it was founded (on paper) in 1700. Its original name was Societas Regia Scientiarum. In 1744, under Frederick II, the Academy was renamed Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres de Prusse. In 1810, it was renamed Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. I refer to it as the Berlin Academy throughout. The definitive work on the Academy remains Adolf von Harnack, *Geschichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1900). See also Conrad Grau, *Die preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin: Eine deutsche Gelehrten-gesellschaft in drei Jahrhunderten* (Heidelberg, 1993). For the eighteenth century, see Mary Terrall, "The Culture of Science in Frederick the Great's Berlin," *History of Science* 28 (1990): 333–364.

²³ Ewald Friedrich von Hertzberg, *Historische Nachricht von dem ersten Regierungs-Jahre Friedrich Wilhelm II. Königs von Preussen . . .* (Berlin, 1787), 19.

²⁴ Heinrich Heine, *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke*, ed. Manfred Windfuhr, 16 vols. (Hamburg, 1973), 6: 14.

²⁵ On Berlin's churches, see Jürgen Boeckh, *Alt-Berliner Stadtkirchen* (Berlin, 1986). On sound and time, see Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside* (New York, 1998). On the sounds made by clock mechanisms, see Stuart Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries, and English Diurnal Form, 1660–1785* (Chicago, 1996).

²⁶ Bernhard Schmidt, "Die Turmuhren," *Alte Uhren* 7, no. 2 (1984): 47–56.

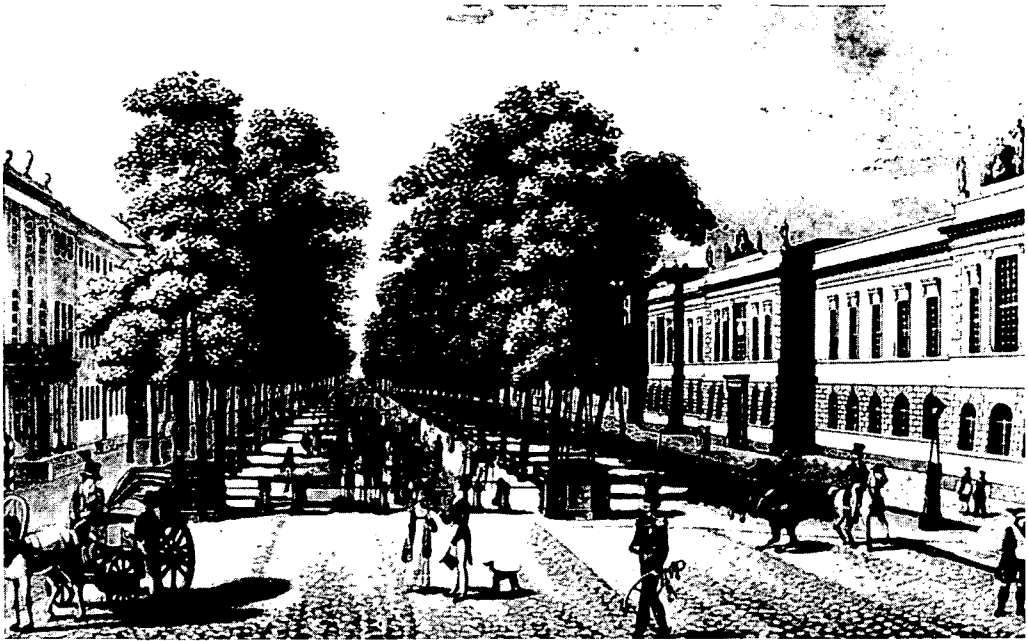


FIGURE 1: Unter den Linden with the Berlin Academy (at right), ca. 1800. The small circle over the Academy's main entrance is the clock. Reprinted with permission from Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Akademiearchiv, Berlin.

that might have facilitated visual supervision, although such arms often came with later renovations.²⁷ Moreover, even if Berlin's clocks had been equipped with minute arms, it would have been difficult to compare their respective times, because their turrets were not in observers' direct line of sight.²⁸ As a result, until the appearance of an alternate platform for time—the pocket watch—the average clockwatcher had little choice but to compare the bells of turret clocks to each other, or, if possible, to a sundial.

The pocket watch made time a visual phenomenon in Berlin. This local effect was only a small part of a broader trend, as large numbers of pocket watches appeared around Europe after 1750.²⁹ The new timepieces were more regular than the traditional turret clock, because they used a balance spring, which made good devices accurate to within five minutes a day.³⁰ It is not clear how widespread these watches were. Experts have estimated that by 1800, more than 400,000 pocket watches were produced in Europe every year, and given how easy they were to smuggle, they must

²⁷ This work usually excluded an upgrade of the regulator, because of the expense involved. The turrets also tended to be too windy and dirty to accommodate pendulum mechanisms. On the pendulum clock, see Landes, *Revolution in Time*, 114–124.

²⁸ Today, it still takes some effort to see the Domkirche and the Marienkirche clocks together, even though the buildings that once surrounded the latter are now gone. Berlin has had three Domkirche. The first Domkirche, which is depicted in Figure 3, dates to the fourteenth century. In 1747, it was demolished to make way for the second one, which was in turn demolished in 1895 to make way for the eyesore that still stands there.

²⁹ Landes, *Revolution in Time*, 87–88; Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," 65–67.

³⁰ Landes, *Revolution in Time*, 128.

have diffused rapidly.³¹ In Germany, pocket watches became so popular that articles on how to choose and care for them appeared in journals.³² In Berlin, where King Frederick II (1740–1786) personally oversaw the clock- and watchmaking industry, many people kept pocket watches. Some even carried two, although wags claimed that the second watch was only a potato attached to a silver chain.³³ The rise of the pocket watch had three concrete effects in Berlin. First, it empowered Berliners to monitor and critique their clocks more intensely, because the new watches boasted minute and even second hands.³⁴ Second, it embedded time in daily life by making time-gathering a ritual that was performed in a public space and before an audience. Finally, it incorporated time through daily, repetitive action, as time-gathering came to be associated with the taking of a particular physical stance in a specific place.

Initially, the Academy clock seemed perfectly suited to the new visual mode of temporal acquisition. First, it showed time down to the minute and lacked bells.³⁵ Second, unlike Berlin's turret clocks, it was not displayed prominently in a tower but was recessed into the Academy's broad façade. As a result, Berlin's pocket watch owners had to go directly to the Academy's front door and look up. The intense scrutiny of this clock was, however, incompatible with the then accepted temporal standard. Like most cities, Berlin ran on "true time," which meant that the workday started and ended with the sun, and clocks were set at local noon. (This practice yielded multiple local times, as each town's noon occurred at a different moment.) The day was, in turn, divided into twelve equal hours, although the duration of those hours waxed and waned with the seasons. The Academy clock was built to meet a more exacting standard, "mean time." Mean time was calculated via the earth's daily rotation with respect to a star, and its hours, as a result, were uniform.³⁶ Indeed, the Academy clock was celebrated for the uniformity of its operation, as it was initially built and advertised as an equation clock, which was a specialized piece of equipment for use by astronomers that displayed both "mean time" and "true time." In its original form, the future Academy clock showed "mean time" and registered "true time" only as the difference between the two.³⁷ Christian Moellinger, the clock's maker,

³¹ Helmut Kahlert, "400 Jahren Taschenuhren. Dargestellt an Exponaten des Deutschen Uhrenmuseums Furtwangen," *Die Weltkunst* 65, no. 2 (1995): 132; Landes, *Revolution in Time*, 287–288.

³² "Vom Gebrauch der Taschenuhren," *Olla Potrida* 11, no. 2 (1788): 128–131; Jean-André Lepaute, "Anmerkungen über die Wahl der Taschenuhren," *Wittenbergisches Wochenblatt zum Aufnehmen der Naturkunde und des ökonomischen Gewerbes* 22, no. 29 (1789): 225–229; J. H. M. Poppe, "Mittel zur genauen Stellung und Regulierung der Uhren," *Neues Hannoverisches Magazin* 6, no. 13 (1796): 197–206.

³³ For specialized works on Berlin's clock- and watchmaking industry, see Gerhard König, *Uhren und Uhrmacherei in Berlin: Geschichte der Berliner Uhren und Uhrmacher, 1450–1900* (Berlin, 1988); and König, "Berliner Uhren," *Sammler Journal* 24, no. 8 (1995): 1266–1270. Erika Herzfeld argues that the clock- and watchmaking industry was unimportant in Berlin before 1750. Herzfeld, *Preussische Manufakturen: Grossgewerbliche Fertigung von Porzellan, Seide, Gobelins, Uhren, Tapeten, Waffen, Papier u.a. im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert in und um Berlin* (Berlin, 1994), 219–224. On Frederick II, see Alfred Chapuis, *Le grand Frédéric et ses Horlogers* (Lausanne, 1938); and Winfried Baer, "Die Uhren Friedrichs des Grossen," *Alte Uhren* 1, no. 1 (1978): 57–66. On potatoes and pocket watches, see Karl Friedrich von Klöden, *Karl Friedrich von Klödens Jugenderinnerungen* (Leipzig, 1911), 40.

³⁴ Landes, *Revolution in Time*, 129–130.

³⁵ In its original form, the clock had chimes. They were removed when it was installed in the Academy building. Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften [hereafter BBAW], Akademiearchiv, Bestand I., Abth. III, No. 105 A, Personalien der Mitglieder und Offizianten, fol. 10r.

³⁶ On "mean time" and "true time," see Landes, *Revolution in Time*, 122.

³⁷ Johann Esias Silberschlag, "Nachricht von einer neuen kunstreichen astronomischen Uhr in Berlin," *Berlinische Monatsschrift* 5, no. 2 (1786): 555–559. On equation clocks, see Hans von Berteles, "The

transferred this dual-time function to the subsequent version that was installed in the Academy, although here the temporal duality was represented by two sets of arms, with each devoted to one time.

Thrust into public life in eighteenth-century Berlin, the Academy clock's four arms and two times were a disaster. The public could not distinguish between the arms, which meant that they did not know the "correct time," and the complaints mounted. In response, in November 1787, the government ordered that the mean-time arms be removed and announced in a local newspaper:

As experience has taught that the double time display of the clock recently installed in the Academy along Unter den Linden has caused the better part of the public much trouble in setting their clocks . . . the Curator of the Academy, His Excellency Count von Hertzberg, consulted with experts [*Sachverständigten*] . . . and concluded that two of the clock's arms will be removed from the outer faceplate that was intended for the public . . . The four arms on the inner faceplate that faces into the Academy's round foyer will, as before, simultaneously show both true and mean time—that is, complete time, so that experts can view both in the foyer.³⁸

These changes failed miserably, however, because the clock's reputation for accuracy and its association with a scientific institution had influenced public expectations. Berliners cleaved to a variable (solar) standard and expected that a "scientific" clock would mark the variations in the hour's length exactly. A mechanical device could not, however, offer this kind of precision, and the result was repeated expressions of public disapproval. The local government, for its part, responded to the grumbling by reporting complaints to Moellinger, noting expressly on one occasion that the clock was making the public insecure (*verunsichert*).³⁹

The travails of the Academy clock highlight a neglected aspect of eighteenth-century publicity: the rise of the clockwatching public.⁴⁰ However, in contrast to the print and sociability spheres, to which historians have paid so much attention, this public was anchored in rituals performed in Berlin's streets. The novelist Karl Gutzkow, who was born in Berlin in 1818 and grew up in an apartment in the Berlin Academy, described the ritual thus: "Whoever walks by and is a man of the clock stops here for a while. The pocket watch is pulled by its chain, and the wise man thoughtfully sets it according to the large clock that hangs in the main entrance above a solemnly moving pendulum."⁴¹ A man of means could now make the Academy

Development of Equation Clocks: A Phase in the History of Hand-Setting Procedure," *La Suisse Horlogère* 74 (1959): 39–46, 15–24; 75 (1960): 17–27, 37–48; 76 (1961): 25–36; and Johannes Wenzel, "Equation Clocks," *Antiquarian Horology* 13 (1981): 24–43.

³⁸ "Anzeige," *Königlich-privilegierte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats und gelehrten Sachen*, November 17, 1787, n.p.

³⁹ The entire correspondence is available in BBAW, Akademiearchiv, No. 105 A, Personalien, fols. 44r–66v.

⁴⁰ I am expanding here on the traditional notion of the public sphere, which sees it in terms of print and/or sociability. For overviews, see Anthony J. La Vopa, "Conceiving a Public: Ideas and Society in Eighteenth-Century Europe," *Journal of Modern History* 64, no. 1 (1992): 98–115; and Harold Mah, "Phantasies of the Public Sphere," *Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 1 (2000): 153–182. The classic works on the public sphere are Reinhart Koselleck, *Kritik und Krise: Eine Studie zur Pathogenese der bürgerlichen Welt* (Baden-Baden, 1959); and Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Neuwied, 1962).

⁴¹ Karl Gutzkow, *Aus der Knabenzeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1852), 5–6.

clock part of his daily rounds and, for the benefit of his less punctual, less wealthy, or less masculine fellow burghers, publicly enact his time discipline.

If we accept Gutzkow's caricature, it is reasonable to assume that Berlin's clock-watchers were people of means. Thus they would have had access to the city's vibrant public sphere, which included not only a variety of clubs but also a substantial quantity of print, since eighteenth-century Berlin was a major publishing center.⁴² We cannot know exactly what people said about clocks in the city's salons and coffee-houses, but we do know that clocks and time were a topic of discussion in print. The famous *Berlinische Monatsschrift* published a story on Moellinger's equation clock before the latter had become the Academy clock, and Moellinger himself produced three works on public clocks, all of which were published in Berlin.⁴³ Berliners would also have had access to information about clocks through the foreign books and journals that were widely available as part of the city's social scene.⁴⁴ One likely example comes from 1784, when the important *Hannoverisches Magazin* published an article on Basel's habit of setting its public clocks one hour ahead of regular civic time. The story included this aside on dairy farmers near Hamburg:

In both winter and summer, the dairy farmers [*Landwirte*], who sell milk to Hamburg in such great quantities, all set their clocks [*Hausuhren*]⁴⁵—perhaps not a full hour, but certainly a half-hour—ahead of the clocks set by honest people. This happens in the Elbmarsch [a region southeast of Hamburg] year after year, and for no other reason than to get the milkmaids up early enough before sunrise to milk the cows.⁴⁵

The author then blamed this outrage on the desire among Hamburg's women to take fresh milk with their afternoon tea. These charges provoked a response from an Elbmarsch farmer, who wrote to tell the journal "that the clocks here in the Elbmarsch are set just as [they are] in other regions."⁴⁶ By the 1780s, temporal practices and standards had become a topic of conversation across the German states, and anyone who had access to print, whether in Berlin or the Elbmarsch, could read about practices in other places, such as Breslau, Gotha, Vienna, or even England.⁴⁷

⁴² Ursula Goldenbaum, "Der 'Berlinismus': Die preussische Hauptstadt als ein Zentrum geistiger Kommunikation in Deutschland," in Wolfgang Förster, ed., *Aufklärung in Berlin* (East Berlin, 1989), 339–386. For a more specialized study, see Horst Möller, *Aufklärung in Preussen: Der Verleger, Publizist und Geschichtsschreiber Friedrich Nicolai* (Berlin, 1974).

⁴³ Christian Moellinger, *Erklärung einer die wahre u. mittleren Zeit zugleich zeigenden in d. Saal der königl. Akad. aufgestellten Uhr* (Berlin, 1787); Moellinger, *Ueber die allgemeinen Klagen in Ansehung des unregelmässigen Ganges der Thurm-Uhren und über die Mittel, diese Uhren ohne allzugrosse Kosten zu einer übereinstimmenden Richtigkeit zu bringen* (Berlin, 1798); Moellinger, *Erneuter Vorschlag zur Aufstellung einer Normal Uhr für Berlin* (Berlin, 1823). Unfortunately, the first two books have been lost. The only extant copy of the last text is in LAB, A Rep. 004, No. 38, *Die Thurm-Uhren und Glocken*, Bd. 1, 1787–1843, I. Teil, fols. 77–85. See also Silberschlag, "Nachricht."

⁴⁴ Two of Berlin's most famous clubs were the Mittwochsgesellschaft and the Montagsklub. On the Mittwochsgesellschaft, see Günter Birtsch, "Die Berliner Mittwochsgesellschaft," in Hans Erich Bödeker and Ulrich Herrmann, eds., *Über den Prozess der Aufklärung in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert: Personen, Institutionen und Medien* (Göttingen, 1987), 94–112; and James Schmidt, "The Question of Enlightenment: Kant, Mendelssohn, and the Mittwochsgesellschaft," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 50, no. 2 (1989): 269–291. On the Montagsklub, see Gustav A. Sachse, ed., *Der Montagsklub in Berlin 1749–1899: Fest und Gedenkschrift zu seiner 150sten Jahresfeier* (Berlin, 1899); and Erich Steffen, "Ein Klub im alten Berlin," *Alt-Berlin: Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte Berlins*, no. 9 (1910): 119–121.

⁴⁵ N. Beckmann, "Ueber die Uhr zu Basel," *Hannoverisches Magazin* 22, no. 51 (1784): 863–864.
⁴⁶ "Ueber die Uhren der Landwirthe in den Elbmarschen," *Hannoverisches Magazin* 22, no. 96 (1784): 1551–1552.

⁴⁷ On England and Gotha, see "Einige Bemerkungen über die sogenannte Thurm- oder Kirchen-

Although print influenced local practices, time discipline in Berlin was rooted in local enactments that occurred within an emerging temporal infrastructure. The existing literature has not stressed the point, but it must be recognized that public clocks created the physical spaces in which clockwatching occurred. Hence, if we are to understand properly the effect that print had on temporal practices, we must consider how the given setting nurtured local time rituals. In Berlin, as in most other cities, public expectations of clocks had originally been shaped by both the accepted standard (true time) and the weak performance of traditional turret clocks. Older devices ran poorly and had to be rewound and set every day, which meant that they were actually suited to public expectations, because mechanical irregularity and daily settings reinforced the system of true time. The Academy clock upset this arrangement on two levels. First, locals already knew it to be something of a technological marvel, because it had been advertised as exactly regular, with “lost time” calculated in seconds per day.⁴⁸ Second, it required only one winding and setting per week, which made it completely unacceptable as a public clock, because the public understood “accuracy” in the context of daily settings. Hence, with each passing day, the difference between “true time” and the Academy clock’s time became more obvious to the city’s clockwatchers, with the result that complaints arose about Berlin’s most “accurate” clock.

The Academy’s next act underscores the problems that the local public’s ever-growing surveillance of public clocks created. In 1793, under the leadership of its chief astronomer, Johann Elert Bode, the Academy installed a sundial on the clock’s face. Sundials were crucial to the early modern system of time discipline. Most major cities set their clocks by public sundials, and serious clockwatchers also carried pocket sundials.⁴⁹ In the new post-pocket watch context, however, the Academy sundial exacerbated the public’s insecurity by underscoring the differences between the public’s and the Academy clock’s time. Further complaints resulted, as is evidenced by Christian Moellinger’s novel defense against an official letter of complaint. In 1801, he informed the Academy that the clock’s inaccuracy resulted from the dust storm created by the constant stream of clockwatchers to the Academy’s front door.⁵⁰ (The dust supposedly fouled the clock’s gears.)

Moellinger’s dust cloud beautifully represents the ambiguous results of the interaction between the Academy clock and an increasingly critical public. Thanks to the pocket watch and the print sphere, time had become ever more important, and one can readily imagine Berliners commenting on the Academy clock’s supposedly mediocre performance as they pulled out their watches and looked up. The gov-

uhren,” *Neues Hannoverisches Magazin* 10, no. 64 (1800): 1211–1218. On Breslau, see “Von den öffentlichen Uhren in Breslau: Ein Beytrag zur Geschichte und Beschreibung dieser Stadt,” *Schlesische Provinzialblätter* 24, no. 7 (1796): 1–16. More generally, see Poppe, “Mittel zur genauen Stellung und Regulierung der Uhren,” and G.W.E., “Beantwortung der Frage: Warum nur selten, nach Anzeige des Kalenders, auch die vollkommenste Uhr ganz accurat geht, sondern bisweilen mehrere Minuten differirt, was ist die Ursache davon? u.s.w.,” *Hannoverisches Magazin* 23, no. 39 (1785): 609–616. On Vienna, see Moellinger, *Erneuter Vorschlag*, 6–7.

⁴⁸ Silberschlag, “Nachricht”; Klaus-Harro Tiemann, “‘Pro musis et mulis’—das erste Akademiegebäude,” *Spectrum: Berliner Journal für den Wissenschaftler*, no. 6/91 (1991): 44.

⁴⁹ Sara Schechner, “The Material Culture of Astronomy in Daily Life: Sundials, Science, and Social Change,” *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 32, no. 3 (2001): 211.

⁵⁰ BBAW, Akademiearchiv, No. 105 A, Personalien, fol. 44rv.

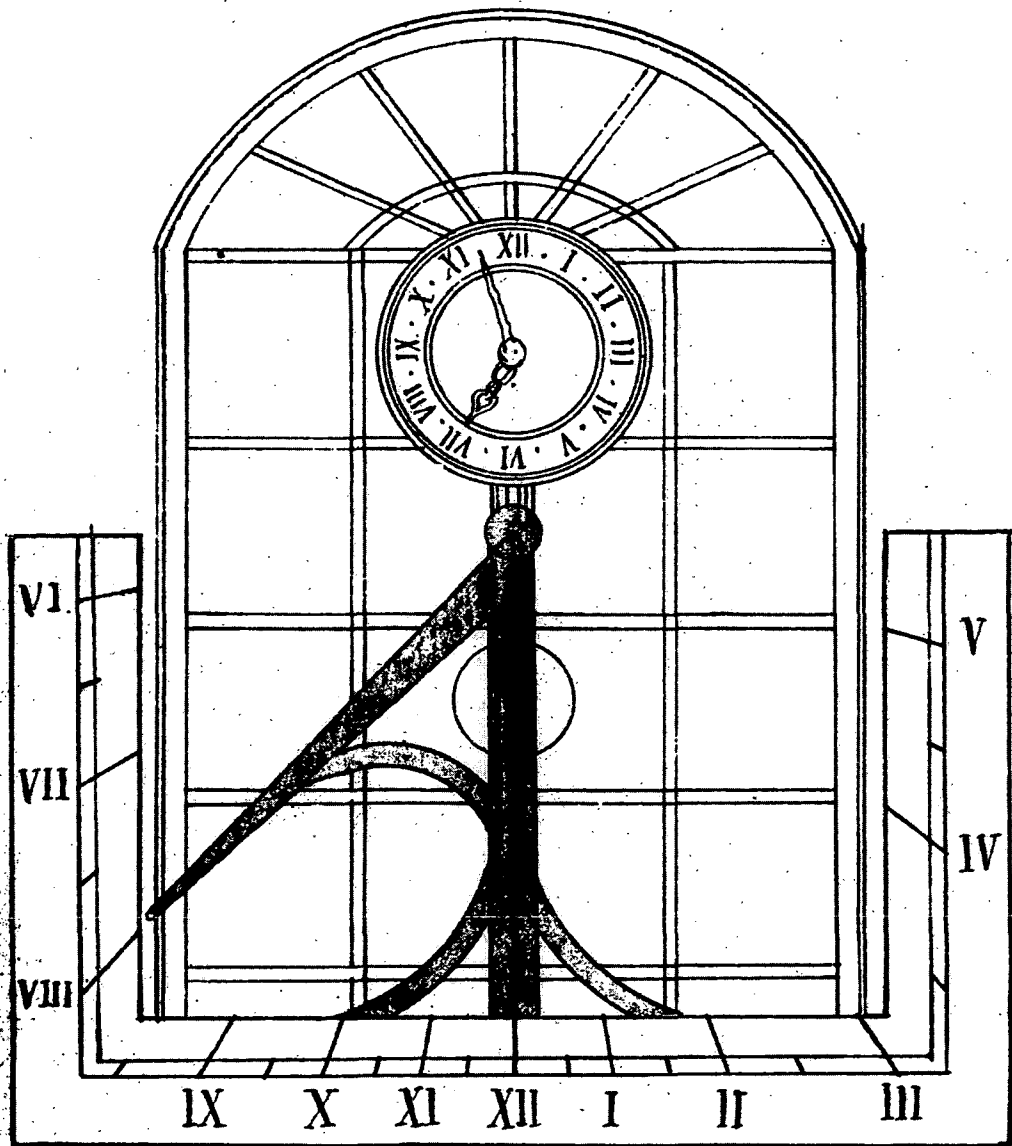


FIGURE 2: The Academy clock and sundial (1793). Reprinted with permission from Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Akademiearchiv, Berlin.

ernment, whose authority was rooted in competent management, turned to the Academy's astronomers for help.⁵¹ In a written report, the astronomers recommended that "we no longer require of our clocks that they mark longer hours on one day of the year than they do on another, because they must otherwise function irregularly *in order to run accurately without constant supervision*."⁵² For the Academy's scientists, the public had become a problem to be overcome. From their perspective,

⁵¹ On Prussian governance, see C. B. A. Behrens, *Society, Government, and the Enlightenment: The Experiences of Eighteenth-Century France and Prussia* (London, 1985).

⁵² BBAW, Akademiearchiv, No. 105 A, Personalien, fol. 49v. Emphasis added.

and ultimately from the government's as well, the Academy clock needed to become a source of discipline, rather than a focus of it, if the city's time regime was to function at all.

The government's interest in avoiding public disorder invited ever-greater intervention in the management of public clocks. The process of change was gradual but thorough. In 1787, the Police Directory (*Polizeidirektorium*) and the town magistrates (*Räte*) tried but failed to get all turret clocks to be set in accord with the Academy clock.⁵³ (Berlin's church consistories feared losing control over their clock setters, because it would have meant the loss of a patronage appointment. Those fears proved justified.) In 1810, however, with public disorder and insecurity becoming an issue, the local magistrates were able to anoint the Academy clock as Berlin's master clock and, more importantly, to require that it and all other public clocks be set to mean time.⁵⁴ With this change, Berlin became only the third city in Europe to establish such a master clock. Geneva had been first, in 1780, followed by London in 1792; Paris and Vienna joined the club in 1816 and 1823, respectively.⁵⁵ The latter three cities are the most significant, because, like Berlin, they turned time over to their astronomers. Hence, Berlin's experiences must also be understood as part of a European trend, as other prominent cities were empowering a scientific discipline to define their time. In 1811, one practical result of this broader shift became evident in Berlin, when the Academy quietly removed the sundial.⁵⁶ With astronomy and the government in league, both the public's approach to time and the tools for cultivating it had lapsed into irrelevance.

BERLIN'S TIME DISCIPLINE CANNOT BE EXPLAINED in the traditional way, with reference to the spread of factories, trains, or shipping in the nineteenth century. The factory whistle did not play a prominent role in daily life in the city until after 1848.⁵⁷ The very first train line in Germany appeared only in 1835, running between the Franconian towns of Fürth and Nuremberg, neither of which belonged to Prussia. And to the extent that Berlin had a maritime tradition, it was associated more with Baltic shipping than with open-ocean Atlantic navigation, where exact knowledge of the time was becoming essential for calculating longitude.⁵⁸ Moreover, in spite of its

⁵³ Ibid., fols. 14r–17v.

⁵⁴ The *Polizeidirektorium* slowly assumed control over all of the city's public clocks, with the result that by the 1820s, individual church consistories in Berlin were no longer even allowed to hire their own clock setters. On the *Polizeidirektorium*'s early involvement with the Academy clock, see BBAW, Akademiearchiv, No. 105 A, Personalien, fol. 17rv. On hiring clock setters, see Brandenburg Landeshauptarchiv Potsdam [hereafter Brandenburg LHA], Pr. Br. Rep 10A, Domkirche Berlin, No. 208, Acta betr. die Bestellungen der Uhrmacher und Uhrsteller; and Brandenburg LHA, Pr. Br. Rep 10A, Domkirche Berlin, No. 209, Anstellung der Domuhrsteller (1773–1858). On the centralized system of clock setting that emerged in Berlin, see LAB, A Rep. 004, No. 39, Die Thurm-Uhren und Glocken, Bd. 2, 1844–1869.

⁵⁵ On Geneva, London, Berlin, and Paris, see Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour*, 346.

⁵⁶ On the sundial, see BBAW, Akademiearchiv, Bestand I., Abth. II., No. 30, Acta die Aufstellung der akademischen Sonnenuhr betreffend, 1810–1811. See also Johann Georg Krünitz, ed., *Oekonomisch-Technologische Encyclopädie*, 242 vols. (Berlin, 1832), 155: 692–712.

⁵⁷ On German industrialization, see Hans Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, 4 vols. (Munich, 1987), 1: 14; Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866: Bürgerwelt und starker Staat* (Munich, 1983), 182–183.

⁵⁸ Dava Sobel, *Longitude: The True Story of a Lone Genius Who Solved the Greatest Scientific Problem of His Time* (New York, 1995).

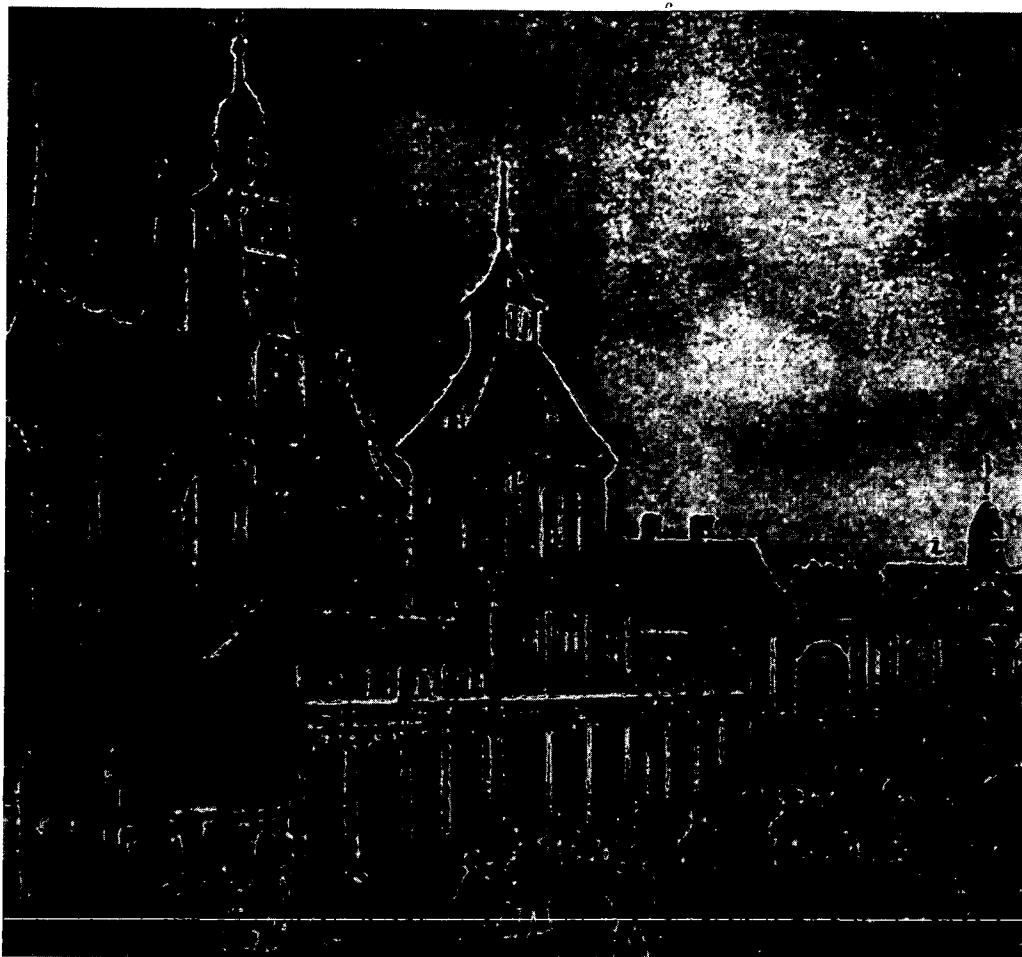


FIGURE 3: The Original Domkirche (at left), ca. 1690. Reprinted with permission from "Postkarten Sammlung," Zentrum für Berlin Studien, Berlin.

strong astronomical tradition, Berlin was conspicuously absent from the race to produce a marine chronometer; that problem was left to people and powers farther to the west.⁵⁹

Although the Academy clock is generally celebrated as the first master clock (*Normaluhr*) in Berlin, the city actually had an official master clock, the Domkirche clock, by the late seventeenth century.⁶⁰ In 1679, Elector Frederick William I proclaimed Berlin's first official time regime:

Following the determination of His Royal Highness that the bells in this city ring dissimilarly, and in response to the many complaints caused by the resulting confusion—which has meant that one does not know which clock to follow—and, moreover, with the clock in the Marienkirche having been ringing mostly wrong and occasionally not at all for the last year, we order

⁵⁹ On the invention of marine chronometers, see Landes, *Revolution in Time*, 146–152.

⁶⁰ "Die Akademieuhr—Berlins älteste Normaluhr: Das Chronometer ist im märkischen Museum zu sehen," *Berliner Zeitung*, October 17/18, 1987, 42; and Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour*, 346.

the magistrates . . . graciously and at the same time earnestly to make arrangements for setting all clocks uniformly by the Domkirche, so that total disorder can be prevented.⁶¹

We should immediately note the publicness of the Domkirche clock. Its location on the Spree Island in a major structure and overlooking the Lustgarten, which had become a public space, made it central to Berlin's daily life.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Domkirche clock was the focal point of the city's temporal infrastructure, which comprised twelve turret clocks in various states of disrepair.⁶² The clocks in medieval structures were generally installed in the seventeenth century, and according to archival records, the clocks in eighteenth-century structures were all in place by 1770. In order to understand how the system worked, it is best to consider this collection of clocks in spatial terms. If we take the Domkirche clock as the center, the other eleven turret clocks were all within a two-kilometer radius. The medieval Georgenkirche, which stood to the northeast, was the farthest away, at slightly less than two kilometers, while the medieval Marienkirche was the closest, at less than half a kilometer to the east. The other nine turret clocks were all within a one-and-one-half-kilometer radius, and as Figure 4 indicates, some of them were very close to each other. Berlin's public time regime was, therefore, initially embedded in a network of religious buildings, whose clocks were more likely to be heard than seen.

We can gain further insight into the interactions between Berlin's clocks and their public by considering the maintenance practices that undergirded the network.⁶³ By the end of the seventeenth century, regular maintenance of public clocks had become essential, precisely because the public was observing and critiquing them. Indeed, the arrival of the public as a critical force is apparent in two events that occurred on either side of the elector's proclamation in 1679. First, in 1676, a clockmaker named Michael Kresten petitioned the consistory for the privilege of replacing the incumbent clock setter, who had fallen ill. Consistent with the picture of seventeenth-century Berlin as a sleepy princely residence, the consistory affirmed the request by scrawling a note in the margins of Kresten's letter. By 1711, however, things were different, as the consistory required another clock setter to sign a full-blown service contract, the first of its kind in Berlin. The contract had seven detailed provisions, the fifth of which required that the clock setter "check on the clock every Sunday before the sermons and set the same correctly, even when it appears unnecessary."⁶⁴ By this point, being located in a church meant that getting the time right on Sundays was part of the Domkirche clock's *raison d'être*.

The needs of the public soon grew beyond the limits of the city's main religious structure, however, as Berliners became ever more critical of the Domkirche clock. The effects of—and perhaps the opportunities opened by—the growth in public surveillance are evident in the machinations of Carl Ludwig Buschberg, a local clockmaker. On January 12, 1776, Buschberg tried to steal the job of setting and main-

⁶¹ Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbestiz, I. HA Rep. 9, No. 7, Fasc. 1, Uhrmacher 1661–1702, fol. 13rv. Also quoted in König, *Uhren und Uhrmacherei in Berlin*, 27.

⁶² For all of these churches, see Jürgen Boeckh, *Alt-Berliner Stadtkirchen* (Berlin, 1986). The Luisenkirche was part of the system, but it was located in Charlottenburg, which was outside the city limits. LAB, A Rep. 004, No. 789, *Die Uhr und die Glocken auf dem Luisenkirchturm, 1755–1866*.

⁶³ On the maintenance needs of a public clock, see Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour*, 192.

⁶⁴ LHA, Domkirche Berlin, No. 208, *Acta betr. die Bestellungen*, n.p.

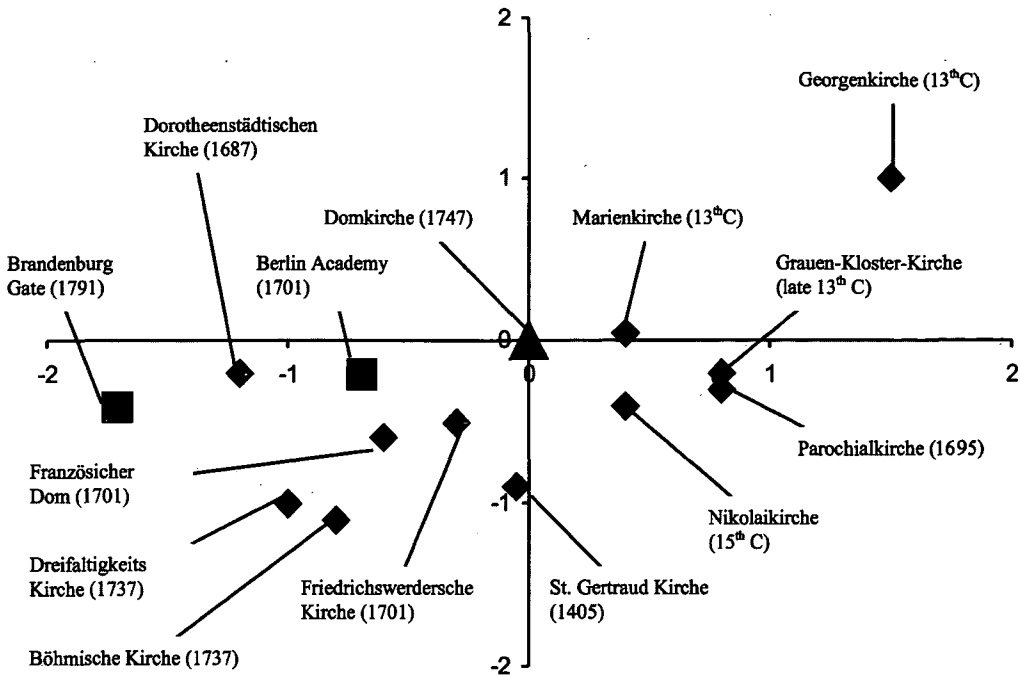


FIGURE 4: Key sites in Berlin, showing distance in kilometers from the Domkirche.

taining the Domkirche clock from the incumbent with a letter of complaint to the consistory about the clock's poor performance.⁶⁵ Criticizing a competitor's work was standard fare in the business. New, however, was Buschberg's invocation of a public in support of the critique, as he noted that people on the street were accosting *him* over the clock's poor performance, even though he was not responsible for maintaining it. Not surprisingly, he concluded that suffering public abuse entitled him to the government contract.⁶⁶ Buschberg's instrumental reference to public criticism was no doubt associated with the pettiness of local competition. His complaint could take form, however, because the public was increasingly armed with pocket watches.

Whatever the nature of its influence, it must be noted that Berlin's clockwatching public was an exclusive club, dominated by elite men. That local clockwatchers would be elites makes perfect sense, given that one could not join this public without the money to buy a watch and the education necessary to participate in the print public sphere.⁶⁷ The issue of gender is trickier, however, because the archival sources almost always identify Berlin's clockwatchers as *das Publikum* (the public). Still, if we look beyond these sources, the evidence suggests that this public was heavily masculine. Consider that, although women were not completely excluded from participation in Berlin's social and print spheres, those zones were controlled by men.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ LHA, Domkirche Berlin, No. 209, Anstellung der Domuhrsteller, fol. 20r.

⁶⁶ The letter failed, but Buschberg did get the contract two years later. Ibid., fol. 21r.

⁶⁷ On German education, see Anthony J. La Vopa, *Grace, Talent, and Merit: Poor Students, Clerical Careers, and Professional Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge, 1988); and James Van Horn Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria* (Cambridge, 1988).

⁶⁸ On women in Berlin's public sphere, see Deborah Hertz, *Jewish High Society in Old Regime Berlin* (New Haven, Conn., 1988).

The city's most famous enlightened institution, the *Mittwochsgesellschaft*, for example, had no female members, and all of Berlin's great journals, including the *Berlinische Monatsschrift* and the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, were edited and written by men.⁶⁹ In addition, and perhaps most important, the pocket watch was a man's fashion accessory. Women probably owned watches, but owning a watch was not the same thing as using it, especially in public. Here, women confronted a serious obstacle: by the late eighteenth century, watches were used in a way that best suited them to men's clothing, which had pockets.⁷⁰ In England, the three-piece suit provided an excellent platform for the pocket watch, while on the Continent, French-style military uniforms did the same.⁷¹ Thus, on both sides of the Channel, men could put their watches in a place that allowed them not only to show them off—thus the dangling chain—but also to consult them while in public.

As a result, during the eighteenth century, clockwatching probably became increasingly masculinized. A good example is the military's embrace of timepieces, as by the end of the century, most of Europe's military officers (who were all men) were required to carry watches, which they no doubt displayed.⁷² On this latter point, contemporary evidence comes from the Prussian writer Karl Friedrich von Klöden, who was born in Berlin in 1786 and was the son of a Prussian military officer:

At the time, there was, however, more to the height of elegance in a sergeant than his uniform. He had to carry a silver watch in each pocket from which a silver chain dangled visibly . . . Punctuality was considered a cardinal virtue in a soldier, and since a single pocket watch ran inaccurately after a while, the soldier who acquired a second watch proved how much punctuality meant to him and, thereby, the extent to which he was a virtuous fellow.⁷³

It was, therefore, no accident that Gutzkow described the clockwatcher as a "man of the clock."⁷⁴ The man, the pocket watch, and the ritual were all shaped by public practices that had made time-gathering a man's thing.

Although our knowledge of the composition of the temporal public sphere is uncertain, there is little doubt that this public affected the evolution of the time regime in Berlin. One obvious indication is the shift of time's epicenter from the Domkirche to the Academy—a change that could also be inscribed in a different secularization narrative. Nevertheless, the change to the Academy clock reveals that a new public realm was being created in the late eighteenth century—a realm that

⁶⁹ On the *Mittwochsgesellschaft*, see Birtsch, "Die Berliner Mittwochsgesellschaft." On the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*'s contributors, see G. Parthey, *Die Mitarbeiter an Friedrich Nicolai's Allgemeiner deutscher Bibliothek nach ihren Namen und Zeichen in zwei Registern geordnet* (Berlin, 1842).

⁷⁰ On the market for women's watches, see Landes, *Revolution in Time*, 270–271.

⁷¹ On the three-piece suit, see David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550–1850* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), 102–111.

⁷² On the rise of the uniform, see Philip Mansel, "Monarchy, Uniform and the Rise of the Frac, 1760–1830," *Past & Present*, no. 96 (1982): 103–132. On the significance of the uniform in the Prussian army, see A. Hamish Ion and Keith Neilson, eds., *Elite Military Formations in War and Peace* (Westport, Conn., 1996), 103–105. On the military and pocket watches, see Landes, *Revolution in Time*, 96. On the continuing significance of pocket watches in Germany during the late nineteenth century, see Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 110–111.

⁷³ Klöden, *Jugenderinnerungen*, 40. On Klöden, see Maximilian Jähns, "Klöden, Karl Friedrich," in Rochus Wilhelm Liliencron et al., eds., *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* [hereafter *AdB*], 56 vols. (Leipzig, 1875), 16: 203–208.

⁷⁴ Gutzkow, *Aus der Knabenzeit*, 5–6. On Gutzkow, see Johannes Proelß, "Gutzkow, Karl," in Liliencron et al., *AdB*, 10: 227–236.

gave Berliners the standing to make demands of both their public clocks and the institutions that controlled them. Some tantalizing evidence of the changes wrought by this clockwatching public comes from the maintenance contract between the Berlin Academy and Christian Moellinger. This contract stipulated that Moellinger was to set the clock every Saturday *and* Monday between 11 A.M. and 12 P.M.⁷⁵ The choice of days is significant. On the one hand, in requiring that the clock be set on Saturdays, the Academy claimed primacy over Berlin's turret clocks, which were set on Sundays and were overseen by the city's preachers. On the other hand, in requiring the re-setting, only two days later, of a clock that needed but one setting per week, the Academy also recognized the presence of a group who needed (or wished) to gather at the Academy's front door on Mondays. In the end, changes in the rituals of public time-gathering became the cornerstone of a new civic time regime.

SCHOLARS HAVE LONG KNOWN THAT PEOPLE were once very possessive of their local time and often resisted relinquishing it in favor of an externally imposed standard.⁷⁶ The literature on the history of time discipline usually interprets this reluctance as a remnant of the old ways, a bump on the road to modern time discipline, and there is reason to ascribe this resistance to parochial stodginess. However, the reluctance to give up one's local time can also be understood as a product of the same forces that shaped early modern Europe's many public spheres. Put simply, people resisted giving up "their" time because it was based on knowledge and discipline that they enacted in their particular place.

In the eighteenth century, time sense was closely linked to a sense for "place." This latter sense was a product of new urban spaces that European cities began to provide in the form of buildings, streets, parks, and squares.⁷⁷ City dwellers then appropriated the resulting spaces for their daily activities, and one result was that a new sense for urban space emerged, as people began to value cities overall as things to be enjoyed, observed, critiqued, and even compared.⁷⁸ In Germany, the print discussion about urban spaces was extensive. Heinrich Heine's comments about the Academy clock, for example, were part of a series of articles on Berlin that appeared in the *Rheinisch-Westfälische Anzeiger*, which was published in the Westphalian city of Aachen.⁷⁹ In general, commentators noted whether the streets were clean, the buildings were attractive, and the cultural life was interesting. Another example comes from 1779, when the *Deutsches Museum*, which was published in the Saxon

⁷⁵ BBAW, Akademiearchiv, No. 105 A, Personalien, fol. 34r.

⁷⁶ Derek Howse, *Greenwich Time and the Discovery of the Longitude* (Oxford, 1980), 106.

⁷⁷ On the production of space, see Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, 1991). For the eighteenth century, see Daniel Brewer, "Lights in Space," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37, no. 2 (2004): 171–186. On city space and science, see Sven Dierig, Jens Lachmund, and J. Andrew Mendelsohn, eds., *Science and the City* (Chicago, 2003).

⁷⁸ On new city spaces in early modern Germany, see Klaus Gerteis, *Die deutschen Städte in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Darmstadt, 1986), 34–51.

⁷⁹ On Berlin, see Friedrich Nicolai, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam und aller daselbst befindlicher Merkwürdigkeiten . . .* (Berlin, 1779–1786). Other examples include Johann Gottlob Schulz, *Beschreibung der Stadt Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1784); Philipp Christian Ribbentrop, *Beschreibung der Strassen, einiger öffentlichen Gebäude und der Kirchen der Stadt Braunschweig* (Braunschweig, 1789); and Friedrich Groschuf, *Versuch einer genauen und umständlichen Beschreibung der Hochfürstlich-Hessischen Residenz- und Hauptstadt Cassel . . .* (Cassel, 1769).

city of Leipzig, printed the writer and economist Leopold Friedrich von Göckingk's travel description of the Prussian capital. Among other things, Göckingk noted: "As large as this city may be, one easily learns to find one's location, because almost all the streets run straight, [their] names are posted on each corner, and so many large public buildings, ornamented columns, etc., are scattered throughout all of Berlin, that one finds them [to be] the best signposts."⁸⁰ Eighteenth-century Germans, like their contemporaries elsewhere, wanted clean streets, open spaces for promenading, and nice things to contemplate along the way, including grand buildings, elaborate town gates, and accurate public clocks.⁸¹

Berlin provides an excellent venue for investigating the effects on time sense of new urban spaces, because between 1650 and 1750, it produced many new spaces. The city suffered heavily during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), and at war's end was left with a population of only 6,500. From there both the population and the city grew steadily. In 1700, Berlin had 70,000 people; by 1810, the number had reached 170,000. The government, in turn, provided spaces for the new residents, with new neighborhoods, such as Friedrichswerder (1660), Dorotheenstadt (1678), and Friedrichstadt (1688), being the result.⁸² Elector Frederick William's edict on time (1679) cannot be understood without reference to this growth, because each of these neighborhoods—and the new ones that followed—received both a church and a turret clock that joined the local space to a network that was centered on the Domkirche.⁸³

Most important, however, for the sense of space in late-eighteenth-century Berlin was the construction of the grand avenue Unter den Linden. Although this street dated back to 1647, most of its signature structures were built during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In Heine's time, it was bounded on one side by the Schloßbrücke (1822–1823), which connected the Linden to the Spree Island, and on the other by the Brandenburg Gate (1788–1791). These structures extended the public space westward from the original center that had been defined by the Domkirche and the Royal Palace. As Heine described it, "Truly, I know of no more imposing view than to stand before the Dog's Bridge [replaced by the Schloßbrücke in 1823] and look up to the Linden. On the right—the magnificent Armory [1706], the Neue Wache [1818], the University [1766], and the Academy [1701]. On the left—the Royal Palace [1733], the Opera [1755], and the Library [1780], etc."⁸⁴ During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Unter den Linden became a new cultural

⁸⁰ Leopold Friedrich von Göckingk, "Briefe eines Reisenden an den Drost von L.B.," *Deutsches Museum* 2 (1779): 71–72.

⁸¹ For Prussia, see Eckhart Hellmuth, "A Monument to Frederick the Great: Architecture, Politics, and the State in Late Eighteenth-Century Prussia," in John Brewer and Hellmuth, eds., *Rethinking Leviathan: The Eighteenth-Century State in Britain and Germany* (Oxford, 1999), 317–342. On monumental buildings in general, see Gerteis, *Die deutschen Städte*, 46–48.

⁸² Margaret Shennan, *The Rise of Brandenburg-Prussia* (London, 1995), 67–68.

⁸³ This was the case with the Böhmisches Kirche (1737), the Dreifaltigkeits Kirche (1737), the Friedrichswerdersche Kirche (1701), the Französische Kirche (1701), and the Parochialkirche (1695). For an overview, see LAB, A Rep. 004, No. 38, *Die Thurm-Uhren und Glocken*, Bd. I, 1787–1843, I. Teil und II. Teil. For a contemporary perspective, see Georg Andreas Eberhardt, *Grundlinien zur Beurtheilung ganz vollkommener Thurmuhren* (Gotha, 1812).

⁸⁴ Heine, *Gesamtausgabe*, 6: 12. In 1840, Karl Gutzkow added his impression: "From my apartment I am afforded a view of the area around the castle, [which is] on a glut of large buildings, which make the area between the start of the Linden and the Dom one of the most remarkable plazas in Europe"; Gutzkow and Wolfgang Rasch, *Berlin—Panorama einer Residenzstadt* (Berlin, 1995), 12–13.

scene, where “the beautiful people” went for a walk. Of course, these beautiful people were probably not on their way to factory jobs, so why did they consult the Academy clock so assiduously?

During the eighteenth century, checking the time became a means of social distinction. This was due in part to the status of the pocket watch as a luxury item. Another key local factor, however, was the growing presence of science “in the city.”⁸⁵ In 1700, the Berlin Academy was founded and acquired laboratory space in the former royal stables on Unter den Linden. Although the building was not well-appointed, and the horses still occupied the ground floor, science now had a physical presence. Over the next century, especially under King Frederick II (1740–1786), the Berlin Academy increased its profile by sponsoring both celebrated essay contests and scientific demonstrations.⁸⁶ In addition, it engaged in classic public-relations efforts; in 1728, 1745, and 1809, the Academy arranged nighttime illumination of its building in honor of a dignitary’s visit.⁸⁷ In these ways the Academy burrowed into Berlin’s newest space, which had the perhaps unintended side effect of making the Academy clock an alternate site for the rituals of public time.

Like Berlin’s churches, the Berlin Academy put down roots in local space, but its cultural effects must also be understood against the backdrop of another eighteenth-century phenomenon, German princes’ support of science for their own aggrandizement. It was especially during this period that scientific societies proliferated around the German states, and astronomy gained particular prominence as a result.⁸⁸ Berlin was an early player in astronomy’s rise. In 1711, when the Academy’s observatory was completed, it became the first government-funded observatory to be built in Germany.⁸⁹ State support for astronomical observation then spread widely, as between 1711 and 1811, eighteen professional observatories appeared in other German states.⁹⁰ The resulting network of stellar observation and scholarly exchange soon became part of Berlin’s public life. On the one hand, there was a

⁸⁵ I have taken this idea from Dierig, Lachmund, and Mendelsohn, *Science and the City*.

⁸⁶ The Academy, through its different divisions, posed questions on a variety of issues, ranging from abstract philosophical ones to simple mechanical ones. See, for example, “Preisfrage der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften für das Jahr 1788,” *Berlinische Monatsschrift* 5, no. 2 (1787): 96; and “Preisfragen, welche von der königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin für das Jahr 1787 und 1788 aufgegeben worden,” *Journal von und für Deutschland* 3, no. 6 (1786): 560–561. Johann Esias Silberschlag, who first publicized Moellinger’s clock, was Berlin’s chief official in charge of construction (*Oberbaurat*), and in that capacity gave lectures at the Academy on practical physics. On Silberschlag, see Paul Tschackert, “Silberschlag, Johann Esias,” in Liliencron et al., *ADB*, 34: 314–316.

⁸⁷ BBAW, Akademiearchiv, Bestand I., Abth. II., No. 24, Volumen Actorum betreffend die Illumination bey Gegenwarth des Königs von Polens Majestät in Anno 1728 und die von 1745; BBAW, Akademiearchiv, Bestand I., Abth. II., No. 28, Illumination des Academie-Gebäudes bei der Ankunft Sr. Majestät betreffend, 1809.

⁸⁸ On Germany in general, see Ludwig Hammermayer, “Akademiebewegung und Wissenschaftsorganisation während der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts,” in Erik Amburger, Michał Cieśla, and László Sziklay, eds., *Wissenschaftspolitik in Mittel- und Osteuropa* (Berlin, 1976), 1–84. On astronomy, see Rainer Baasner, *Das Lob der Sternkunst: Astronomie in der deutschen Aufklärung* (Göttingen, 1987). More broadly, see Simon Schaffer, “Authorized Prophets: Comets and Astronomers after 1759,” *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 17 (1987): 45–74.

⁸⁹ Germany also had private observatories, such as Wilhelm Olbers’s in Bremen (1781), Nathanael von Wolf’s in Danzig (1785), and Johann Schröter’s in Lilienthal (1793). On observatories in Germany, see Baasner, *Das Lob der Sternkunst*, 28–31. More generally, see Nicholas Jardine, “The Places of Astronomy in Early-Modern Culture,” *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 29 (1998): 49–62.

⁹⁰ Baasner, *Das Lob der Sternkunst*, 29–30.



FIGURE 6: Frontispiece to J. G. Geißler, *Der Uhrmacher oder Lehrbegriff der Uhrmacherkunst* (Leipzig, 1793). Reprinted with permission from Staatsbibliothek Berlin.

press.⁹⁵ Each version allowed people to find the local time via solar observation.⁹⁶ This could be done using a sundial, but a primitive sextant that had come with the calendar was also used.⁹⁷ Figure 6, taken from a contemporary encyclopedia on clockmaking, depicts Ratio using such a sextant, as well as a clock, a calendar, and a globe, to establish the correct time. This encyclopedia was published in Leipzig, but the method that it depicts encapsulates the practices that the Berlin Academy supported with its calendars. As the only authorized producer of calendars for Prussia (a monopoly had been granted to be the main source of revenue), the Academy must have played an important role in shaping broader public attitudes toward time.

⁹⁵ In general, see Hans Ludendorff, "Zur Frühgeschichte der Astronomie in Berlin," *Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Vorträge und Schriften*, no. 9 (1942): 1–23. For primary sources, see Gottlob Friederich Haug, *Kurze und deutliche Anleitung zum Gebrauch eines Sextanten* . . . (Stuttgart, 1794); Friederich Christoph Müller, *Gemeinnützige Astronomische Tafeln (hauptsächlich zur richtigen Stellung der Uhren)* . . . (Leipzig, 1792); and Julius August Koch, *Astronomische Tafeln zur Bestimmung der Zeit* . . . (Berlin, 1797).

⁹⁶ For Berlin, see *Vollständiger astronomischer Calender: Nach dem verbesserten Stylo* . . . (Berlin, 1747–1756). For other areas, see *Neu zu jedermanns Gebrauch eingerichteter astronomischer, historischer und Schreib-Calender: Aufs Jahr nach Jesu Christi Geburt.; worinnen der Planeten Aspecten, Auf- und Untergang, Erwehlungen, Gewitter, astrologische Prophezeiungen und andere Calender-Sachen befindlich; fürs Hertzogthum Schlesien und benachbarte Länder* (Berlin, 1746); and *Verbesserter Astronom- und Physikalischer Mecklenburgischer Calender: Auf das Jahr 1710* (Rostock, 1709).

⁹⁷ A sextant was included with Friederich Christoph Müller, *Tafeln der Sonnenhöhen nebst einem Sextanten zum Gebrauche im gemeinen Leben* . . . [Schwelm, 1787].

This particular connection between print and public practice also offers insight into the deeper local significance of the Academy sundial: in many ways, the Academy had made the sundial into a public scientific instrument.

The Berlin Academy's astronomical calendars and its public sundial draw attention to a broader problem in the literature on time discipline, namely that scholars have misunderstood the meaning behind the shift away from "true time." Most studies of time discipline see the shift away from the sun as a fundamental moment in the history of clocks and time.⁹⁸ It was, indeed, of great import, but not because it represents a move away from the "natural," as some scholars have assumed. This position is problematic in two respects. First, historians of early modern science long ago dispensed with the boundary between natural and unnatural. Nature is *always* constructed.⁹⁹ Second, eighteenth-century practice itself undermined this distinction, as astronomers reckoned the time by measuring the earth's rotation with respect to a star. Having obtained the exact time, they passed it to the clock setter, who put it on display. Whatever else one may say about this system, it is hardly clear that observing the stars is less natural than observing the sun.

The natural-unnatural boundary obscures what really changed. By the end of the eighteenth century, the definition of time was not less natural but less accessible. Whereas the public had consulted the sun relatively easily, scientists consulted the stars with specialized knowledge and instruments.¹⁰⁰ In other words, changes in how knowledge about the world was produced, ratified, and distributed were reflected in the early modern time regime. We find ourselves, therefore, at what can be called a Foucauldian knowledge-discipline nexus, insofar as the state and science reshaped both the foundations of temporal knowledge and the discipline that went with it.¹⁰¹ Power and knowledge certainly redefined time in a way that led to human subjection to clocks. Nonetheless, a Foucauldian explanation also has limits here, because the shift to "mean time" amounted to the reversal of an *existing* discipline, not the creation of a wholly new and alien one, which Foucault's work on the seventeenth century presupposes.¹⁰² Moreover, to the extent that clocks exerted control over individual subjects, they did so at the request of the subjects themselves, and often *through* the new public sphere. Thus, at the very least, the public's expressed desire for better time implicates it in the modern subjection to clocks, in addition to exposing a less than emancipatory aspect of the eighteenth-century public sphere. The particular significance of this development for Prussia (and later Germany) lies in Berlin's status as a political and scientific center. When in the nineteenth century the new time was exported to other cities and towns—most of which would have had at least one public clock, as well as a host of clockwatchers—it made sense for locals to follow this standard carefully, because powerful political and scientific authorities

⁹⁸ See, for example, Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," 58–60.

⁹⁹ Lorraine Daston, "The Nature of Nature in Early Modern Europe," *Configurations* 6, no. 2 (1998): 154–156.

¹⁰⁰ On astronomical instruments, see J. A. Bennett, "The English Quadrant in Europe: Instruments and the Growth of Consensus in Practical Astronomy," *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 23 (1992): 1–14; and A. J. Turner, "The Observatory and the Quadrant in Eighteenth-Century Europe," *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 33 (2002): 373–385.

¹⁰¹ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*; and Michel Foucault, "Truth and Power," in Colin Gordon, ed., *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977* (New York, 1980), 109–133.

¹⁰² This is particularly the case in Foucault, *The Order of Things*.

stood behind it.¹⁰³ In the end, Prussia's factories and trains functioned with a discipline that had been created by daily life in the streets of the capital city.

BERLINERS BECAME SUBJECT TO MODERN TIME DISCIPLINE only after the state ratified astronomy's new temporal standard. The roots of this change extended back over a century and were spread widely. Berliners had been accumulating experience with clocks of all types since the second half of the seventeenth century. To this was added the diffusion of the pocket watch, the growing complexity of city life—including the construction of new urban spaces—the rise of institutional science, and the maturation of a critical public sphere. The key change within this fluid context came, however, with the installation of the Academy clock, because it focused the many aspects of the local time regime into a coherent set of practices. Karl Gutzkow characterized the end result this way:

The point Archimedes sought from which to move the earth lies for the Berliner between the Academy clock here and Petitpierre's barometer over there. "Give me a place to stand!" preach the devout . . . in St. Matthews Church and the Church of the Holy Trinity. Müller and Schulze have only one firm belief: that in the clock at the Berlin Academy.¹⁰⁴

Gutzkow may have been overstating the case by associating the Academy clock with a new worldview. Still, by connecting time discipline with science, he highlights for us the changes in knowledge and disciplining that produced the new time regime. After 1810, when Berliners consulted the clock, they did so without the standing required to critique its time; the people could obey the clock or ignore it, nothing more.

Berlin's experience is only one example of a European trend, as a variety of people across the Continent came to rely on astronomers for their time. Greenwich Mean Time (GMT), for example, derives its name from the Greenwich Observatory—now part of Greater London, though once outside the city—which was famous for the accuracy of its clocks as early as the seventeenth century. During the nineteenth century, GMT was first established as English time, before becoming the center of world time.¹⁰⁵ The Continent reveals similar processes, as early in the nineteenth century, Berlin, Paris, and Vienna all made time the province of astronomers. Paris offers a striking example of how astronomy became enmeshed with local temporal practices. Figure 7 shows a group of men checking the clock at the Paris Observatory on the rue Cassini.¹⁰⁶ Completed in 1672 on land south of the city, the Paris Observatory became one of the world's premier centers of astronomical research and

¹⁰³ The Prussian government played a significant role in distributing the new time standard through the promulgation of public edicts; see "Bekanntmachung des Königl. Ministeriums des Innern und der Polizei, die Stellung der Thurm-Uhren," in Karl A. von Kamptz, ed., *Annalen der preussischen inneren Staatsverwaltung*, 23 vols. (Berlin, 1825), 9: 415; and "Cirkular-Reskript des Königl. Ministeriums des Innern und der Polizei an sämmtliche Königl. Regierungen—ausschliesslich derjenigen der Provinz Westphalen—die gleichmässige Stellung der öffentlichen Uhren betreffend," *ibid.*, 17: 144–145. See also Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour*, 346.

¹⁰⁴ Gutzkow, *Aus der Knabenzeit*, 5–6.

¹⁰⁵ On the origins of GMT and the time zone system, see Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour*, 348–349.

¹⁰⁶ On the Paris Observatory's high profile in the seventeenth century, see Sobel, *Longitude*, 28–32.



Les horlogers de Paris prenant l'heure au régulateur de l'Observatoire

FIGURE 7: Parisian clockmakers check the time at the Paris Observatory. Reprinted with permission from Collection Musée du Temps, Besançon. Also available in Jean-Luc Mayaud, *Besançon horloger, 1793–1914* (Besançon, 1994), 83.

publication.¹⁰⁷ The clock itself (which is still there) is electric, and this dates the image to the second half of the nineteenth century. However, in spite of the different time and place, the behavior pattern depicted resembles Heine and Gutzkow's descriptions, as men with pocket watches in hand not only check the time publicly but also assume the same posture taken by Berlin's clockwatching men. Paris's nineteenth-century time discipline was therefore enacted in almost the same way that time discipline had been enacted earlier in Berlin: a masculine clockwatching public, pocket watches, and astronomical authority combined to anchor time-gathering in a specific place.

Much like the Berlin Academy clock, the Paris Observatory clock not only defined its own space but also shaped the practices that occurred within its sphere. Some subtle differences with respect to Berlin suggest, however, that astronomy and time-

¹⁰⁷ On the Paris Observatory, see Roger Hahn, *The Anatomy of a Scientific Institution: The Paris Academy of Sciences, 1666–1803* (Berkeley, Calif., 1971), 18–19. More broadly, see Michael Hoskin, ed., *The Cambridge Concise History of Astronomy* (Cambridge, 1999), 146; and Suzanne Débarbat and Curtis Wilson, "The Galilean Satellites of Jupiter from Galileo to Cassini, Römer and Bradley," in René Taton and Curtis Wilson, eds., *Planetary Astronomy from the Renaissance to the Rise of Astrophysics, Part A: Tycho Brahe to Newton* (Cambridge, 1989), 149–152. For examples of French influence in Germany, see Johann Leonhard Rost, *Astronomisches Handbuch: Worinnen des Herrn Cassini Tractat, Vom Ursprung/ Fortgang und Aufnehmen der Astronomie, und deren Nutzen/ in der Geographie und Schiffart . . .* (Nuremberg, 1718); Pierre Simon LaPlace, *Darstellung des Weltsystems*, trans. Johann Karl Friedrich Hauff, 2 vols. (Frankfurt am Main, 1797).

gathering had to combine in a way that suited the given city's spaces. Note that the caption identifies the observers as clockmakers (*horlogers*), not as members of the general public. These clockmakers presumably carried the time back to their shops, where they displayed it in their store windows for a local public who enjoyed viewing fine watches and checking the time while on promenade. (Artisan clockmakers were a very important part of Paris's economy in the mid-nineteenth century. As the industry prospered, it became normal for the middle classes to own clocks and watches.)¹⁰⁸ Here we reenter the realm of local knowledge, although from a different direction than before. Even if astronomers had become the final arbiters of the temporal standard, the standard still had to be applied to the city, and as a result, time rituals in Paris took on their own flavor, regardless of the deeper astronomical foundations of their time.

Taken together, Berlin and Paris's separate experiences with public clocks and astronomy underscore how modern time discipline emerged with a change in the direction of discipline. Only after people stopped disciplining clocks could clocks discipline people. This reversal was not a product of the rise of the modern factory system, but was inextricably linked to changes in how early modern Europeans produced and distributed knowledge about the world. As astronomers laid claim to specific knowledge, skills, and even whole institutions, they became arbiters of an exclusive standard that the public was left with no choice but to respect. It was, therefore, Europe's astronomers who ultimately transformed Herder's universe of infinite times into one mean time, with assists from a willing state apparatus and an exacting public. All of this leads to the conclusion that if we moderns must persist in holding someone responsible for our subjection to clock time, we may wish to blame the stargazers of the early modern world and the clockwatchers who made them indispensable.

¹⁰⁸ On clockmaking in Paris, see Johannes Willms, *Paris, Capital of Europe: From the Revolution to the Belle Époque*, trans. Eveline L. Kanes (New York, 1997), 283. Also see David Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), 271–273.

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AHR Forum
Entangled Empires in the Atlantic World

Introduction

Undoubtedly one of the most studied and fruitful subjects of historical inquiry in recent years has been the field of Atlantic history. With origins in the attempt to capture the transoceanic nature of the Anglo-American experience in the eighteenth century, it has yielded a remarkable body of work that spans everything from the study of migration and the slave trade to the transnational history of revolution and political thought. Its center of gravity, however, has largely been the North Atlantic, with most attention paid to the ties and transferences between Britain and North America. Clearly the Atlantic world extended well beyond these northern climes. Indeed, it is at least arguable that the commerce and competition in the Caribbean basin and the South Atlantic between France, Britain, and Spain, as well as the more general traffic between Europe, Latin America, and North America, constituted one of the period's liveliest and most contentious arenas.

This *AHR* Forum shifts our attention precisely in this more southerly direction. It also reminds us that the history of the Atlantic world is in large measure the history of empires and imperial aspirations. The three articles and comment offer us both close-up and panoramic views of the personal, diplomatic, and military entanglements that emerged as Spain, Britain, and France jockeyed for position in this Atlantic borderland. In "Politics of Colonial Sensation: The Trial of Thomas Picton and the Cause of Louisa Calderon," James Epstein examines a cause célèbre of the early years of the nineteenth century involving the trial of the British governor of Trinidad for ordering the torture of a free woman of color. The sensational and sordid nature of the accusation served to "bring home" the realities of empire to a British public normally shielded from the day-to-day violence it entailed. As Epstein notes, one element of the case related to the recent acquisition of Trinidad from Spain and the legacy of Spanish law that still prevailed, which created the unusual situation of an English court interpreting Spanish law. Picton was ultimately spared conviction, but the long trial had repercussions beyond the legal case, bringing the issues of colonialism, torture, sexuality, racism, violence, and slavery before a public increasingly susceptible to humanitarian sensibilities. In "The Western Question: The Geopolitics of Latin American Independence," Rafe Blaufarb provides a much broader view of the diplomatic and military history of the region, especially in the wake of the collapse of Spanish rule in the Americas. He argues, in fact, that the ensuing scramble to fill the vacuum of Spain's imperial decline gave rise to a "Western Question," comparable to the well-known "Eastern Question" raised in the wake of the dis-

integration of the Ottoman Empire. France, Britain, and the new American Republic all entered the fray, sometimes as direct diplomatic or military rivals, sometimes through proxies and freelance adventurers. He suggests that the movement for Latin American independence ought to be seen in the context of the larger geopolitical realignment in the post-Napoleonic world. In "Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery," Eliga Gould builds on Blau-farb's vision of imperial rivalry and conflict, but also argues that the methods of comparative history are not adequate to capture imperial relations within what he calls a "hemispheric system or community." Rather, he suggests that Britain and Spain were "entangled," calling attention to the interconnectedness of overlapping imperial concerns as well as populations. His article takes us much deeper into the continental history of both North and South America than either Epstein's or Blau-farb's. Indeed, a great part of his claim for entanglement of these powers has to do with their competing relations with subject peoples. Imperial contest routinely entailed striking up alliances with subject peoples formally under the authority of the rival power, especially Native Americans. But slaves and Indians also learned to exploit the overlapping or ambiguous jurisdictions separating British and Spanish claims to their advantage. Finally, in his comment "Entangled Histories: Borderland Historiographies in New Clothes?" Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra offers some reflections on the three articles and suggests additional ways we might imagine the complex imperial relations, especially between Britain and Spain, in this period.

Politics of Colonial Sensation: The Trial of
Thomas Picton and the Cause of Louisa Calderon

JAMES EPSTEIN

V. S. NAIPAUL'S BOOK *A WAY IN THE WORLD* (1994) is perhaps most strikingly about obsession—about historical figures obsessed by an idea: dreams of new worlds, the fulfillment of large schemes, and the universal failure of such visions. In his long chapter “In the Gulf of Desolation: An Unwritten Story,” Naipaul imagines the wasted year that the Venezuelan revolutionary Francisco Miranda spent on the island of Trinidad in 1806, marooned after an abortive insurrection across the gulf on the mainland. Nine years before Miranda's arrival in Port of Spain, Trinidad was part of the Spanish empire, but now it is British. The island is dominated by plantations: “no place for a metropolitan man like Miranda,” writes Naipaul.¹

And yet his work turns on the often hidden or forgotten exchanges between metropolitan spaces of empire and subjugated spaces of colonization. At Port of Spain, Miranda is met by General Thomas Hislop, the British governor. “Hislop is a man of jangled nerves,” Naipaul tells readers. And for good reason. The brutal repression of incipient slave revolt—“the hangings and the mutilations”—has raised legal questions back in London. Much of the chapter centers on imagined conversations between Miranda and Hislop. Hislop is deeply troubled by uncertainties, by the shaky foundations of Britain's Trinidad regime and his responsibility for actions, inhumane and possibly illegal, taken to maintain order. Most particularly, he is anxious about the investigation of General Thomas Picton, the island's first British governor, and by Picton's conviction in the court of King's Bench. “Strange,” Hislop observes, “that all the bigger charges of hanging and theft should have been thrown out, and this

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¹ V. S. Naipaul, *A Way in the World* (1994; repr., London, 1995), 239–240.

case of petty theft should have brought Picton down. Signing the order that the very respectable magistrate brought him for the torture of the young mulatto girl.”²

In fact, this glancing reference to an anonymous “young mulatto girl” marks a return, a reworking of themes and characters that Naipaul introduced twenty-five years earlier in *The Loss of El Dorado: A History* (1969). As he notes, his earlier book “is made up of two forgotten stories,” two moments when his native Trinidad “was touched by ‘history’” or was brought within European historical consciousness.³ The first story marks the final chapter in the search for El Dorado with Sir Walter Raleigh’s return to Trinidad in 1617; the second is that of Louisa Calderon, the young mulatto girl whose torture brought Governor Picton to trial and whose case became a *cause célèbre*. Calderon now appears at the fringes of British history, given a walk-on part in histories of Trinidad.⁴ Picton is generally remembered not as a colonial governor but for his role in the Peninsular Campaign and as the highest-ranking officer killed at the Battle of Waterloo; his portrait hangs in the National Portrait Gallery, and his heroic death is commemorated by a statue erected in St. Paul’s Cathedral.⁵

In his Nobel Prize lecture for 2001, Naipaul describes growing up without a sense of his own family’s historical past: “All children, I suppose, come into the world like that, not knowing who they are. But for the French child, say, that knowledge is waiting. That knowledge will be all around them . . . In Trinidad, bright boy though I was, I was surrounded by areas of darkness.” Those “areas of darkness . . . became my subjects,” writes Naipaul, and that darkness sent him “to the documents in the British Museum and elsewhere, to get the true feel of the history of the colony.”⁶ The “postcolonial” moment has been one of recovery, as well as one for redrawing boundaries and identities. The blurring of cultural and spatial boundaries has led historians, as well as novelists and other writers, to rethink our own work, sending us back to the archives to get “the true feel,” or at least a new sense, of history. As Antoinette Burton explains, “the imperial turn” “is not a turn toward empire so much

² Ibid., 249, 287.

³ V. S. Naipaul, *The Loss of El Dorado: A History* (1969; repr., London, 1973), 13–14, 17.

⁴ Louisa Calderon (I have used the English spelling throughout, except in quotations, where spellings are as in the original) is mentioned in standard works on Trinidad. See E. L. Joseph, *History of Trinidad* (Trinidad, 1838), 210, 222; Lionel Mordaunt Fraser, *History of Trinidad*, 2 vols. (Port of Spain, 1891, 1896), 1: chaps. 15–17; Bridget Brereton, *A History of Modern Trinidad, 1783–1962* (Port of Spain, 1981), 40. Selwyn R. Cudjoe, *Beyond, Boundaries: The Intellectual Tradition of Trinidad and Tobago in the Nineteenth Century* (Wellesley, Mass., 2003), 11–21, considers Calderon’s story within Trinidad’s literary tradition.

⁵ H. B. Robinson, *Memoirs of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton*, 2 vols. (London, 1835); Robert Havard, *Wellington’s Welsh General: A Life of Sir Thomas Picton* (London, 1996). The best account of his role in Trinidad is James Millette, *Society and Politics in Colonial Trinidad* (Port of Spain, 1981), pt. 2. The National Museum of Trinidad and Tobago features a small case and panel dedicated to Picton, noting, “His reign is usually described as one of terror,” and also displaying a copy of his trial opened to the frontispiece featuring an illustration of Calderon’s torture.

⁶ V. S. Naipaul, “Two Worlds,” The Nobel Foundation, <http://www.nobel.se/literature/laureates/2001/naipaul-lecture>, reprinted in V. S. Naipaul, *Literary Occasions: Essays*, ed. Pankaj Mishra (New York, 2003), 190–191. Naipaul is himself a difficult writer to place. A Trinidadian of Indian descent, living and writing in England, he is an outsider whose work quickly entered the “English” literary canon. His historical position is also one that straddles the eras of late colonialism and decolonization. See, in particular, Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago, 1992), chap. 7, “Naipaul’s Arrival.”

as a *critical return* to the connections between metropole and colony, race and nation," signaling both the "inadequacy" and the "indispensability" of the nation.⁷

Thus on returning to the case of Picton and the cause of Calderon, we are confronted with new historical questions and concerns. Indeed, those of us who work on early-nineteenth-century British political trials have probably brushed past Picton's case countless times, ignoring legal proceedings that fill almost an entire volume of *State Trials*. In my own case, reading *A Way in the World* and then teaching it to undergraduates occasioned a trip to the archives, initially to read the trial text. Whatever separates the novelist and the historian, we share the storyteller's craft. But as historians, our purpose goes beyond retelling, or speaking through the documents themselves.⁸ We are after the conditions of the story's telling, its fashioning, circulation, and entangling with other stories and texts; we want to learn how the story worked more deeply on contemporary sensibilities.⁹ And if its absence from Britain's historical narrative is emblematic of the recording of that history, the brief sensation created by Picton's trial also reveals pertinent truths. In current debates over how aware or oblivious ordinary British people were about their empire, it is worth remarking on the recurrent scandal of empire as a critical way in which empire returned "home."¹⁰ Although distorting in its overwrought emphasis on the singularity of abuse, colonial scandal could unsettle distinctions thought to set Britain off from less civilized spaces, underscoring the disjunction between a national self-image of humane governance and the realities of colonial rule. As such, Calderon's cause represents but one episode in the long and occasional history of colonial sensation, one fragmentary vision of inhumanity.¹¹ The case, and its broader context, reminds us (if we need reminding) of the violence of empire and of the asymmetrical ordering of exchanges between metropole and colony.¹² Simultaneously, this particular "ex-

⁷ Antoinette Burton, "Introduction: On the Inadequacy and Indispensability of the Nation," in Burton, ed., *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation* (Durham, N.C., 2003), 2. Also see Kathleen Wilson, "Introduction," in Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2003), and "Introduction: Histories, Empires, Modernities," in Wilson, ed., *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660–1840* (Cambridge, 2004); Gyan Prakash, "Introduction: After Colonialism," in Prakash, ed., *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements* (Princeton, N.J., 1995).

⁸ Naipaul explains that in *The Loss of El Dorado* his narrative is "structured mainly from documents . . . Dialogue occurs as dialogue in the sources." Joan Dayan, "Gothic Naipaul," *Transition* 59 (1993): 158–170, comments on how Naipaul "reproduces the very mixtures found in his historical sources."

⁹ Cf. Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, Calif., 1987); John Brewer, *A Sentimental Murder: Love and Madness in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 2004). Also see Karen Halttunen, "Cultural History and the Challenge of Narrativity," in Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt, eds., *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999), 165–181; and Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago, 2000), chap. 1, for thoughts on what might separate the literary text and interpretation from what they term "ethnographic realism."

¹⁰ Bernard Porter, "Empire, What Empire? Or, Why 80% of Early and Mid-Victorians Were Deliberately Kept in Ignorance of It," *Victorian Studies* 46, no. 2 (2004): 256–263; Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford, 2004). Cf. Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose, "Introduction: Being at Home with the Empire," in Hall and Rose, eds., *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, 2006), 1–31.

¹¹ For the most sustained and important of colonial scandals, see Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006), on the trial of Warren Hastings and its long-term consequences for reshaping British rule in India.

¹² On the inherent violence of colonial rule, see, for example, Christopher Tomlins, "Law's Wilderness: The Discourse of English Colonizing, the Violence of Intrusion, and the Failures of American History," in John Smolenski and Thomas J. Humphrey, eds., *New World Orders: Violence, Sanction, and*

change” underscores the uncertainties of British rule in the Caribbean and metropolitan anxieties about the exercise of that rule.¹³ Publicity produced by Picton’s trial for torturing Louisa Calderon exhibited colonial injustice for a domestic public shielded from the casual, day-to-day violence of empire.¹⁴ If, as Partha Chatterjee observes, metropolitan power was founded on “a rule of colonial difference,” the rule of difference often proved unstable; the separation between “home” and “away,” and the hierarchy of categories on which difference was based, refused to hold firm.¹⁵ The sensation surrounding Picton’s rule illuminates most forcefully the discordant tangling of cultural idioms, juxtaposing conflicting versions of law, rights, and authority that challenged the maintenance and full recovery of critical markers of difference.

THREE BACKGROUND POINTS NEED TO BE MADE. First, the West Indies were of crucial financial and military importance to Britain and France.¹⁶ The scale of economic commitment was staggering.¹⁷ The West Indies dominated British long-distance trade; an eighth of all British seamen were involved in this trade.¹⁸ It followed that the Caribbean was an endemic and deadly zone of war and plunder.¹⁹ Second, not only were the West Indies the biggest depository of British and French investment overseas, they were also the most vulnerable. A small number of whites—the Privy Council in 1789 reported 50,000 in all the British islands—lived alongside more than 10,000 free men and women of color and nearly a half-million slaves.²⁰ This vul-

Authority in the Colonial Americas (Philadelphia, 2005), 21–46; and Richard Price, “Dialogical Encounters in a Space of Death,” *ibid.*, 47–65.

¹³ On this theme, see Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, “Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda,” in Stoler and Cooper, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 1–56. Cf. Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600–1850* (London, 2002).

¹⁴ See Anupama Rao and Steven Pierce, “Discipline and the Other Body: Humanitarianism, Violence, and Colonial Exception,” in Pierce and Rao, eds., *Discipline and the Other Body: Correction, Corporeality, Colonialism* (Durham, N.C., 2006), particularly 19–23; Richard Price, “One Big Thing: Britain, Its Empire, and Their Imperial Culture,” *Journal of British Studies* 45, no. 3 (2006): 602–627, particularly 622, 626–627.

¹⁵ Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Post-Colonial Studies* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 10.

¹⁶ This paragraph draws on Michael Duffy, *Soldiers, Sugar, and Seapower: The British Expeditions to the West Indies and War against Revolutionary France* (Oxford, 1987), chap. 1. Also see Duffy, “War, Revolution and Crisis in the British Empire,” in Mark Philp, ed., *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics* (Cambridge, 1991), 118–145.

¹⁷ Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of British Colonies in the West Indies*, 5 vols. (London, 1819), 2: 287–289, estimated the costs of establishing a sugar plantation at no less than £30,000, which thus far outstripped those of setting up a Lancashire cotton factory.

¹⁸ William Young, *The West-India Common-Place Book: Compiled from Parliamentary Official Documents . . .* (London, 1807), 85, for the number of seamen; Phyllis Deane and W. A. Cole, *British Economic Growth, 1688–1959: Trends and Structure* (Cambridge, 1962), Table 22, 87; Jacob M. Price, “The Imperial Economy,” in P. J. Marshall, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 2: *The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1998), 81, 101.

¹⁹ Young, *West-India Common-Place Book*, 218–223; Duffy, *Soldiers, Sugar, and Seapower*, 106–114, chap. 14; David Patrick Geggus, “The Cost of Pitt’s Caribbean Campaigns, 1793–1798,” *Historical Journal* 26, no. 3 (1983): 699–706; Geggus, *Slavery, War, and Revolution: The British Occupation of Saint Domingue, 1793–1798* (Oxford, 1982), chap. 13. Half the British soldiers in the Caribbean in the 1790s died (mainly from disease)—a total of more than 45,000.

²⁰ *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, cited in Duffy, *Soldiers, Sugar, and Seapower*, 18. Cf. J. R.

nerability was exacerbated by war and revolution; the French Revolution's universalist message of *liberté* combined with indigenous forces of resistance among slaves, free people of color, and creole Europeans as rebellion swept the Caribbean.²¹ Third, Trinidad was something of a special case. The island's plantation economy and the large-scale importation of African slaves were very recent, connected predominantly with newly arrived sugar planters who moved from neighboring French islands following the *cédula* of 1783, which reversed Spain's policy of exclusion and opened the island to foreign settlement. Previously a Spanish backwater, Trinidad overnight became an open frontier. Between 1784 and 1797, the slave population rose from just under 2,500 to just over 10,000. There was also a relatively large population of free persons of color (4,476), who outnumbered whites.²² The British seized Trinidad in 1797, but only after the Peace of Amiens (1802) was it ceded to Britain. For the British government, Trinidad held strategic military importance, and it also offered the prospect of opening trade with the Spanish main. For British abolitionists, in retreat following the Haitian and French revolutions, Trinidad posed a crucial test for halting the spread of slavery.²³

In 1797, following the conquest of the island, General Ralph Abercromby placed Colonel Picton in charge of Trinidad along with a relatively small military force; he was appointed governor in September 1801 and promoted to the rank of brigadier general. Picton and his subordinates operated within the context of a lawless frontier thrown into further confusion by war, revolution, and the uncertain fate of the island. Among the uncertainties loomed the question of what constitutional or legal guarantees pertained to inhabitants in a territory newly seized by British forces. On his assumption of power, Picton was advised by Christóbal de Robles, a large-scale planter with long experience, that the circumstances of the conquest had "virtually combined in you the whole power of the government," leaving him unshackled "by forms or modes of prosecution." Picton took this advice to heart, later citing it in defense of his conduct.²⁴ This was the background against which he was eventually brought to trial.

Ward, "The British West Indies in the Age of Abolition, 1748–1815," in Marshall, *The Eighteenth Century*, 432–433. By 1810, the number of slaves totaled around 750,000.

²¹ See Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* (London, 1988), particularly chaps. 5 and 6; Laurent Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004); Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004); C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1963); Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982), particularly pt. 4; David Barry Gaspar and David Patrick Geggus, eds., *A Turbulent Time: The French Revolution and the Greater Caribbean* (Bloomington, Ind., 1997); Geggus, ed., *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Columbia, S.C., 2001).

²² Fraser, *History of Trinidad*, 1: 288–289; Millette, *Society and Politics*, 15–19. For Trinidad's high proportion of African-born slaves, see B. W. Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807–1834* (Baltimore, Md., 1984), 122–127.

²³ See *Parliamentary History of England*, 36 vols. (London, 1820), 36: May 2, 1802, cols. 864–866, for George Canning's speech. He estimated that one million new slaves would be required in order for Trinidad to be cleared and cultivated to the same level as Jamaica. Also see James Stephen, *The Crisis of the Sugar Colonies . . . to which are subjoined Sketches of a Plan for Settling the Vacant Lands of Trinidad* (London, 1802), 151–197; Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760–1810* (London, 1975), 332–342; David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York, 1987), 5, 10–11.

²⁴ Robinson, *Memoirs*, 2: 54–57.

TWO DAYS AFTER THE FUNERAL OF WILLIAM PITT, on February 24, 1806, Picton's case came before Chief Justice Lord Ellenborough and a special jury in the court of King's Bench. Picton was indicted for a misdemeanor, "in causing the Torture to be inflicted upon Luisa Calderon, a free Mulata," in 1801.²⁵ The case had first appeared before King's Bench two years earlier, in 1804, but had been sent on mandamus to Port of Spain for further information.²⁶ However, the case has a complicated history; the trial was itself a residue of a larger cause, one element in a multilayered legal proceeding. The case behind the case—the real case, as it were—involved twenty-nine counts of death "unlawfully inflicted," brought under a Henrician statute (33 H VIII, c. 23) designed to try persons for either treason or murder committed outside the realm.²⁷ In November 1803, Picton had been taken into state custody in order to face charges set before the Privy Council.²⁸ Calderon's case was quickly separated from the principal charges of murder and was directly brought to King's Bench for trial. Among other crimes that remained under investigation, Picton was accused of having burned alive, decapitated, and brutally executed slaves suspected of practicing the black arts, necromancy, and casting spells, results of the so-called "poisoning" commission appointed by Picton around the same time that Calderon was arrested. Most serious, at least for the privy councillors, was the charge that he had hanged without court-martial a young artillery soldier, Hugh Gallagher, accused of having raped and robbed a free woman of color.²⁹ Pursued under three different administrations, the case in Privy Council dragged on from December 1803 to January 1807, when Picton was finally released from all charges and from his enormous bail of £40,000.³⁰

Picton's case was, in fact, part of a wider conflict over the future of British colonial rule in the Caribbean. A fellow colonial administrator, Colonel William Fullarton, initiated the proceedings against Picton. In summer 1802, the administration of Henry Addington had removed Picton as governor of Trinidad and replaced him with a three-man commission headed by Fullarton, with Picton retained as second commissioner and Commodore Samuel Hood appointed as third commissioner. Fullarton and Picton soon clashed bitterly over matters of colonial administration, policy, and personal style. Picton was a strong proponent of developing Trinidad's plantation economy; his own speculations in land and slaves amounted to a small for-

²⁵ Picton was charged under 42 G III, c. 58, the Criminal Justice Act, which modified the earlier Act 11 & 12 Wm 3, c. 12, providing that any person in His Majesty's service abroad who commits an offense in exercise of his official duties may be tried in England. Picton was the first colonial official tried under the revised and seldom-used statute. See Kenneth Roberts-Wray, *Commonwealth and Colonial Law* (New York, 1966), 312–313.

²⁶ A writ of mandamus is an order, most often pertaining to an infringement of a public right or duty, directing an inferior court to do something beyond the ordinary course of legal action.

²⁷ *The Statutes of the Realm*, 11 vols. (London, 1797), 3: 340.

²⁸ In such cases, the Privy Council acted solely as an investigative body, with power to inquire into offenses against the government and to commit offenders for trial in some other court of law. See William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 4 vols. (1765–1769; repr., Chicago, 1979), 1: 228–232.

²⁹ Three other soldiers involved (all Irishmen, and none of whom survived to give evidence) did face court-martial proceedings. National Archive, Public Records Office, Kew [hereafter PRO], Privy Council [hereafter PC] 1/3557, bundle 1, "Proceedings of a Garrison Court Martial," May 29, 1797. To understand the danger of Picton's situation, we must note the case of Joseph Wall, the former governor of the West African slave-trading base of Goree. Found guilty at King's Bench the previous year under the same sixteenth-century statute for having flogged a soldier to death without a court-martial, Wall was executed in the yard at Newgate Prison before an estimated 60,000 spectators.

³⁰ The Privy Council proceedings left a huge cache of documents at PRO, PC 1/3557.

tune.³¹ In this he was out of step with British government plans for Trinidad. Lord Hobart, secretary for war and the colonies, who was connected to Fullarton through former service in India, turned to the colonel as an agent of reform. Fullarton's concept of imperial responsibility had been forged at an earlier moment of imperial crisis; he had served as a military commander during the Second Mysore War, as an opponent of Warren Hastings and a friend of Edmund Burke.³² Whereas Picton was a Welshman who had begun his military career at age thirteen, Fullarton was a product of the Scottish Enlightenment. Following his studies at Edinburgh University, he served as secretary to the British embassy in Paris; at age twenty-six, he entered Parliament; and as a fellow of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh, he authored works on agricultural improvement in Scotland and military reform in India.³³ The conflict between Picton and Fullarton, and among their supporters, produced a minor pamphlet war, along with a series of libel cases. Although Privy Council's hearings were held in camera, Fullarton ensured that documents presented at Whitehall found their way into print.³⁴ The chaos of the Caribbean, and rivalries born there, spread to the imperial core.

This returns us to King's Bench.³⁵ On the day of the trial, the court was reported to have been "extremely crowded, among whom were a number of ladies"; the proceedings lasted from 9 A.M. to just after 7 P.M.³⁶ The trial was notable for several reasons. First, since Picton was never brought to court on the more serious charges, the trial acquired significance as the occasion for bringing him to justice, opening

³¹ British Library, Add. Mss. 36,870, Picton's letter book, Picton to Henry Dundas (secretary for war), May 14, 1799, and July 30, 1799; PRO, War Office, 1/92, Picton to Hobart, June 28, 1801, fol. 248. For his speculations, see the correspondence between Picton and General Frederick Maitland, National Army Museum, London, Maitland Papers, microfilm copy, December 25 and 26, 1801, January 11, 1802, February 29, 1802. Picton claimed that his investments were worth between £80,000 and £100,000.

³² Following his return from India, he had joined Burke in dramatic pursuit of Warren Hastings and his associates. See *Parliamentary History* 27: May 9, 1788, cols. 465–485, for Fullarton's impassioned call for impeaching Sir Elijah Impey, former chief justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta.

³³ See Michael Fry's entry for Fullarton in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 61 vols. (Oxford, 2004), 21: 134–136; William Fullarton, *A View of the English Interests in India; and an account of the military operations in the Southern Part of the Peninsula during the campaigns of 1782, 1783, and 1784* (London, 1787); Fullarton, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Ayr, with Observations of the Means for Its Improvement* (Edinburgh, 1793); Fullarton, *A Letter Addressed to the Right Hon. Lord Carrington, President of the Board of Agriculture* (London, 1801).

³⁴ See William Fullarton, *A Statement, Letters, and Documents, Respecting the Affairs of Trinidad* (London, 1804).

³⁵ As well as full press coverage, we have at least four contemporary accounts of the trial published as pamphlets. I have generally relied on the version of the trial published in William Cobbett and T. B. Howell, eds., *A Complete Collection of State Trials*, 30 vols. (1816–1822), 30: "Proceedings before the King's Bench, in the Case of Thomas Picton, Esq. . . . 1804–1812," cols. 226–960. I have supplemented my account at several points with details from other trial accounts. *State Trials* relies heavily on the most complete contemporary trial text, *The Trial of Governor T. Picton, for Inflicting the Torture on Louisa Calderon*, published by B. Crosby (London, 1806). See PRO, PC 1/4188, letter from Lewis Flanagan, October 28, 1820, and PC 1/4210, George Chetwynd to James Buller, November 17, 1821, requesting government documents for the editors of *State Trials*. In addition to various pamphlet editions and press coverage of the trial, there is a pamphlet edition of the mandamus proceedings at Port of Spain in 1805, and manuscript records pertaining to these proceedings in PRO, King's Bench 33/10/1.

³⁶ [P. F. McCallum], *Trial of Thomas Picton . . . Late Governor of the Island of Trinidad for Torturing Louisa Calderon, in the Court of King's Bench, Westminster-Hall, before Lord Ellenborough, and a Special Jury, on Monday, Feb. 24, 1806, Taken in Short-hand by Pierre F. McCallum, Esq.* (London, 1806), 31; *Edinburgh Advertiser*, February 26, 1806, 133. Most newspaper reports note the importance of the trial. See *Times*, February 25, 1806, 3–4; *Morning Chronicle*, February 25, 1806, 3; *St. James Chronicle*, February 25–27, 1806, 2; *Courier*, February 25 and 26, 1806, 3, 4; *Annual Register*, 1806, 375–383.

the broader issues of the case to full public review. As noted in the press, the case against Picton was "one of the most important to our national character and honour which has occurred for a vast number of years."³⁷ Second, Picton was found guilty, although he was never sentenced. Third, the importance of the case was signaled by the role of William Garrow, a barrister renowned for his courtroom skills, who led the prosecution.³⁸ The prosecution was officially brought and financed by the government, although Fullarton worked behind the scenes, securing witnesses from Trinidad. Fourth, the case raised questions about whether Spanish or British law pertained following the British conquest of Trinidad. And if, indeed, Spanish law was appropriate, did the legal code sanction torture, and under what specific conditions? Finally, the case posed intriguing questions about relations of gender, sexuality, race, and the uncertainties of colonial rule.

So what was the case against Picton? Garrow opened by expressing his outrage that Picton, in his role as "representative of our sovereign, and governor of one of our colonial dependencies," and thus "bound to protect his fellow-subjects . . . has disgraced the country to which he was born." "British character" had been "stained" by the infliction of the cruelties of torture. Garrow maintained that after the British conquest, Spanish laws were to be continued, but these laws were "most cruelly perverted to gratify the savage tyrannical disposition to oppress his Majesty's subjects."³⁹ Against Picton's perversion of British character, Garrow carefully introduced the character of Louisa Calderon. At the tender age of ten or eleven, she had been "seduced" by Pedro Ruiz "to live with him as his mistress." Garrow explained to the court that although such conduct "may to us in this country appear singular . . . yet in that hot climate where the puberty of females is much accelerated, it is common for them to become mothers frequently at the age of twelve; at that early period they either marry, or enter into a state of concubinage." While living with Ruiz, Calderon "was engaged in an intrigue" with one Pedro Gonzalez. She provided Gonzalez access to Ruiz's house, allowing him to rob Ruiz of a substantial amount of cash.⁴⁰ Both Gonzalez and Calderon were taken into custody. Under questioning, she refused to implicate Gonzalez in the robbery, and at the request of the interrogating alcalde or magistrate, Saint Hilaire Begorrat, Picton personally signed the infamous order, "*Inflict the torture upon Luisa Calderon.*"⁴¹ She was first brought to the room of torture, and shown two or three female slaves who "were to undergo the same severities, on a charge of sorcery and witchcraft." "Here then," Garrow continued, "we behold a British governor for the first time introducing torture into a British settlement, as a punishment for sorcery and witchcraft, and as a means of extorting [a] confession from a person under accusation." Despite this demonstra-

³⁷ *Daily Advertiser and Oracle*, December 26, 1803, 2.

³⁸ Garrow took over the case from Thomas Erskine when Erskine was appointed lord chancellor. For Garrow, see J. M. Beattie, "Scales of Justice: Defense Counsel and the English Criminal Trial in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Law and History Review* 9, no. 2 (1991): 221–267, particularly 236–247.

³⁹ [McCallum], *Trial of Picton . . . Late Governor*, 14.

⁴⁰ According to Picton, Ruiz was robbed of his life savings in the amount of £500. William Fullarton, *A Refutation of the Pamphlet which Colonel Picton lately Addressed to Lord Hobart* (London, 1805), 27, refers to Ruiz as "an agent of Colonel Picton's."

⁴¹ Begorrat, whose family came to Trinidad from Martinique, was among the island's largest and most influential planters; he also played a prominent role in the "trial" of slaves accused of poisoning.

tion, Calderon persisted in declaring her innocence, at which point the punishment was applied. The mode of torture was “piqueting.” The victim was tied by one wrist to a scaffold, her other wrist was tied to her ankle, and she was then lowered by means of a pulley onto a wooden spike, the full weight of her body resting on her naked foot. (See Figure 1.) The punishment lasted for fifty-three to fifty-four minutes, timed by Begorrat’s watch. According to Garrow, this was done “not from any fear that she might suffer too much, but because there was some notion of a supposed law, that the torture could not be inflicted for more than an hour.” Calderon confessed, but her confession was deemed incomplete: she gave up Gonzalez but claimed not to know where the money was hidden. The next day the torture was repeated for twenty-four minutes.⁴²

“Piqueting” was a British military punishment, but Garrow claimed that it would be a libel upon the military punishment to call the torture inflicted on Calderon by the same name; rather, the practice should be designated “Pictoning,” “that it may be described by the most horrid name by which it can be known, and be shunned as a disgrace to human nature.” Against such barbarous practice stood the real character of British law and history. Garrow skillfully played on the image of the common law’s superiority over Continental systems of justice. What was Picton’s rightful duty? Garrow answered that it was to have “impressed upon the minds of the people of this new colony, a conviction of the perfect security they would acquire, of the abundant advantages they would derive from the mild, benign, and equitable spirit of British jurisprudence.” He cited Blackstone’s *Commentaries* to show that judicial torture—the administration of physical pain to elicit proof of a criminal act—was unknown to English law. Garrow promised to present the victim of Picton’s cruelty to the jury.⁴³

Louisa, now aged around sixteen, was the star witness. In a typical newspaper report, the *Sun* found that “Her appearance was extremely interesting, and her countenance, which was that of a Mulatto, extremely pre-possessing and agreeable.” Other reports added that she was “dressed in white, with a turban tied on in the *costume* of the country. Her person was slender and graceful.”⁴⁴ Her testimony required two interpreters, one for Spanish and one for “the Creole corruptions.” Garrow took her through the details of the case.⁴⁵ She was unable to say in what year, 1799 or 1800, she went to live with Ruiz, replying that she was “not used to distinguish the years in this way.”⁴⁶ She described her arrest and the circumstances of her torture. She was told that if she did not confess who had taken Ruiz’s money, “the hangman Ludovigo was to put his hand upon me.” She named the men present at her torture, including Begorrat, who interrogated her; Jean Baptiste Vallot, the jail-keeper, and “his negro hangman,” who administered the torture; and two lesser officials. Asked to give an account of her torture, “she accompanied her explanation

⁴² *State Trials*, 30: cols. 451–454.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, cols. 453–456; Blackstone, *Commentaries*, 4: 320–321. See more generally John H. Langbein, *Torture and the Law of Proof: Europe and England in the Ancien Régime* (Chicago, 1977).

⁴⁴ *Sun*, February 25, 1806, 3; *Morning Chronicle*, February 25, 1806, 3, describes her as “genteelly dressed in white”; *Inhuman Torture!! Fairburn Edition of the Trial of Thomas Picton . . . for Torturing Louisa Calderon in the Island of Trinidad* (n.p., n.d., but probably London, 1806), 8; William Jackson, *New and Complete Newgate Calendar; or, Malefactor’s University Register*, 8 vols. (London, 1818), 7: 313.

⁴⁵ *State Trials*, 30: cols. 456–460, for Calderon’s testimony.

⁴⁶ *Trial of Governor T. Picton*, 13.

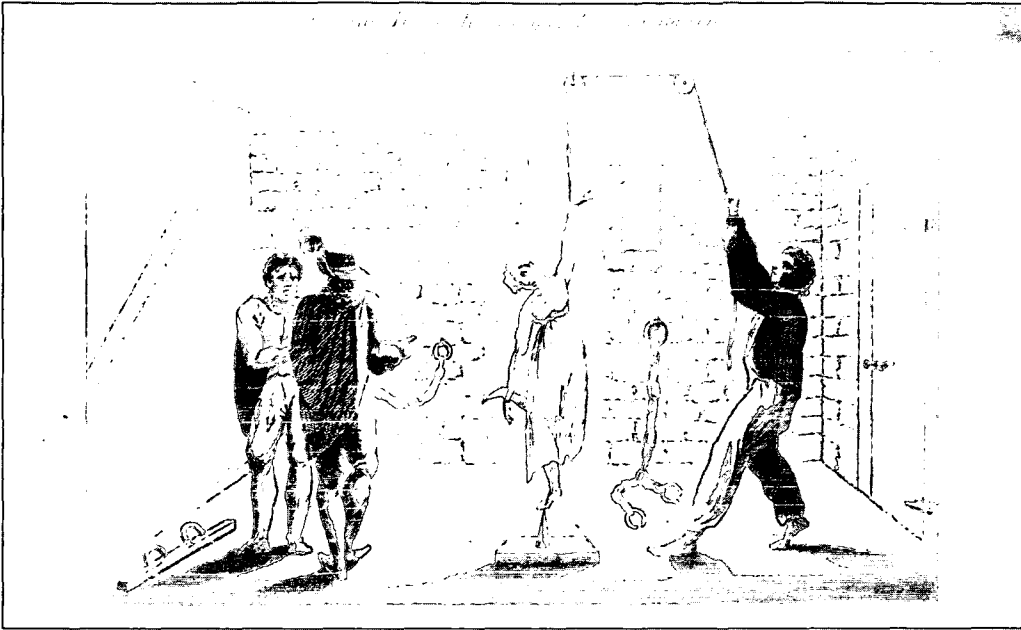


FIGURE 1: Louisa Calderon on the piquet. From *The Trial of Governor T. Picton for Inflicting the Torture on Louisa Calderon* (London, 1806). Courtesy Rare Book Collection, Lillian Goldman Law Library, Yale Law School.

by placing herself in the attitude she so described,” demonstrating how she was bound by the wrist to the pulley (“the left-hand, raising her”), with her right hand tied to her left ankle and her right foot lowered onto the spike. Garrow next showed her “a drawing in water colours . . . representing in striking manner her situation with the executioner and his attendants during the application of the torture.”⁴⁷ She confirmed that it was an accurate representation. Turning to Ellenborough, Garrow remarked that he wished his lordship’s position could have allowed him to see “the involuntary expression of the sensations of the witness upon looking at the drawing.” However, Ellenborough strongly objected to “exhibiting drawings of this nature before the jury.” He allowed it to be shown only with the consent of Robert Dallas, the lead defense counsel, instructing the jury that “nobody wishes that any improper impression should be made by the drawing.” Calderon told the court that she had twice fainted on the piquet: “I was totally insensible.”⁴⁸ Vallot had applied vinegar to her nostrils to revive her. Suffering from excruciating pain in her side and wrist and from a badly swollen foot, she was placed in irons (the “grillos”) in a crouching position between sessions. She remained imprisoned for eight months without a trial, only to be released just before Fullarton’s arrival and his discovery of the inhumane prison conditions. At the conclusion of her testimony, she exhibited the permanent marks of her torture in the form of “a seam or callus formed on both wrists.”⁴⁹

After presenting two witnesses from Port of Spain, Raphael Chando (an *alguacil* or constable) and Juan Montes (a military assistant to British engineers surveying

⁴⁷ Ibid., 15–16.

⁴⁸ [McCallum], *Trial of Picton . . . Late Governor*, 20.

⁴⁹ *Trial of Governor T. Picton*, 18, 21.

the island), to confirm the details of Calderon's account of her torture and imprisonment, Garrow concluded the prosecution's presentation of evidence. Dallas opened the defense by noting that the case was not merely "novel and extraordinary," but of the greatest importance to Picton and the public at large. In judging Picton's conduct, Dallas argued, the jury must contemplate the difference between Britain and the West Indies. Britain was a country whose law had truly been called "the perfection of reason," characterized by "mildness and humanity"; the West Indies were remote, "in a distant clime and in a different circumstance," where "a system diametrically opposite" to that of Britain might prove "absolutely necessary." Louisa was re-described as "living as a domestic in the house of Ruiz and living in a state of prostitution with him," while "indulging herself in a criminal intercourse" with Gonzalez. Dallas reminded the court that even according to the "mild and merciful law of this country," she would have met her end on the gallows; "for . . . if a domestic servant becomes a party to a robbery of this description . . . the law is invariably suffered to take its course, and the crime is expiated by an ignominious death."⁵⁰

The facts were not in dispute: Picton had introduced the piquet to Trinidad—first to the barracks yard to discipline soldiers, and two years later to the prison chamber to torture slaves—and he had ordered Calderon's torture. Dallas stressed, however, that Begorrat had asked Picton to sign the order only after all other means had been resorted to. As it was established that Spanish law was to be continued under British rule, Picton's case rested on proving that Spanish law sanctioned judicial torture, and that in applying this law he had acted without malice. Dallas pressed the distinction between Britain and Trinidad: "You, gentlemen, well know, that no two systems of jurisprudence can be more opposite, than the law of our West Indian colonies and that of the mother country." He offered the following example: Suppose that a gentleman who had held magisterial authority for many years on the island of St. Vincent returned to England and was taken into custody on charges brought by a witness who appeared in court "horribly maimed and disfigured with his nose slit and his right hand amputated," and testified that his injuries had been inflicted by the defendant as punishment for his having resisted a constable "who was taking him to be flogged for having lifted his hand against some cruel task-master." Suppose that instead of being maimed, the person had been publicly executed, Dallas continued. "Would not every Briton, possessing feelings and principles founded upon the law of his country, hearing that a punishment of death had been inflicted upon a man for raising his hand against a constable, instantly and emphatically exclaim, 'The man who hath done this thing shall surely die!'" But when the defendant pointed to the law in St. Vincent, stating that a slave who resisted a constable was liable to the death penalty, the judge would immediately direct an acquittal. "What is this?" Dallas asked. "Not the law of Spain, but the law of an English colony, and which was passed in that colony, upon a petition to his majesty at home."⁵¹

At issue was the Spanish law as it was to be administered in Trinidad; a British court was required to interpret Spanish legal practice. Dallas described the island as a site of social chaos, explaining that it had become a receptacle for every de-

⁵⁰ *State Trials*, 30: cols. 467–470.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, cols. 467–475.

scription of undesirable and dangerous refugee from other islands.⁵² Picton was “no civilian”; a rough man of war, he had been entrusted with maintaining order amid colonial chaos. As for the form of torture itself, Dallas sought to counter the image of inhumane practice, and Garrow’s “theatrical exhibition” of this practice. The mode of punishment inflicted on Calderon was exactly as described in “any Dictionary of Arts and Sciences” under the term “piquet.”⁵³ Dallas noted, “in this land of liberty which is proverbial for the humanity of its laws, the punishment of the piquet prevails; upon whom is it inflicted? upon those brave men who shed their best blood, and risk their lives in the service and for the defence of their country.” Moreover, Spain was notorious for its repertory of torture; set beside forms of Spanish cruelty, the piquet was a “slight” punishment.⁵⁴ The challenge was to settle the precise terms of Spanish law pertaining to judicial torture in the West Indies. It proved difficult to shake the prosecution’s evidence that until Picton’s arrival, no judicial torture had been practiced in Trinidad. A key witness for the defense was Archibald Gloster, Trinidad’s attorney general.⁵⁵ He was reduced to a figure of ridicule as it became clear, under Garrow’s cross-examination, that he knew little about Spanish law; he even conceded his inability to read Spanish without the aid of a dictionary. The coup de grace was administered by Pedro de Vargas, who was called in rebuttal. A lawyer born in South America who had lived throughout the Spanish West Indies, he testified that he knew of no law that sanctioned torture.⁵⁶

The case boiled down to a single point: Did the Spanish law sanction judicial torture in Trinidad? Ellenborough rejected the defense’s argument that the prosecution must show that Picton acted with malice.⁵⁷ As Garrow maintained in his summation, Picton should have known better. He might not be a lawyer, but “he was an Englishman and governor of a British settlement” who should have asked himself what law, English or Spanish, “could justify him in making this unhappy creature his victim.” It remained for the jury to do their duty as Britons to “protect those, who by the prowess of the British arms have become your fellow-subjects; and you will show the poorest individual in the territories of England has the opportunity of

⁵² *Trial of Governor T. Picton*, 46.

⁵³ Francis Grose, *Military Antiquities Respecting a History of the English Army from the Conquest to the Present*, 2 vols. (London, 1801), 2: 107, describes the “picket” as a form of corporal punishment used chiefly by the cavalry and artillery, where the delinquent’s bare heel rested on a stump “with its end cut to a round and blunt point.” The pain “soon became intolerable”; the practice was largely in disuse because it “lamed and ruptured many soldiers.”

⁵⁴ *State Trials*, 30: cols. 476–482. Cf., for example, John Marchant et al., *Review of the Bloody Tribunal; or, The Horrid Cruelties of the Inquisition, as Practised in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the East and West Indies* (Perth, 1770). On the origins of the “black legend,” see J. N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500–1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2000), chap. 8; William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England* (Durham, N.C., 1971). Cf. Gabriel B. Paquette, “The Image of Imperial Spain in British Political Thought, 1750–1800,” *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 81, no. 2 (2004): 187–214, which suggests a softening of anti-Spanish attitudes in response to Spanish imperial reforms of the later eighteenth century.

⁵⁵ *State Trials*, 30: cols. 509–514. Gloster had previously been attorney general of St. Vincent.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, cols. 516–528.

⁵⁷ The issue of a special verdict was a distinct possibility to which Garrow initially assented. Ellenborough ruled that if the jury found that no law existed sanctioning torture, then they must return a general verdict of guilty; if they found that such a law did exist, then there could be a special verdict based on how far Picton conformed to that law. As the second trial reversed the findings of the first, showing that Spanish law did indeed sanction torture, it opened the way to delivering a special verdict in the case.

bringing his oppressor, however high his rank, to answer for his misconduct before a court of justice.”⁵⁸ The jury quickly returned a verdict of guilty, but this was hardly the end of the story. Dallas immediately moved for a new trial. A case that had begun with Calderon’s torture in 1801; that had first appeared in King’s Bench in 1804, when it was sent on mandamus to Port of Spain; and that had returned to King’s Bench in 1806, was retried two years later, resulting in a perplexing special verdict: it found torture to be legal in Trinidad at the cession of the island to Britain, and Picton not to have been influenced by malice against Calderon “independent of the illegality of the act” as based on British law.⁵⁹ But the case refused to come entirely to rest, as legal argument on the special verdict continued through the summer of 1810. In Hilary term 1812, the court ordered the defendant’s recognizances respited until further order; the case was left unresolved.⁶⁰ Picton was never sentenced on the verdict, although the suit had cost him £7,000.⁶¹

WHERE DOES THIS LEAVE US? What kind of cause was Louisa Calderon? At one level, Picton’s case and the scandal surrounding his regime in Trinidad were indicative of intense personal rivalries. Indeed, personal vendettas pursued within a gentlemanly elite provided a common source for revealing colonial wrongdoing. Yet important issues were at stake. Among other things, the case illustrated the difficulty of maintaining a clear separation between metropolitan and colonial codes of justice, between zones of law and violence.⁶² Louisa’s cause played subversively with settled fictions of British identity. Her own in-betweenness ramified this subversion of categories. What was her legal status; was she to be accorded the rights of a British subject? The case raised troubling questions. If British national character was defined in contradistinction to other European nations as well as to those less civilized parts of the world available for colonial conquest, how did such views square with Picton’s torture of Calderon? What did it say about England’s constitutional superiority in the universe of nations if a British governor rather than the Spanish brought judicial torture to Trinidad?

Part of the dilemma of Picton’s defense was that while stressing the geographical, legal, and moral distance separating England from Trinidad, Dallas unwittingly drew

⁵⁸ *State Trials*, 30: cols. 528–536.

⁵⁹ The jury in the second trial remained perplexed on a number of key legal points, deferring to the advice of the court. While the point remained to be argued at length during the high court judges’ subsequent deliberations on the special verdict, in his summation to the jury in the second trial, Ellenborough cited clear precedent to demonstrate that the crown had no authority to continue torture as a mode of interrogation or punishment in a conquered colony, as being inconsistent with fundamental principles of the British constitution and law. *State Trials*, 30: col. 865.

⁶⁰ For the proceedings in King’s Bench for a new trial, see *State Trials*, 30: cols. 539–806; for the second trial and for argument on the special verdict, *ibid.*, cols. 806–960; also *In the King’s Bench, the King against Picton, Mr. Dallas’s Speech on the Motion for a New Trial in the Case of Louisa Calderon* (London, 1808). According to a note in *State Trials*, 30: cols. 955–956, it was thought that “had the opinion of the Court been delivered, judgement would have been given against general Picton; but that upon a consideration of the merits, it would have been followed by a punishment so slight, and so little commensurate with the magnitude of the questions embraced by the case, as to have reflected but little credit upon the prosecution.”

⁶¹ Robinson, *Memoirs*, 1: 228.

⁶² See, more generally, Eliga H. Gould, “Zones of Law, Zones of Violence: The Legal Geography of the British Atlantic, circa 1772,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 60, no. 3 (2003): 471–510.

Trinidad closer to “home.” In order to counter accusations of Picton’s inhumanity, Dallas compared the relative mildness of Calderon’s torture and imprisonment to the certain death that she and Gonzalez would have faced in London for the same crime.⁶³ In addition, there was nothing unusual or foreign about her torture; piqueting was a standard punishment meted out to brave British soldiers. This line of reasoning, meant to mitigate Picton’s actions, had the troubling effect of demonstrating the severity of Britain’s own civil and martial law. Nor did the shocking example from St. Vincent of the poor man with his slit nose and amputated hand present Britain as a benign colonial power; indeed, British slave laws were generally harsher than those of either Spain or France.⁶⁴ The trial rehearsed many of the general anxieties of critics of British colonialism in the West Indies. Louisa was not a slave, but she was a woman of color who, according to her sympathizers, had been forced into child prostitution.⁶⁵ In contrast to this view, Picton and his friends were outraged by portrayals of Calderon as an innocent victim of suffering. Picton protested that a “specious” appeal had been made to the “humanity of the public, in favour of a common Mulatto prostitute, of the vilest class and most corrupt morals,” who had formed “a criminal connection with a Sambo, or Negro,” whom she introduced into the household of her partner, “an industrious tradesman,” “to pollute his bed” and rob him of his life savings.⁶⁶

Rivalry between two men was played out around the figure of a woman of color; her racialized sexuality went to the heart of colonial sensation. In the role of either prostitute or victim of pain, Calderon’s body became a site of contention, generating many of the terms of the case. In turn, the atrocities against slaves in Trinidad were condensed and displaced onto the spectacle of Calderon’s martyred body. By a function of proximity, her torture worked to remind the British public of the horrors of colonial slavery. “Sensation,” particularly the portrayal of intense or excited feelings, was crucial to producing humanitarian sympathy, a collective concern for distant others. As a commercialized genre, “sensation” came into its own in the Victorian period, but sensation as a politics of feelings had a long prehistory, one closely linked to colonial rule, helping to identify those subjects worthy of being regarded as human. It obviously shared overlapping meanings with the cult of sensibility, sentimentalism, humanitarianism, romantic notions of sympathy, and the aesthetics of the sublime.⁶⁷ Particularly important was the way in which Louisa “spoke” to the court.

⁶³ Gonzalez was imprisoned, fined, and then banished from Trinidad.

⁶⁴ See E. V. Goveia, *The West Indian Slave Laws of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1970), particularly 19–35; also see Diana Paton, “Punishment, Crime, and the Bodies of Slaves in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica,” *Journal of Social History* 34, no. 4 (2001): 923–954.

⁶⁵ Much evidence had been produced during the investigation at Port of Spain to determine her exact age when she was tortured, since under Spanish law no person under fourteen could be made subject to the “question.” The mandamus proceedings appear in *State Trials*, 30: cols. 231–450; also see Thomas Picton, *Evidence Taken at Port of Spain . . . in the Case of Luisa Calderon . . . with a Letter Addressed to Sir Samuel Hood . . . by Col. Thomas Picton* (London, 1806).

⁶⁶ Picton, *Evidence Taken at Port of Spain*, vi. The *Anti-Jacobin Review* 30 (July 1808): 273 complained that contemporary “philanthropy” could allow the custom of sati, while taking up the cause of “a Mulatto prostitute and a convicted felon.”

⁶⁷ The literature here is large, but see, in particular, G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago, 1992); Julie Ellison, *Cato’s Tears and the Making of Anglo-American Emotion* (Chicago, 1999); Lynn Festa, *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France* (Baltimore, Md., 2006), particularly 1–13; Felicity Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human: Fictions of Anomaly, Race, and Gender in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2003);

Although she gave formal testimony through interpreters, the spectacle of torture, the untranslatable, imagined measure of pain and human suffering, was perhaps more important to the jury than anything she said. As Elaine Scarry has movingly demonstrated, the pain of torture is “language-destroying.”⁶⁸ In effect, at trial and through the publication of trial texts, the prosecution sought to recover the “voice” of pain through presence, the bodily presence of Louisa Calderon. Garrow had her reenact her torture, and then re-engage her feelings when shown the drawing of the torture scene, generating her “involuntary” expression of “sensations.” By having her perform her torture and by providing visual representation to the court, the inexpressible was given extralinguistic expression; the unshareable was shared. As spectacle, Louisa communicated directly to the court: her gestures required no translators. The spectacle of pain and violence testified to Picton’s barbarity.

In fact, Garrow’s presentation of the drawing to the jury was among the most controversial aspects of the proceedings. Dallas had allowed it against Ellenborough’s better judgment.⁶⁹ It is worth pausing to note the court’s unease about the visual production of sensations, particularly given that spectacle and performance were hardly absent from British legal culture.⁷⁰ The requirement that criminal defendants conduct their own cases, which prevailed until the eighteenth century, was partially rooted in the belief that truth was revealed by a defendant’s demeanor.⁷¹ We must presume that Ellenborough’s displeasure derived from the way in which sensation was being appropriated and produced in court—perhaps from a regard for the convention that attorneys exercise restraint in prosecuting criminal charges.⁷² He may also have been distressed by how the culture of the street circulated in and out of King’s Bench. Picton had returned to London in October 1803 to find himself vilified in the street and in the public press as “the blood-stained Governor of Trin-

Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights* (New York, 2007), chaps. 1 and 2. The meaning of the word “sensation” was in flux by the early nineteenth century, shifting from notions of sensory perception to violent emotions that might overwhelm persons and engulf communities. See James A. Secord, *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (Chicago, 2000), 11–13. For the historical importance of “sensationalism” and its early history, see Joy Wiltenburg, “True Crime: The Origins of Modern Sensationalism,” *American Historical Review* 109, no. 5 (December 2004): 1377–1404.

⁶⁸ Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York, 1985), 4–5, 35. Also see Kathleen Canning, “The Body as Method? Reflections on the Place of the Body in Gender History,” *Gender & History* 11, no. 3 (1999): 499–513.

⁶⁹ *State Trials*, 30: cols. 468–469, 480–481; *Trial of Governor T. Picton*, 34, 51. Nonetheless, in his opening address, Dallas expressed his surprise at the altogether novel practice of introducing prints and “acting” to support a criminal charge, for “even with minds determined on impartiality,” such exhibitions “occasioned sensations unfavourable” to the defendant.

⁷⁰ On this point, see Douglas Hay, “Property, Authority and the Criminal Law,” in Hay et al., *Albion’s Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York, 1975), 26–31.

⁷¹ Beattie, “Scales of Justice”; John H. Langbein, “The Criminal Trial before Lawyers,” *University of Chicago Law Review* 45, no. 2 (1978): 263–316. Interestingly, in the impeachment trial of Lord Melville before the House of Lords, Samuel Whitbread pressed the importance of a witness’s demeanor, citing Calderon as his example, noting “the sudden pain and shrug of horror upon seeing the representation” of her torture, “as proof more strong than words” of the truth of her story. *The Trial, by Impeachment, of Henry Lord Viscount Melville, for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, before the House of Peers* (Edinburgh, 1806), 291; *State Trials*, 29: cols. 1428–1429.

⁷² I am indebted to John Beattie for bringing this to my attention, as well as for his help on other legal questions. See Allyson N. May, *The Bar and the Old Bailey, 1750–1850* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003), 99–105. However, this convention was less firm in prosecutions for misdemeanors; in addition, Picton was represented by expert counsel.

idad." Before the case came to trial, "coloured drawings were paraded through the streets, calling forth the public commiseration, by exhibiting the '*picture of the girl, pulley, spike, and the grillos*.'" ⁷³ The most complete version of the trial, Crosby's, reproduced the actual drawing that Garrow presented in court. (See Figure 1.) The *Anti-Jacobin Review* decried this reproduction "as a contempt of court," in light of Ellenborough's expressed hope that it not be shown outdoors. "Nor can we forbear noticing, the inflammatory and malignant placards which disgrace the walls of this metropolis, announcing the shop where this trial is to be sold." ⁷⁴

One of Picton's vehement supporters, Lieutenant Colonel Edward Alured Draper, told readers that he had rushed his own *Address to the British Public* into print in order to counter the effect created by the widespread circulation in London of the drawing of Louisa that had "so irritated and prejudiced the temper and opinions of the larger part of the community, the middling and lower classes, and has been turned to such vulgar and dishonorable purposes by the enemies of Colonel Picton." Moreover, the placards exhibiting her innocence and the cruelty of her torture were circulating outside the metropolis, having been "exported in wagon loads in octavos, duodecimos, and quartos cut down, in pamphlets, all at reduced prices, to wholesale and retail dealers in the country." ⁷⁵ Draper wondered sarcastically "at the wonderful art and dexterity" with which Garrow played the court, springing the drawing on his audience: "The *effect* was so sudden, so unexpected, so electric, so full of all necessary qualities to call forth surprise, astonishment, and 'delightful horror,' that Burke himself, if he were alive, would have gone to school again, and taken a lecture from him to add to the next edition of his '*Sublime and Beautiful*.'" ⁷⁶

Draper's catalogue of terms—"sudden," "unexpected," "electric," "surprise," "astonishment," "delightful horror," "Sublime and Beautiful"—directs us to the Gothic. In the complaints of Picton and his defenders, a concern can be seen about how, as well as for whom, sensations were being produced. Calderon's cause was suspect because of its production of emotional excess, permitting intense feelings to overwhelm the intellect. According to its critics, this was precisely what was wrong with the Gothic mode. This summoning of emotional excess contrasted with the balance required by the culture of polite sensibility, which by the 1790s had itself become increasingly suspect as effeminate and foreign. ⁷⁷ As Gary Kelly writes, the Gothic romance "was not so much a coherent and authentic genre as an ensemble of themes and formal elements which could be taken over and adapted in whole or part." ⁷⁸ The politics of Gothic representation are best viewed as neither inherently conservative nor revolutionary. Nonetheless, the period of the 1790s and the first decade of the nineteenth century witnessed a craze for the Gothic, evidenced by the

⁷³ Robinson, *Memoirs*, 139–142.

⁷⁴ *Anti-Jacobin Review* 23 (April 1806): 428. Also see the letter from "Valerius" (Gloster), *ibid.*, 24; Appendix, 508.

⁷⁵ Edward Alured Draper, *An Address to the British Public, on the Case of Brigadier-General Picton* . . . (London, 1806), ix, 159. For the extensive national market in cheaper prints, see Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), 19–21. Draper acted as military secretary to Lieutenant-General William Grinfield, commander of armed forces in the West Indies in 1803.

⁷⁶ Draper, *Address*, xi–xii.

⁷⁷ On the "crisis" of sensibility, see Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, chap. 7; John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1997), 121.

⁷⁸ Gary Kelly, *English Fiction of the Romantic Period, 1789–1830* (London, 1987), 49.

number of novels published and plays staged—a craze that can be related to the instability and momentous changes of these years.⁷⁹ The success of Gothic drama as mass art depended on spectacular stage effects, on new techniques of lighting, mood music, and a particular style of acting. Louisa and her story were spectacular in design and effect. Poised between “high” and “low” culture, dealing often with confrontations between the high and the low, the Gothic possessed subversive potential; it was a contested genre or “domain.”⁸⁰

Calderon’s story was framed by familiar conventions of Gothic romance. Gothic elements were freely adapted to her case. Newspaper reports and trial texts appealed to Gothic sensibility. “While the unfortunate object of the defendant’s barbarity was giving her evidence,” the *Edinburgh Advertiser* commented, “an unmoistened eye was not to be seen, and in particular when the drawing was shewn to her, which gave a representation of her sufferings, she shrunk from it with a look of horror which excited the most lively sensations.”⁸¹ Similar embellishments are found throughout the press reports. As if to signal her innocence and virtue, Louisa appears “genteelly dressed in white”; in several illustrations of the torture scene, her complexion appears “white.” The villainous Picton wears black: “Governor Picton walked the Hall of the Four Courts, during the whole of the trial. He is a tall man, of very sallow complexion, apparently about fifty years of age, and was dressed in black.”⁸² The description was generic. Compare it to the introduction of Schedoni on the first page of Ann Radcliffe’s *The Italian* (1796), where the evil monk is described as pacing “behind the pillars” of a portico. “There is something too extraordinary in the appearance of this man . . . He was of a tall thin figure, bending forward from the shoulders; of a sallow complexion, and harsh features.”⁸³ As the tyrannical governor of a former Spanish island still ruled by Spanish law, Picton translated into the persona of the Latin villain so prevalent in Gothic fiction. The Gothic villain was an “alien,” a displaced representative of what Englishness was not.⁸⁴

The prison of Port of Spain, with its piquet, irons, and slaves chained on hard boards, constituted a classic Gothic space of darkness and horror, transporting contemporaries to a remote place ruled by an equally distant past.⁸⁵ Fullarton arrived

⁷⁹ See Robert Miles, “The 1790s: the Effulgence of Gothic,” in Jerrold E. Hogle, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction* (Cambridge, 2002), 41–62; Jeffrey N. Cox, “English Gothic Theatre,” *ibid.*, 126; Paula R. Backscheider, *Spectacular Politics: Theatrical Power and Mass Culture in Early Modern England* (Baltimore, Md., 1993), pt. 3; David Worrall, “The Political Culture of Gothic Drama,” in David Punter, ed., *A Companion to the Gothic* (London, 2000), 94–106; Ronald Paulson, “Gothic Fiction and the French Revolution,” *English Literary History* 48, no. 3 (1981): 532–554; Frances A. Chiu, “‘Dark and Dangerous Designs’: Tales of Oppression, Dispossession, and Repossession, 1770–1800,” *Romanticism on the Net*, no. 28 (November 2002), <http://www.erudit.org/revue/ron/2002/v/n28/007205ar.html>.

⁸⁰ James Watt, *Contesting the Gothic: Fiction, Genre and Cultural Conflict, 1764–1832* (Cambridge, 1999), 6.

⁸¹ *Edinburgh Advertiser*, February 28, 1806, 133. The *Sun*, February 25, 1806, 3, reported that in order “to make this terror [of torture] irresistible, they brought a negroe to practice upon to shew her what she was to expect.”

⁸² *The Trial of Governor Picton, for having maliciously and with a view to oppress Louisa Calderon* . . . (London, 1806), 17.

⁸³ Ann Radcliffe, *The Italian* (1796; repr., London, 2000), 5.

⁸⁴ See Cannon Schmitt, *Alien Nation: Nineteenth-Century Gothic Fictions and English Nationality* (Philadelphia, 1997), especially the introduction and chap. 1.

⁸⁵ As Naipaul writes, it became “a place of myth, to be constructed by each man in his imagination. No plan exists of the jail.” Naipaul, *The Loss of El Dorado*, 274.

in Trinidad and uncovered the guilty secrets of Picton's dungeon.⁸⁶ His visit to the prison first alerted him to the horror of Picton's inquisition; within a month of landing, he wrote to the Colonial Office about "the Reign of Terror" that prevailed.⁸⁷ In a file marked "Full Account of All Crimes and Punishments," which was compiled on Fullarton's order, we first encounter a description of Calderon's punishment: "She was taken off the piquet almost lifeless so that Vallot threw vinegar on her Face and poured wine down her Throat in order to bring her to herself. She was so young at the time that she had not breasts [in the margin is written 'no avia pechos'] but cannot tell by years how old she is." She was imprisoned for eight months, held without trial on Picton's authority, "sometimes loaded with three pairs of Fetters"; she could no longer work "and sometimes cannot lift her hands to her head."⁸⁸ The colonial archive was colored by Gothic hues. Here Louisa Calderon joined other figures in a landscape of suffering. Along with slave women accused of practicing witchcraft, necromancy, and the black art of poisoning by charms, she was imprisoned and tortured for her confession; like the common soldiers punished for infractions of military discipline, she was hoisted onto the scaffold and lowered onto the piquet's spike.

This material formed part of the charges brought against Picton to Privy Council, some of which was subsequently published by Fullarton. Reproduced here were the horrors of the commission empowered to deal with the mysterious deaths of slaves on various large plantations.⁸⁹ Thisbe, "the property of Mr. Begorat" [*sic*], was conducted before the tribunal and condemned as a sorceress. She was hanged, "her head cut off, and her body burnt . . . the hangman carried her head into the prison, where it remained until the following day, when the hangman, in the company of the deponent and a black prisoner, carried it to Diego Martin [the site of Begorrat's plantation], where it was exposed on the high road, fixed upon a pole."⁹⁰ Thisbe was just one of the dozen or so slaves who were executed on Picton's authority. For the privy councillors, the execution of slaves appeared to be among the least troubling aspects of Picton's regime.⁹¹ Nonetheless, Louisa's cause, touching so closely on the brutal execution of these slaves, presented a colonial regime of punishment to a public possessed of metropolitan sensibilities. For Foucault's genealogy, the period of the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century was pivotal to the emergence of modern penal practice: "a few decades saw the disappearance of the tortured, dismembered, amputated body . . . The body as the major target of penal repression disappeared." Yet in slave societies established by Europeans, Foucault's "gloomy

⁸⁶ PRO, Colonial Office [hereafter CO] 295/4, Fullarton to Sullivan, February 19, 1803, fol. 37.

⁸⁷ On his first visit to the prison at Port of Spain, the executioner presented Fullarton with his bill of accounts, listing all punishments carried out at St. Joseph; PRO, CO 295/5.

⁸⁸ PRO, CO 295/5, dated March 20, 1803, fols. 72–73, testimony of Louisa Calderon.

⁸⁹ On poisonings, and the relationship between Obeah and slave resistance, see Craton, *Testing the Chains*, particularly 122–123, 258–259; Carolyn E. Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1990), 63–72.

⁹⁰ William Fullarton, *Substance of the Evidence Delivered before the Lords of His Majesty's Honourable Privy Council, in the Case of Governor Picton* (Edinburgh, 1807), 64–65, evidence of Joseph Murier, superintendent of imprisoned slaves; PRO, CO 298/1, fols. 122–132. On the poisoning commission, also see Pierre F. M'Callum, *Travels in Trinidad . . . in a Series of Letters Addressed to a Member of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain* (Liverpool, 1805), 192–201.

⁹¹ This is apparent from the very full records of Privy Council hearings, PRO, PC 1/3557. Of course, there was nothing singular about such punishments for slaves.

festival of punishment,” rather than dying out, flourished with added force.⁹² As Vincent Brown shows, rituals of spectacular terror—the gruesome deaths, mutilations, defiling and exhibiting of dead bodies—aimed “to give governing authority a sacred, even supernatural dimension,” allowing “the plantocracy’s power to reach into the spiritual imaginations of slaves.”⁹³ Yet such practices could not be safely contained, but came to haunt metropolitan as well as colonial consciousness.

At the heart of much Gothic fantasy, we find the female body—tortured, imprisoned, cloistered, caught in a “labyrinth of darkness,” prey to the villain’s lust. Humanitarian discourse shared in this fascination with the tortured female body. And as Karen Halttunen argues, the sympathetic identification of viewers and readers with the body in pain might engage what she terms “the pornography of violence.”⁹⁴ The guilty pleasure derived from others’ pain was “humanitarianism’s dark side.”⁹⁵ In the case of Louisa Calderon, humanitarian sympathy was produced through a troubling fascination with her sexuality and pain. Her case played on a fascination with the forbiddenness of colonial difference. As feminist scholars have demonstrated, European discourses on sexuality cannot be charted without reference to a “racially erotic counterpoint.”⁹⁶ As a mulatto woman, Louisa was a “creature of contradiction.”⁹⁷ While noted for their beauty, mulatto women signified a breaking down of racial and sexual boundaries; they were often viewed in European travel writing as temptresses, distinguished by their lasciviousness, arrogance, and unwillingness to work, and thus threatening to the domestic virtue of British wom-

⁹² Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York, 1979), 8. Cf. Marcus Wood, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 1780–1865* (London, 2000), 228–230; Diana Paton, *No Bond but the Law: Punishment, Race, and Gender in Jamaican State Formation, 1780–1870* (Durham, N.C., 2004), 10–13. Also see Randall McGowan, “The Body and Punishment in Eighteenth-Century England,” *Journal of Modern History* 59, no. 4 (1987): 651–679; Gregory Thomas Smith, “The State and the Culture of Violence in London, 1760–1840” (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1999), chap. 7.

⁹³ Vincent Brown, “Spiritual Terror and Sacred Authority in Jamaican Slave Society,” *Slavery and Abolition* 24, no. 1 (2003): 24–53, quotation from 27; Craton, *Testing the Chains*, 100.

⁹⁴ Karen Halttunen, “Humanitarianism and the Pornography of Pain in Anglo-American Culture,” *American Historical Review* 100, no. 2 (April 1995): 303–334. Also see Marcus Wood, *Slavery, Empathy, and Pornography* (Oxford, 2002); Mary A. Favret, “Flogging: The Anti-Slavery Movement Writes Pornography,” in Anne Janowitz, ed., *Romanticism and Gender* (Cambridge, 1998), 19–43.

⁹⁵ See Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard, trans. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977), 60–61. Foucault notes the simultaneous appearance of Marquis de Sade and “the tales of terror,” drawing attention to “these languages which are constantly drawn out of themselves by the overwhelming, the unspeakable,” making “themselves as transparent as possible at this limit of language.” In this coupling of Sade’s pornography and the Gothic, we also glimpse a connection to stories of colonial adventure and horror, to a “limit of language,” something unspeakable. Cf. Joan Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), 212–219, linking Sade to the Black Code, importing “the plantation into the metropole.”

⁹⁶ Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault’s History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, N.C., 1995), 5–7; Stoler, “Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Gender and Morality in the Making of Race,” in Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), 41–78; Wilson, *The Island Race*; Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race, and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (New York, 2003); Levine, “Sexuality, Gender, and Empire,” in Levine, ed., *Gender and Empire* (Oxford, 2004), 134–155; Felicity A. Nussbaum, *Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives* (Baltimore, Md., 1995).

⁹⁷ The phrase is taken from H. L. Malchow, *Gothic Images of Race in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford, Calif., 1996), 186–188. Also see Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods*, 219–237; Sarah M. S. Pearsall, “‘The Late Flagrant Instance of Depravity in my Family’: The Story of an Anglo-Jamaican Cuckold,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 60, no. 3 (2003): 570–571.

anhood.⁹⁸ Within Caribbean society, the sexual economy of what Doris Garraway terms “colonial libertinage” not only underwrote the exploitative power of European creole elites, but also projected “the burden of culpability and punishment” for interracial intimacy and desire onto slave women and free women of color.⁹⁹ Gothic romance itself derives power from “anxieties about boundaries,” particularly boundaries of the female self usually rooted in the fear of physical violation.¹⁰⁰ Placed on display for European eyes and appetites, Calderon moved along an imagined boundary between disgust and attraction. She was a victim of torture, but she was also an object of sexual exchange. Her mother had arranged for her to be taken into Ruiz’s household as his mistress. In turn, metropolitan publishers accompanied editions of Picton’s trial with illustrations of her torture in order to boost sales.

The frontispiece of one version of the trial, published by P. F. McCallum, is of particular interest, as it portrays Calderon with her breast exposed, dangling in balletic posture from the scaffold.¹⁰¹ (See Figure 2.) Readers are invited to view her suffering beauty, allowed to delight in her chaste sexuality. This rendering employs odd symbolic elements: the watch timing the torture and the rope around the neck of the black hangman. Moved outside prison walls, the scene feels more pastoral than Gothic. Louisa’s figure is aestheticized; classically draped, “white,” and beautiful, she wears a cap of liberty, symbol of revolutionary allegiance. The drawing clearly draws on contemporary representations of “Liberty,” linking the erotic female body to the body politic.¹⁰² It also perhaps draws on compositional elements of William Blake’s illustration “Flagellation of a Female Samboe Slave,” produced for John Gabriel Stedman’s *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam* (1796), an image that became part of the anti-slavery movement’s visual vocabulary.¹⁰³ (See Figure 3.) In both illustrations, the gaze of those present is directed away from the victim, as if they would be compromised by viewing her suffering. But the female slave is more exposed; nearly naked, she is a starker figure

⁹⁸ See, for example, Janet Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality; Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774 to 1776*, ed. Evangeline Walker Andrews (New Haven, Conn., 1921), 112–113. Cf. Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British West Indies*, 2 vols. (London, 1793), 2: 23, contrasting their “fidelity and attachment to their keepers” to the “profligacy” of European prostitutes. For visual representations, see Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting* (Durham, N.C., 1999), chap. 5; Kay Dian Kriz, “Marketing Mulatresses in the Painting and Prints of Agostino Brunias,” in Felicity A. Nussbaum, ed., *The Global Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore, Md., 2003), 195–210. For the experience of free women of color more generally, see the essays in David Barry Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine, eds., *Beyond Bondage: Free Women of Color in the Americas* (Urbana, Ill., 2004).

⁹⁹ Doris Garraway, *The Libertine Colony: Creolization in the Early French Caribbean* (Durham, N.C., 2005), xiii–xiv. As Garraway explains, her study points to “the role of desire and sexuality alongside violence in shaping Creole society”; *ibid.*, 1–2.

¹⁰⁰ Eugenia C. DeLamotte, *Perils of the Night: A Feminist Study of Nineteenth-Century Gothic* (New York, 1990), 13–14, 23, and chap. 5 more generally.

¹⁰¹ See n. 36 for the full title (copy in Huntington Library, San Marino, California). Ever the entrepreneur, McCallum had two editions of his text published. The more expensive edition sold for one shilling, sixpence; a cheaper version sold for sixpence, without the illustration, but with a more graphic title: *The Trial of Thomas Picton . . . for Inflicting the Torture on Louisa Calderon, by Suspending Her by the Wrist to the Ceiling, Without Any Resting Place, Except a Sharp Spike for Her Toe . . .* (copy in Library Company of Philadelphia).

¹⁰² On this theme, see Lynn Hunt, ed., *Eroticism and the Body Politic* (Baltimore, Md., 1991).

¹⁰³ See the discussion of Blake’s illustration in Wood, *Blind Memory*, 236–237, on which I draw. The print for McCallum’s trial text was etched by J. Swains, about whom I have been unable to find out anything more.

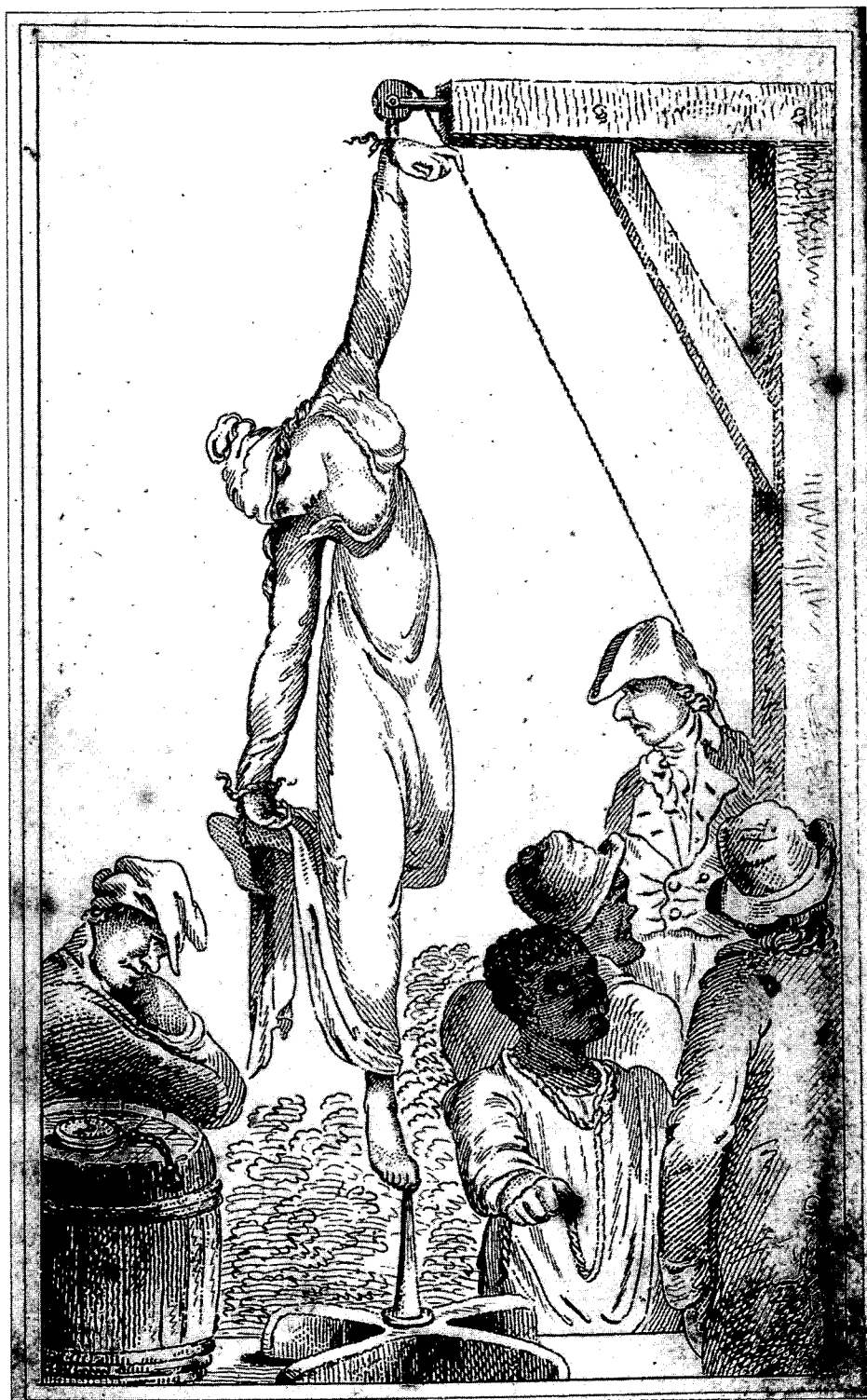


FIGURE 2: Louisa Calderon's torture aestheticized. From [P. F. McCallum], *Trial of Thomas Picton . . . Late Governor of the Island of Trinidad for Torturing Louisa Calderon* (London, 1806). Reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

of innocent suffering. Yet both illustrations trade on a sexual frisson, inviting a voyeuristic gaze coming close to the pornographic.

The paradox of Louisa's story was that it brought the spectacle of the tortured colonial body "home," only to risk reinstalling the imaginative distance between metropole and colony. While Gothic representational modes were undoubtedly effective in terms of their familiarity and popular appeal, by representing the inhumanities of colonial rule in such terms, they produced an emotional distance. For the Gothic traded on the unreality of its own terror, transforming fear into a pleasant emotion by keeping it at a safe distance.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, the erotic fascination produced by the illustration for McCallum's text also served to distance the suffering subject and to compromise the viewer's sympathy with her pain.

SOMETHING NEEDS TO BE SAID ABOUT PIERRE FRANC MCCALLUM, as it was through him that Calderon's cause touched on that of plebeian radicalism. McCallum operated as a self-styled man of letters and scandalmonger on the fringes of metropolitan radicalism. Following in the footsteps of radical pressmen such as Charles Pigott, he profited from exposing aristocratic corruption.¹⁰⁵ By his own account, he went abroad at a young age, traveling to the four corners of the globe before landing at Saint Domingue during the great slave insurrection.¹⁰⁶ Here he claimed to have befriended Toussaint Louverture. McCallum's arrival at Port of Spain in February 1803 coincided with Fullarton's. A fellow Scot, he staunchly supported Fullarton; indeed, Picton accused him of working as a spy in Fullarton's employ. It did not take long for McCallum to get himself into trouble at Port of Spain, making cause with local British radicals agitating for constitutional rights. Picton had him arrested, imprisoned, and eventually expelled from the island.¹⁰⁷ His book *Travels in Trinidad*, published upon his return to Britain, was the most comprehensive indictment of Picton's regime.¹⁰⁸ As a victim of Picton's oppression, he assumed the persona of a freeborn Briton-turned-martyr. The *Anti-Jacobin Review* denounced the book as an irresponsible Jacobin "performance," particularly given that the "impious jargon" of the French declaration of "The Rights of Man and Citizen" had reached the Caribbean.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1997), 20.

¹⁰⁵ See Nicholas Rogers, "Pigott's Private Eye: Radicalism and Sexual Scandal in Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association/Revue de la Société Historique Canadienne*, new series, 4 (1993): 247–263; Iain McCalman, *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries and Pornographers in London, 1795–1840* (Cambridge, 1988).

¹⁰⁶ P. F. McCallum, *The Rival Queens; or, Which Is the Darling? Containing the Secret History of the Origins of the Late Investigation: In Answer to Mrs. Clarke's 'Rival Princes'* (London, 1810), 1–5. For more on McCallum, see my essay "The Radical Underworld Goes Colonial: P. F. McCallum's *Travels in Trinidad*," in Michael T. Davis and Paul Pickering, eds., *Unrespectable Radicals? Popular Politics in the Age of Reform* (London, forthcoming).

¹⁰⁷ McCallum, *Travels*, 244–251; PRO, CO 295/5, "Examination of P. McCallum," April 12, 1803, fols. 152–153.

¹⁰⁸ Also see [John Sanderson], *A Political Account of the Island of Trinidad, from its conquest . . . in the year 1797 to the present time . . . by a Gentleman of the Island* (London, 1807).

¹⁰⁹ *Anti-Jacobin Review* 22 (December 1805): 394–401; this was the first in a series of articles attacking McCallum.



Flagellation of a Female Samboe Slave.

FIGURE 3: William Blake's illustration of the torture of a female slave. From John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*, 2 vols. (London, 1796), vol. 1. Reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

More than this, the author had a nose for scandal, particularly for sexual scandal. Seen as the incarnation of imperial acquisitiveness and license, the Caribbean offered a rich field of inquiry for a writer such as McCallum.¹¹⁰ He maintained that the unlimited license afforded by the West Indies caused Europeans to abandon Christian morality "in the riot betwixt Lust and Mammon." In a passage echoing scores of other works on the West Indies, he described how the newly arrived European's first object was to find himself a mistress: "After pleasing his taste, he bargains for her, in the same manner you would for a colt in Smithfield . . . He supports this wretched companion of his solicitude in all her extravagance . . . free from the trammels of all moral restraint, he is at once launched into the labyrinth of guilty fascination."¹¹¹ Moreover, the lures of sexual pleasure were not something from which Picton was immune. For McCallum's portrayal of Picton brought together politics and sexual scandal, linking private corruption to public tyranny. After indulging many prostitutes, Picton took up with Rosette Smith, a mulatto half his age, whom he persuaded to leave her husband and children "to become Lady Governess." Picton awarded her the fuel contract for the garrison, and the profits from this perk "enabled Smith to bribe almost all the kept ladies in the colony to reveal the secrets of their paramours . . . Those who unguardedly insinuated their disapprobation, or animadverted on his [Picton's] tyrannical conduct became the objects of his vindictive rage."¹¹² Plenty of evidence exists to corroborate McCallum's picture of Rosette ("the *aspera & horrenda virago* of government-house") and the deep hostilities she engendered, particularly among British inhabitants of Trinidad. Thus the British merchant Thomas Smith wrote Lord Hobart, explaining how the dispensation of justice on the island "is influenced by the caprice or inequity of a mulatress of the lowest order, whom His Excellency has thought proper to associate with."¹¹³ Picton had stepped across an accepted racial boundary. While it was not unusual for a colonial administrator to take a free woman of color as his mistress, or "house-keeper," giving power to such a woman was another matter.¹¹⁴ Moreover, what was condoned in the Caribbean might stir anxieties in Britain about the fragility of English character and civilization, including fears of the mixing of races.

Then, as now, sexual information was a powerful weapon. For McCallum, the lurid exposure of the exploits of his social betters was a way to pull back the curtain on aristocratic corruption, to call elite hypocrisy to the court of opinion. Print culture was an equalizer of sorts. The politics of scandal enabled otherwise powerless figures to ruin elite reputations.¹¹⁵ McCallum was a man on the make; he was also a serious

¹¹⁰ Wilson, *The Island Race*, 130.

¹¹¹ McCallum, *Travels*, 73. Cf. Hilary McD. Beckles, *Centering Woman: Gender Discourses in Caribbean Slave Society* (Kingston, 1999), chap. 2.

¹¹² McCallum, *Travels*, 146.

¹¹³ County Records Office, Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, Aylesbury, Hobart Papers, D/MH M93, Smith to Lord Hobart, Trinidad, September 1, 1802. Also see PRO, CO 295/4, petition of Rebecca Griffith and Grace Lilburn, March 1803, fol. 159.

¹¹⁴ Ann Laura Stoler comments, "Concubinage reinforced the hierarchies on which colonial societies were based and made those distinctions more problematic at the same time"; *Carnal Knowledge*, 50. Also see Levine, "Sexuality, Gender, and Empire," in Levine, *Gender and Empire*, 138–139. It is impressive just how many British military officers and administrators fathered "coloured" children as recorded in "Register of Baptisms in the Island of Trinidad," volume for 1801–1841, Anglican Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, Port of Spain.

¹¹⁵ See, more generally, Anna Clark, *Scandal: The Sexual Politics of the British Constitution* (Princeton, N.J., 2004), particularly chap. 1.

political writer, after his own fashion.¹¹⁶ Of course, he had himself been subject to Picton's despotic regime. He identified with Calderon as a fellow victim of tyranny; he was present at Picton's trial to record her case.¹¹⁷ More problematically, he may have seen her as a citizen, or at least as a British subject denied the boasted rights of freeborn Britons. The title page of Crosby's edition of the trial echoed Garrow's claim, describing Louisa Calderon as "One of His Britannic Majesty's Subjects."¹¹⁸ (See Figure 4.) Whatever McCallum's views, the uncertain properties of citizen or subject were present in the politics of Calderon's cause. Slave, free woman of color, colonial subject, impressed British seaman, British soldier subject to the lash, Lancashire weaver, the weaver's wife: in the age of revolution, what separated the subject from the citizen, the slave from the freeborn Englishman?

The question is not merely rhetorical. As P. J. Marshall asks more generally, was "British subject in any respects a uniform category?" Under what circumstances "were British subjects who did not live in Britain to be regarded as 'Britons'?" In particular, how far did the powerfully emotive concept of the 'rights of Englishmen' apply outside England?"¹¹⁹ Such questions were posed with particular force in the colonial Caribbean, where slave insurgents in both Saint Domingue and Guadeloupe voiced claims for citizenship in republican terms.¹²⁰ Recruiting black regiments in the British Caribbean inescapably raised the prospect of freedom for slaves serving in these regiments, and questions about the legal status and rights pertaining to such service.¹²¹ Furthermore, in Trinidad, part of the resistance to extending British law and establishing an elected colonial assembly arose from apprehensions about the reaction of free persons of color, mainly French, and believed to be imbued with revolutionary principles, who would protest exclusion from full colonial citizenship.¹²² And what, then, about the piquet itself, an instrument of military punish-

¹¹⁶ See Cudjoe's discussion of *Travels in Trinidad in Beyond Boundaries*, 43–49.

¹¹⁷ Thus the title page of the cheaper edition identifies McCallum as having been "a Prisoner in the same Cell, where the unfortunate Lady was Tortured."

¹¹⁸ Cf. *The Trial of Governor Picton, for having maliciously and with a view to oppress Louisa Calderon, one of His Majesty's Subjects . . . by inflicting THE TORTURE ON HER . . .* (London, n.d., ca. 1806). This edition of the trial sold for sixpence, as did Fairburn's (see n. 44 above), both of which were probably linked to radical pressmen and booksellers.

¹¹⁹ P. J. Marshall, "Britain and the World in the Eighteenth Century: IV, The Turning Outwards of Britain," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 11 (2001): 3. Also see Jack P. Greene, "Liberty, Slavery, and the Transformation of British Identity in the Eighteenth-Century West Indies," *Slavery and Abolition* 21, no. 1 (2000): 1–31; Sudipta Sen, "Imperial Subjects on Trial: On the Legal Identity of Britons in Late Eighteenth-Century India," *Journal of British Studies* 45, no. 3 (2006): 532–555.

¹²⁰ Dubois, *Colony of Citizens*, 4–6, and pt. 2.

¹²¹ Roger Norman Buckley, *Slaves in Red Coats: The British West India Regiments, 1795–1815* (New Haven, Conn., 1979); Dubois, *Colony of Citizens*, 224–225. For West Indian planters' fears about enlisting and arming slaves during the War of American Independence, see Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia, 2000), 174–181; Philip D. Morgan and Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy, "Arming Slaves in the American Revolution," in Christopher Leslie Brown and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Arming Slaves from Classical Time to the Modern Age* (New Haven, Conn., 2006), 180–208.

¹²² See, for example, PRO, CO 295/10, fols. 26–28, for Picton's case against the introduction of trial by jury and an elective assembly; also see CO 298/5, Liverpool to Hislop, November 27, 1810. For the politics of Trinidad's free persons of color, see Carl C. Campbell, *Cedulants and Capitulants: The Politics of the Coloured Opposition in the Slave Society of Trinidad, 1783–1838* (Port of Spain, 1992); Dayo Nicole Mitchell, "The Ambiguous Distinctions of Descent: Free Persons of Color and the Construction of Citizenship in Trinidad and Dominica, 1800–1838" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 2005), particularly 99–114.

THE TRIAL
OF
GOVERNOR T. PICTON,
FOR
INFLECTING THE TORTURE
ON
LOUISA CALDERON,
A Free Mulatto,
AND ONE OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S SUBJECTS,
IN THE
ISLAND OF TRINIDAD.

TRIED BEFORE
LORD CHIEF JUSTICE ELLENBOROUGH
AND A SPECIAL JURY,
AND
FOUND GUILTY.

Taken in Short-Hand during the Proceedings on
the 24th of February, 1806.

LONDON:
Printed by Dewick & Clarke, Aldersgate-street,
FOR B. CROSBY AND CO. STATIONERS'-COURT, PATERNOSTER-ROW ;
W. JONES AND J. JONES, LIVERPOOL ; MOTTLEY, PORTSMOUTH ;
LEGG AND MARTIN, GOSPORT ; ROACH AND HOXLAND,
DOCK ; ROGERS, GRAY, HAYDEN, AND CO. PLYMOUTH ;
And all other Booksellers.

FIGURE 4: Title Page from B. Crosby's edition of *The Trial of Governor T. Picton* (London, 1806). General Research Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

ment, moved from barrack yard to prison, and used to extract confessions from slave women and other prisoners? British sensibilities were troubled by soldiers' being treated in the same manner as slaves and criminals. Radicals campaigned against the brutality of corporal punishment, framing their arguments in terms of the status of soldiers as citizens and "freeborn" Britons.¹²³ Thus by a chain of association might Calderon's cause, too, come within the reach of citizenship.

ROBERT DARNTON DISCERNs A SHIFT IN CULTURAL HISTORY toward what he terms "incident analysis."¹²⁴ As with much work done in this key, one faces the question of historical significance. Clearly, it is not by virtue of this incident's typicality, but rather through its remarkable density that key issues were opened and cultural fault lines exposed. As the story of Calderon's torture circulated through the colonial archive, London streets, the courtroom, trial narratives, newspaper reports, journals, books, and pamphlets, it picked up cultural energy produced in terms of humanitarian sentiment, Gothic horror, pornographic fascination, and scandal. The story's fashioning was critical to its popularity, as well as ultimately to its political limitations. The story had movement, not just in terms of its expressive modes, but geographically and socially; it resisted containment and thus challenged distinctions on which both colonial and domestic authority relied. Calderon herself embodied the breakdown of various categories of difference. Just as the principal case against Picton moved outside the discursive space of Privy Council's Whitehall chambers, colonial codes of conduct and authority were brought "home," to be tested against metropolitan understanding. The "incident" highlights the circuits connecting metropolitan society to its colonial periphery, and the historical difficulty in maintaining a separation between these domains. Indeed, it may prompt us to ask what it means to regard the West Indies as a periphery, encouraging an alternative conceptualization, as Alan Lester proposes, of a metropolitan-imperial network of linked sites across which "colonial discourses were made and remade."¹²⁵ By the early nineteenth century, Britain's imperial and domestic regimes had become more authoritarian, hierarchical, and militarized.¹²⁶ Nonetheless, recurrent unease about abridgments of the responsibilities of imperial rule and the attendant rights of colonial subjects

¹²³ Colley, *Captives*, 328–330; E. E. Steiner, "Separating the Soldier from the Citizen: Ideology and Criticism of Corporal Punishment in the British Armies, 1790–1815," *Social History* 8, no. 1 (1983): 19–35.

¹²⁴ Robert Darnton, "It Happened One Night," *New York Review of Books*, June 24, 2004, 60–64. It is not entirely clear how "incident analysis" differs here from "micro-history." Also see his earlier essay "The Symbolic Element in History," *Journal of Modern History* 58, no. 1 (1986): 218–234, as well as Gallagher and Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*, chap. 2.

¹²⁵ Alan Lester, *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth Century South Africa and Britain* (London, 2001), 5–7, as well as David Lambert and Lester, "Introduction: Imperial Spaces, Imperial Subjects," in Lambert and Lester, eds., *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careerings in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2006), 1–31; and Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (Basingstoke, 2002), for mapping the colonial world in terms of a web of interconnected points or centers.

¹²⁶ C. A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780–1830* (London, 1989), 7–15; Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715–1785* (Cambridge, 1995), 274–275; P. J. Marshall, "Empire and Authority in the Later Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 15, no. 1 (1987): 105–121.

surfaced sporadically. The scandal of empire returned as a repressed awareness, disrupting the taken-for-grantedness of empire.

Scandals are by their nature difficult to sustain as politics, although the broader issues concerning the exercise of colonial authority remained troubling. Unless linked to wider programs of reform, scandals tend to fade from public awareness. Thus the scandal of "Old Corruption," popular radicalism's critique of the aristocracy's parasitic drain on taxpayers and the state, had staying power, incorporated as a cornerstone of radical ideology.¹²⁷ In fact, in 1809 the radical pressmen John Bone and William Hone republished evidence brought before Privy Council, originally published by Fullarton, in an effort to discredit a wider system of elite corruption and to counter Picton's recent military reappointment.¹²⁸ But the scandal had run its course. Despite its powerful reverberations, the sensational mode had distinct limitations. Scandals place reputations at risk; they reveal transgressions of social and political boundaries, serving to re-sanction legitimating norms.¹²⁹ Bringing the former governor to the bar had the effect of embodying colonial injustice in the person of one man, displacing the "fabric of colonial anxiety" onto an instance of extraordinary personal misrule, and thus allowing the reconstitution of imperial authority.¹³⁰ In Trinidad, Picton's troubles served as a warning to General Hislop, his successor, whose regime exercised greater circumspection. Britain's government refused, however, to grant the colony a legislative assembly or to extend full British legal and constitutional guarantees to its inhabitants.

The main characters moved on. Picton's rehabilitation was signaled in June 1807 when Lord Castlereagh presented the former governor to the king at court.¹³¹ Wellington, short of good field commanders, recruited Picton for the Peninsular Campaign on the basis of Miranda's recommendation.¹³² Yet the Calderon case followed him. At the war's end, Picton was denied an expected elevation to a peerage, in part because of the taint of Trinidad.¹³³ Fullarton fared less well. With the Privy Council's decision in January 1807 that there were no grounds for the case against Picton,

¹²⁷ For the continuing influence of this critique, see W. D. Rubinstein, "The End of 'Old Corruption' in Britain, 1780–1860," *Past and Present* 101 (November 1983): 55–86; Philip Harling, "Rethinking 'Old Corruption,'" *Past and Present* 147 (May 1995): 127–158; Harling, *The Waning of "Old Corruption": The Politics of Economical Reform in Britain, 1779–1846* (Oxford, 1996), 91–104, 143–150.

¹²⁸ *Substance of the Evidence Delivered before the Lords of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, in the Case of Governor Picton* (London, 1809), "For Bone and Hone." The advertisement for the publication notes that despite Picton's appointment to "a distinguished command," he is still liable to be called before King's Bench to receive judgment "for inflicting TORTURE on a female British subject."

¹²⁹ Cf. Kirsten McKenzie, *Scandal in the Colonies: Sydney and Cape Town, 1820–1850* (Melbourne, 2004), 8–11.

¹³⁰ The phrase is borrowed from Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India*, 55; also see Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire*, 29–32.

¹³¹ *Times*, May 29, 1807, 2, and June 16, 1807, 3; *Morning Chronicle*, June 17, 1807, 2; National Army Museum, Maitland Papers, Picton to Maitland, May 21, 1807. At Port of Spain, his friends celebrated with a dinner commemorating his "acquittal"; *Times*, June 9, 1807, 3.

¹³² Robinson, *Memoirs*, 2: 399–400; Havard, *Wellington's Welsh General*, chaps. 3–5.

¹³³ *Times*, May 3, 1814; Havard, *Wellington's Welsh General*, 224–226. Also see William Gratton, *Adventures of the Connaught Rangers, from 1808 to 1814*, 2 vols. (London, 1847), 1: 16, for soldiers' strong dislike of Picton on his taking command of the third division in 1809 in Portugal, due to his torturing of Calderon; and Anonymous, *Letters from Flushing Containing an Account of the Expedition to Walcheren, Beveland, and the Mouth of the Scheldt* (London, 1809), 173.

Fullarton's crusade lost any remaining impetus.¹³⁴ He died in 1808, under circumstances some thought mysterious, leaving his wife, Marianne Hamilton Fullarton, to defend her husband's reputation in a successful libel suit against Colonel Draper.¹³⁵ Even admirers felt that the "excess of his zeal" in the Picton affair "formed a subject of regret."¹³⁶ As for McCallum, Picton's rehabilitation put him onto the scent of the Duke of York, drawing out the connections between royal and military corruption and favor. Around 1809, he became deeply involved in the period's most celebrated sex scandal, as ghostwriter for Mary Ann Clarke, the Duke of York's former mistress, who was accused of selling army commissions.¹³⁷ Just before his death in 1810, McCallum published *Le Livre Rouge; or, A New and Extraordinary Red-Book*, a direct precursor to John Wade's better-known *Black Book*, the fullest documentation of "Old Corruption."¹³⁸

And what about Louisa Calderon? There is more we would like to know about her. Dining at the lord provost's house in Ayr, John Downie, a gentleman from Trinidad, observed in a letter, "mark my astonishment when I was told that, along with Colonel Fullarton, there had arrived with his lady a 'Mademoiselle Luise Calderon,' whom the Colonel and Mrs. Fullarton paraded about with them in their carriage, introducing her *wherever* they went as the 'blessed innocent' who was the devoted victim of Colonel Picton's tyranny."¹³⁹ Gloster commented similarly that the "injured innocent" was being introduced by Mrs. Fullarton to "select female friends in Scotland!" He added, "It must be particularly gratifying to Mr. Fullarton, that his virtuous young lady has insured a continuance of her fair race, by producing an heir to all her virtues, while under his philanthropic protection."¹⁴⁰ In June 1808, she again gave testimony before King's Bench at Picton's new trial. The *St. James Chronicle* reported, "she seemed to be much grown, and greatly improved in her knowledge of English, which she spoke with fluency and propriety."¹⁴¹ We find a request in the Colonial Office records from Fullarton's lawyer that she be granted a passport to

¹³⁴ PRO, PC 1/35775, bundle 10, January 5, 1807, for Privy Council decision, and January 10, 1807, for the king's approval.

¹³⁵ *Gentleman's Magazine*, February 1808, 181; *Annual Register*, 1808, "Chronicle," 147–148; National Army Museum, London, Maitland Papers, Picton to Maitland, February 19, 1808; "The Pictonian Prosecution," *Anti-Jacobin Review* 30 (May 1808): 97; Marianne Hamilton Fullarton, *Proceedings on the Several Motions for Judgment, in the Case, the King versus Draper, on the Prosecution of the Hon. Mrs. H. Fullarton for a Libel against the late Col. Fullarton*, of Fullarton (Brentford, n.d., ca. 1810).

¹³⁶ *The Historical and the Posthumous Memoirs of Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall, 1772–1784*, ed. Henry Wheatley, 5 vols. (London, 1884), 5: 73.

¹³⁷ McCallum, *The Rival Queens*, 35. For a detailed account of the Mary Ann Clarke affair, see Peter Spence, *Birth of Romantic Radicalism: War, Popular Politics and English Radical Reformation, 1800–1815* (Aldershot, 1996), chap. 6; Clark, *Scandal*, chap. 7; Philip Harling, "The Duke of York Affair (1809) and the Complexities of War-Time Patriotism," *Historical Journal* 39, no. 4 (1996): 963–984.

¹³⁸ Pierre Franc McCallum, *Le Livre Rouge; or, A New and Extraordinary Red-Book; Containing a List of Pensions in England, Scotland and Ireland . . . Designed as a Companion to the Court Kalendar* (London, 1810). The volume went through at least six editions in its first year, staying in print in various guises until Wade brought out *The Black Book* in 1821.

¹³⁹ Draper, *Address*, 184; Robinson, *Memoirs*, 177–178; *Anti-Jacobin Review* 25 (October 1806): 201.

¹⁴⁰ Archibald Gloster, *A Letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of Buckinghamshire . . . respecting Affairs in Trinidad in 1803, and in answer to William Fullarton, Esq.* (London, 1807), 23–24. Also see "The Pictonian Prosecution," 100–102, denouncing Mrs. Fullarton for having "very much degraded yourself" by associating with "a mulatto prostitute," and claiming that the reputed father of Calderon's child was known to her.

¹⁴¹ *St. James Chronicle*, June 11–14, 1808, 2; *Sun*, June 13, 1808, 3.

return to Trinidad.¹⁴² She may be the same woman as the “Luisa Canderón” recorded in the baptismal records of the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Port of Spain as having given birth in 1810 to an illegitimate child. Could this be the belated baptism of the child alluded to by Gloster?¹⁴³ A footnote in E. L. Joseph’s *History of Trinidad*, published in 1838, states simply that Louisa Calderon “died here [Port of Spain], in poverty, on 25th June, 1825.”¹⁴⁴

How are we to regard Louisa Calderon? She left no narrative. As a colonial subject, she was the victim of powerful men, certainly. She became an object of both metropolitan empathy and scorn, as well as achieving minor celebrity in London and Scotland. Her courtroom performance suggests a young woman of considerable poise and self-possession. Perhaps we also can see her as an agent maneuvering within the restricted boundaries accorded to a poor woman of color. Most surely, she had entered the cosmopolitan world of transatlantic cultural exchange, brokering a range of fantasies, fears, and perhaps opportunities. Naipaul has recently commented that he thought writing nonfiction “gave one a chance to explore the world, the other world, the world that one didn’t know fully.”¹⁴⁵ In Louisa Calderon’s case, the silence of the archive frustrates our desire to know or give full narrative shape to her life; her broken story speaks to a deeper sense of loss that has moved many Caribbean writers to turn from the historical to the literary in an effort to recover the suppressed voices of their past.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² PRO, CO 295/20, James Pasmore to Castlereagh, July 15, 1808, fols. 134–136.

¹⁴³ I would like to thank the officials of the Cathedral for kindly allowing me to see these records.

¹⁴⁴ Joseph, *History of Trinidad*, 210.

¹⁴⁵ Rachel Donadio, “The Irascible Prophet: V. S. Naipaul at Home,” *New York Times Book Review*, August 7, 2005, 8.

¹⁴⁶ See Édouard Glissant’s reflections “The Quarrel with History” and “History and Literature,” in Glissant, *Caribbean Discourse: Selected Essays*, trans. and with an introduction by J. Michael Dash (Charlottesville, Va., 1989), 61–87. For their part, historians have creatively read colonial archives “against the grain.” See Ranajit Guha’s classic essay “Chandra’s Death,” in Guha, ed., *Subaltern Studies V* (Delhi, 1987), 135–165; also see, for example, Durba Ghosh, “Decoding the Nameless: Gender, Subjectivity, and Historical Methodologies in Reading the Archives of Colonial India,” in Wilson, *A New Imperial History*, 297–316.

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AHR Forum
The Western Question:
The Geopolitics of Latin American Independence

RAFE BLAUFARB

JAIME RODRÍGUEZ O. HAS CONVINCINGLY REINTERPRETED Latin American independence as a transatlantic civil war between Spaniards.¹ At stake was the fate of the old Spanish monarchy, to which they all belonged. Would it be preserved along traditional lines? If it were dissolved, what would replace it? What kind of social change would political transformation entail? Many of these questions remained unresolved after independence and continued to color the history of the new nations. Given the manifold repercussions of Spanish imperial collapse, it is understandable that historians of the subject are primarily concerned with understanding the “significance of independence to Latin America.”² But focusing on the internal ramifications of independence risks overlooking not only its international consequences, but also the role of geopolitical forces in the conflict.

Between 1815 and 1820, as the international dimensions of Latin American independence intersected with the internal struggle, the collapse of Spanish rule produced a revolution in Atlantic power relations by sparking international competition over Spain’s former empire. This international rivalry over the fate of Spanish America can be termed the “Western Question.” Like the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the Eastern Question it posed, the erosion of Spanish authority in the Americas fueled international competition during the early nineteenth century.³ Yet this struggle for influence in former Spanish America is neglected in the scholarship on both European diplomacy and Latin American independence. Diplomatic histories of post-Napoleonic Europe focus on Continental affairs—the German, Polish, and, of

An early version of this article was presented in the roundtable session “Napoleon’s Atlantic,” organized by Jordana Dym and John Savage at the 2006 meeting of the American Historical Association. I thank them, as well as Jeremy Adelman, Matthew Childs, Suzanne Desan, Laurent Dubois, Claudia Mineo, and the anonymous readers for the *AHR*, for their encouragement and feedback. I also thank the students in the seminar “Gender, Race, and the Politics of Empire in the Atlantic World, 1700–1850” (taught by Jeanne Boydston and Suzanne Desan at the University of Wisconsin–Madison) for their helpful suggestions.

¹ Most recently in Jaime E. Rodríguez O., *The Independence of Spanish America* (Cambridge, 1998). His reconceptualization of Latin American independence has revalorized its constitutional aspects and inspired something of a “political turn” in the field.

² Jeremy Adelman, “Independence in Latin America” (unpublished manuscript), 1.

³ On the Eastern Question, see M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question, 1774–1923: A Study in International Relations* (London, 1966); Barbara Jelavich, *A Century of Russian Foreign Policy, 1814–1914* (Philadelphia, 1964); Jelavich, *Russia’s Balkan Entanglements, 1806–1914* (Cambridge, 1991); and John A. R. Marriott, *The Eastern Question: An Historical Study in European Diplomacy* (Oxford, 1956).

course, Eastern questions.⁴ And work on Latin American independence, generally social-historical in focus and methodology, neglects the international aspects of the struggle.⁵ The concept of the Western Question fills these voids and bridges these two bodies of scholarship.

International competition over Spanish America not only colored relations between the North Atlantic powers, but also concerned Latin American insurgents, who sought to exploit it for their own ends. The contending forces in Spanish America—insurgents of different, sometimes rival, factions, as well as royalists—perceived in the Western Question opportunities to advance their causes by playing upon the hopes and fears of the rival powers.⁶ The Spanish government also manipulated international tensions to win support for its program of repression, obtain European mediation, and neutralize predatory foreign countries (particularly the United States). All of this—the rivalry of the great powers, insurgent and royalist attempts to draw them into their struggles, and Spain's efforts to enlist them in its cause—produced a vacuum in which opportunities for unorthodox, adventurous, and piratical action flourished. The activities of the foreign revolutionaries, mercenaries, spies, and freebooters who lurked in the back alleys of Latin American independence furnish material for a transnational diplomatic history “from below” in which states figure as just one among several types of actor.⁷ The struggles for Latin American independence were indeed civil wars, but—like many civil wars—they were influenced by and, in their turn, influenced the supercharged international context in which they unfolded.⁸ By bringing together the international and internal dimensions of Latin American independence, the concept of the Western Question reveals the struggle as part of the process of geopolitical realignment in the post-Napoleonic world.

⁴ Examples of European diplomatic histories that neglect Spanish American affairs include René Albrecht-Carrié, *A Diplomatic History of Europe since the Congress of Vienna* (New York, 1958); Henry A. Kissinger, *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh, and the Problems of Peace, 1812–1822* (Boston, 1973); Harold Nicolson, *The Congress of Vienna: A Study in Allied Unity, 1812–1822* (San Diego, 1974); Hans G. Schenk, *The Aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars: The Concert of Europe—An Experiment* (London, 1947); Paul W. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763–1848* (Oxford, 1994); and Charles Kingsley Webster, *The Congress of Vienna, 1814–1815* (London, 1937).

⁵ Some examples include Sarah H. Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780–1854* (University Park, Pa., 1999); and Eric Van Young, *The Other Rebellion: Popular Violence, Ideology, and the Mexican Struggle for Independence, 1810–1821* (Stanford, Calif., 2001). For a contrasting historiographical assessment, which holds that scholarship on Latin American independence privileges elite agency and traditional, top-down political narrative, see Víctor M. Uribe, “The Enigma of Latin American Independence: Analyses of the Last Ten Years,” *Latin American Research Review* 32, no. 1 (1997): 236–255.

⁶ Although “insurgent” is a loaded term, I use it because it was the term most frequently used at the time to designate those Latin Americans seeking independence.

⁷ What has been called “the new diplomatic history” (but should probably be termed “transnational history”) is exemplified by Matthew Connelly's brilliant work on the war of Algerian independence. See Connelly, *A Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era* (New York, 2002). Another fine example of a bottom-up approach to diplomatic history is Karen Racine, *Francisco de Miranda: A Transatlantic Life in the Age of Revolution* (Wilmington, Del., 2003). For a general discussion of the field of transnational history, see C. A. Bayly, Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol, and Patricia Seed, “AHR Conversation: On Transnational History,” *American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (December 2006): 1440–1464.

⁸ In his comparative work on the French and Russian revolutions, Arno Mayer emphasizes that “civil war” is “inseparable from international relations.” Mayer, *The Furies: Violence and Terror in the French and Russian Revolutions* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), 535.

IF ANY ONE INDIVIDUAL BEARS RESPONSIBILITY for precipitating Latin American independence, that individual is Napoleon Bonaparte. By invading Spain and deposing its monarch, he severed the links between Iberian and overseas Spain. Moreover, the invasion consummated Spain's financial and military ruin and sparked a divisive debate within the Spanish world over the nature of sovereignty—a debate that degenerated into civil war. As if all this were not enough to have cast the Spanish monarchy into turmoil, Napoleon's appetite for conquest precipitated Europe into total war.⁹ This ensured that his ultimate defeat did not result in a traditional treaty of compromise, which would have restored some kind of equilibrium. Rather, it destroyed the last vestiges of an Atlantic power balance between Britain and France and opened the way for a fundamental reworking of the world order. It was onto this geopolitical scene that the movements for Latin American independence exploded.

The struggle began in earnest with Napoleon's occupation of Spain in 1808, but by 1815 it seemed to have been defeated or checked. The apparent coup de grace came in April 1815 with the arrival in New Granada of a major Spanish expeditionary force. Within a year, the insurgent leaders had fled, and Spanish authority had largely been restored. With the end of the Napoleonic wars and all that entailed—the liberation of Spain, the restoration of Ferdinand VII, the reopening of sea communications, and the freeing of military forces for dispatch overseas—Spanish America seemed to have lost its best chance for independence. Simón Bolívar himself admitted in May 1815 that “the restoration of Spanish government in America . . . appears certain.”¹⁰

But the next five or six years would see the triumph of the independence movement. This reversal of fortunes has prompted historians to wonder why Spanish America did not secure independence during the Napoleonic occupation of Spain—a period that Timothy Anna has described as a “moment of stupendous opportunity”—but only after the (relative) revival of Spanish power.¹¹ Anna and others have attributed this delayed reaction to the tenacity of traditional political culture. Still others have emphasized how the reversion of sovereignty to the people generated local freedom and opened unprecedented possibilities for self-government.¹² But neither political backwardness nor the experience of self-government fully explains the hesitant beginnings of the independence movements, for they both overlook the role of international forces in keeping the Ibero-Atlantic world intact during the Napoleonic wars.

From its victory at Trafalgar in 1805, Britain enforced a muscular Pax Britannica throughout the Atlantic world.¹³ After Napoleon's invasion of Spain, Britain strove

⁹ David A. Bell, *The First Total War* (New York, 2007).

¹⁰ Cited in Rodríguez O., *The Independence of Spanish America*, 174.

¹¹ Anna opens his invaluable book with this question. Timothy E. Anna, *Spain and the Loss of America* (Lincoln, Neb., 1983), 1.

¹² Victor M. Uribe-Uran, “The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America during the Age of Revolution,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, no. 2 (2000): 425–457. For a general discussion of Spanish American political culture during the Napoleonic occupation, see Rodríguez O., *The Independence of Spanish America*, 36–100. On the relationship between the French Revolution and Spanish political culture, see François-Xavier Guerra, *Modernidad e independencias: Ensayos sobre las revoluciones hispánicas* (Madrid, 1992).

¹³ Paul M. Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery* (New York, 1976). See also Christopher J. Bartlett, *Great Britain and Sea Power, 1815–1853* (Oxford, 1963). In this work, Bartlett cites

to hold together the Spanish world in order to harness its resources and prevent an open breach between metropole and colonies that France could exploit.¹⁴ In this difficult task, it was aided by the idiom of monarchical fealty, in which the insurgents voiced their autonomist aspirations. This language tended to prevent an open, irrevocable rupture within the Spanish monarchy. In addition, Britain benefited from the suspension of restrictions on trade with Spanish America for the duration of the conflict—a policy welcomed by creoles. And decisively, there was the Royal Navy, which ranged unchallenged throughout the Atlantic. Britain did not hesitate to wield its armed might to keep the peace, for example between Portugal and Spain in the Banda Oriental (present-day Uruguay). Britain also enforced order farther north, where the threat of intervention helped restrain American expansionism. When war finally came in 1812, it gave the Americans such an apprehension of British power that they dared not undertake new conquests for another thirty years. Finally, Britain's control of the Atlantic during the Napoleonic wars meant that even if it had had the wherewithal, Spain could not have pursued divisive policies of colonial repression without British approval.

There were further geopolitical forces at work among Spaniards on both sides of the Atlantic that kept them from going past the point of no return. Even as it severed the ties between European and Spanish America, the French invasion was also a source of unity.¹⁵ Spaniards of contrasting political sympathies could at least agree on the need to expel the French and set aside their differences until that had been achieved. Once the French were gone, wartime unity evaporated, and some Spaniards who had fought Napoleon now turned against Ferdinand VII. They pursued their struggle not only in Spain itself, but also in alliance with the Latin American insurgents, whose cause they did not distinguish from their own battle against integral absolutism.¹⁶ In the Americas, the French occupation of Spain also had a restraining effect. To exploit the motherland's agony to seize independence would constitute a despicable act of treachery. Moreover, hopes were high that Ferdinand

Simón Bolívar's telling assessment, "Only England, mistress of the seas, can protect us against the united force of European reaction" (68).

¹⁴ From 1809, Napoleon tried to precipitate a formal break between Iberian and American Spain. He dispatched secret agents to the Americas to foment rebellion, offered financial and military aid to the insurgents, and even planned to recognize Venezuelan independence (in 1812). Napoleon's sale of Louisiana (effectively a Spanish possession at the time) to the United States can be seen as one of the first instances of a Spanish American province exiting the transatlantic Spanish monarchy. On these French antecedents to Latin American independence, see Caracciolo Parra-Pérez, *Bayona y la política de Napoleón en América* (Caracas, 1939); William Spence Robertson, *France and Latin-American Independence* (Baltimore, Md., 1939), 16–104; and John Rydjord, *Foreign Interest in the Independence of New Spain: An Introduction to the War for Independence* (Durham, N.C., 1935).

¹⁵ For a view that emphasizes the elements of disunity, civil strife, and lawlessness that the anti-French struggle unleashed, see Charles Esdaille, *Fighting Napoleon: Guerrillas, Bandits, and Adventurers in Spain, 1808–1814* (New Haven, Conn., 2004).

¹⁶ One prominent figure who underwent such a conversion was Francisco Xavier Mina. Commander of the most effective guerrilla army to fight against Napoleon in Spain, Mina led an uprising in 1814 against the restoration of absolutism. When his rebellion failed, he fled to Great Britain, where, aided by British liberals and the American general Winfield Scott, he organized a military expedition to liberate New Spain. It departed in 1816, picking up reinforcements in the United States. The expedition was unsuccessful, and Mina was captured and executed in 1817. On Mina's career, see Manuel Ortuño Martínez, *Xavier Mina: Fronteras de libertad* (Mexico, 2003); and J. M. Miquel I. Vergés, *Mina: El español frente a España* (Mexico, 1945).

would embrace a policy of reform upon his restoration.¹⁷ French occupation thus gave all Spaniards reason to avoid taking irrevocable steps. A wait-and-see attitude was more prudent—and more realistic, given British power and Spanish weakness.

In 1815 the situation changed dramatically, becoming at once more fluid internationally and more polarized internally. It was more fluid because, with the end of the Napoleonic wars and the relaxation of Britain's naval grip, the Atlantic again became a thoroughfare between Europe and the Americas. Peace eased the atmosphere and opened possibilities for more subtle modes of political action than brute force. Yet the end of war in 1815 also sharpened tensions within the Spanish monarchy. After it became clear that the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty was not going to return the rebellious Americans to obedience, Ferdinand VII opted for a policy of repression. His intransigence presented the insurgents with a stark choice: submission or independence. Compromise solutions that were broached—generally autonomy within the framework of Spanish monarchy—became increasingly untenable as the battle lines were drawn ever more sharply and more blood was spilled. By 1815, the situation was characterized by deepening polarization of the Spanish world within an international context of demilitarization and imminent postwar geopolitical reconfiguration.

The efforts of the Atlantic powers to navigate the uncharted waters of the post-Napoleonic international order were complicated by the Spanish American crisis. Doubt over its outcome injected a note of hesitation, sometimes verging on paralysis, into their policies. This air of indecision was exacerbated by competition between the powers as they sought to thwart their rivals' maneuvers. Their wary circling about the expiring body of the Spanish monarchy was the Western Question. Presiding over it and giving it a certain structure was the participants' shared fear of British predominance.¹⁸ Countries with interests and aspirations in the Americas—notably Britain's recent adversaries France and the United States—were deeply involved in the Western Question. But even countries such as Russia—which, as the Continental European hegemon, found itself drawn into conflict with its maritime counterpart—viewed British power with apprehension.¹⁹ Soon after the start of the Spanish American revolt, for example, Tsar Alexander I wondered whether the uprising was a plot designed to place “all the treasure of the Americas at the disposition of England.” He instructed his ambassador to Washington to “seek in the United States a rival to England” capable of counterbalancing the “fatal despotism Britain exercises over the seas.”²⁰ Curiously, the European country least hostile to Britain was Spain. But

¹⁷ For example, see the widely distributed and much-reprinted *Catecismo civil, y breve compendio de las obligaciones del español, conocimiento práctico de su libertad, y explicación de su enemigo, muy útil en las actuales circunstancias, puesto en forma de diálogo* (n.p., 1808). It promised that Ferdinand, once restored to his throne, would remedy the “despotism and indolence of the supreme authorities who governed” before the French invasion.

¹⁸ J. Fred Rippy, *Rivalry of the United States and Great Britain over Latin America (1808–1830)* (Baltimore, Md., 1929); and R. A. Humphreys, “Anglo-American Rivalries and Spanish American Emancipation,” in Humphreys, ed., *Tradition and Revolt in Latin America and Other Essays* (New York, 1969), 130–153.

¹⁹ Russell H. Bartley, *Imperial Russia and the Struggle for Latin American Independence, 1808–1828* (Austin, Tex., 1978).

²⁰ Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Russian Reproductions, Petrograd, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Carton 1, no. 5, “Projet d'instruction au chambellan actuel comte de Pahlen” (Washington, D.C., 1809).

even cordiality toward Britain was forced upon Spain by its recognition that only the British could decisively influence the destiny of Spanish America. The Western Question was thus less about the question of independence per se than about how the conflict would affect the geopolitical order. The question was given urgency by the fear that Britain would achieve global hegemony by turning South America into a "second Hindoustan."²¹

The example of France is especially revealing. Powerful enough to matter and interested enough in Atlantic affairs to care, France was far enough removed from the convulsions of Latin America to view the Western Question with some clarity.²² This is not to say that the French perspective was objective. France hoped to profit from the troubles of Spanish America and, like the other participants in the Western Question, saw Britain as its principal obstacle. Although much has been made of the French Bourbons' commitment to the principle of legitimacy, the relatively moderate Richelieu ministry and its diplomatic agents were never completely hamstrung by the constraints of conservative ideology.²³ For one thing, the defeat of Napoleon and the Bourbon Restoration did not diminish French Anglophobia.²⁴ Despite their public expressions of gratitude for the removal of the usurper, even the strongest supporters of the Bourbon monarchy nurtured pride in Napoleon's triumphs and resentment toward the power they held responsible for laying low French grandeur.²⁵ "England is for France the pole of repulsion," wrote the Russian ambassador to Paris in 1816. "Neither reason, policy, nor even the force of circumstances will diminish the bitterness and distrust that rivalry excites between these two countries."²⁶ The French example shows that the Continental European powers saw the Spanish American crisis not only in terms of revolution and legitimacy, but also as a continuation of traditional geopolitical rivalries.²⁷

²¹ The term is from the dispatch of June 4, 1818, from the French Ambassador to the United States, Hyde de Neuville, to the French Foreign Minister, the Duke de Richelieu, Archives des Affaires Etrangères [henceforth AAE], Correspondence Politique [hereafter CP], Etats-Unis, 75.

²² The excitement generated by the publication of the Abbé de Pradt's two-volume *Des colonies et de la révolution actuelle de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1817) offers one of the clearest illustrations of French interest in the struggles of Spanish America.

²³ On the rightward drift of French politics during this period, see Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny, *The Bourbon Restoration*, trans. Lynn M. Case (Philadelphia, 1966), 141–197; and André Jardin and André-Jean Tudesq, *Restoration and Reaction, 1815–1848*, trans. Elborg Forster (London, 1983), 32–62.

²⁴ On eighteenth-century French Anglophobia and the origins of French nationalism, see David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001).

²⁵ A good example is provided by the experience of the Marquis de Bouthillier. A major general in the counterrevolutionary émigré army of the Prince de Condé, Bouthillier decided to return to France in 1801. He explained at length his decision to lay down his arms. Although he rejected the Revolution, he recognized that Napoleon was a "great man" who had restored French fortunes at home and abroad. In particular, Bouthillier admired the way Napoleon had revived French military spirit and reintroduced honor and order into the ranks of the army. Archives Départementales, Cher et l'Indre, J 2192, "Mémoires particuliers de M. de Bouthillier," 504–533.

²⁶ Pozzo di Borgo to Nesselrode (Paris, July 15, 1816), in Carlo Andrea, comte de Pozzo di Borgo, *Correspondance diplomatique du comte Pozzo di Borgo, ambassadeur de Russie en France, et du comte de Nesselrode depuis la Restauration des Bourbons jusqu'au Congrès d'Aix-la-Chapelle, 1814–1818*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1890), 1: 390.

²⁷ A parallel can be seen in the American tendency to view decolonization in the 1950s not only through the lens of the Cold War, but also as part of an older demographic struggle between "the West" and "the rest"—the Yellow Peril. See Matthew Connelly, "Taking Off the Cold War Lens: Visions of North-South Conflict during the Algerian War for Independence," *American Historical Review* 105, no. 3 (June 2000): 739–769.

Competition with Britain underlay France's approach to the Spanish American crisis—to find a way to exclude British commerce while letting French commerce in. Neither independence nor submission could achieve this end. Were Spanish America to achieve independence, French statesmen feared, it would be drawn into the orbit of British commercial hegemony. Freed from the exclusivist trade regulations of the Spanish monarchy, the new nations would adopt the fine-sounding policy of *commercio libre*. But far from liberating the circulation of goods and capital, free trade would secure a de facto monopoly for British commerce, against which France could not compete. In practice, explained the French diplomat Jean-Guillaume Hyde de Neuville, independence would inaugurate a new age of British "commercial despotism."²⁸ England, he claimed, was seeking to exempt itself from the "general equilibrium" and make its commerce "universal." "What it accomplished in the Indies, what it was trying in Africa, what it had obtained in Saint-Domingue, it wanted to take in South America." If the great powers did not act decisively, "nothing would remain for them but miserable debris."²⁹ French statesmen realized that Britain's economic advance could be hindered by the restoration of Spanish dominion in the Americas and the reimposition of trade restrictions. But just as the exclusionary policies of the Spanish monarchy would restrict British penetration of Latin American markets, so too would they shut out the French. That was unacceptable. If France could not develop new markets—and Latin America appeared the most promising in 1815—it would never catch up with Britain. Repression and restoration, no less than independence and recognition, would reinforce British predominance in the Atlantic world. French policy was caught on the horns of a dilemma—a dilemma described by Tsar Alexander I as a choice between "the medieval methods of Cádiz and Madrid" and the "commercial activities of the merchants of London."³⁰ Fear of British hegemony forced France to seek another outcome than recognition or repression.

The French government set about this task with energy and imagination. One possibility it considered was to form a grand alliance to thwart British ambitions in Spanish America and secure a settlement that would ensure its members commercial privilege in the Americas. In 1817, Hyde de Neuville proposed to Secretary of State Richard Rush a triple alliance between France, Russia, and the United States to achieve a mutually satisfactory solution to the Spanish American crisis. If these powers did not act in concert, Hyde warned, "England would be likely to run away with the chief profit of [Latin America's] independence."³¹ Although the Monroe administration ultimately declined the French invitation, it took the proposal seriously enough to direct Rush to hold a series of further meetings about it. By 1823, the French seem to have abandoned this approach; in that year, the French ambassador to Russia rejected that country's proposal for joint intervention in Latin America.³²

²⁸ John Quincy Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795 to 1848*, ed. Charles Francis Adams, 12 vols. (Philadelphia, 1874–1877), 4: entry for December 25, 1818.

²⁹ AAE, CP, Etats-Unis, 74, Hyde de Neuville to Duke de Richelieu (Washington, D.C., May 14, 1817).

³⁰ Cited in William Spence Robertson, "Russia and the Emancipation of Spanish America, 1816–1826," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 21, no. 2 (1941): 202.

³¹ Monroe Papers, reel 6, Richard Rush to James Monroe (Washington, D.C., April 24, 1817).

³² Robertson, *France and Latin-American Independence*, 337.

France pursued another policy with greater constancy: the foundation of independent Bourbon monarchies in Latin America.³³ Even as it publicly supported Ferdinand VII's sovereignty over Spanish America, the French government was involved in secret projects to transfer that sovereignty to Bourbon princes—preferably of the French line. In early 1818, it sent a Colonel Le Moyne to the Río de la Plata to “sound out the dispositions of Buenos Aires on the adoption of monarchical government.”³⁴ Supreme Director Juan Martín de Pueyrredón responded positively to these overtures, although he probably had no desire to see a European monarchy imposed on his country. Rather, he saw in Le Moyne's proposition an opportunity to play upon French hopes of replacing Britain as the dominant influence in the Plate. By holding out this prospect, Pueyrredón hoped to get the French to pressure the Spanish government to delay or redirect the Platine expeditionary force then assembling in Cádiz. His agent in Paris skillfully exploited French geopolitical ambition. Assuring the French government that the “similarity of manners, the identity of religion, and the old custom of considering the French as their friends” would facilitate this project, he sought in return monetary assistance, commercial links, movement toward recognition, and military aid.³⁵ And as Pueyrredón had hoped, the French government suggested that the expeditionary force be diverted from the Río de la Plata. Although the Spanish responded angrily to French interference, the discussions that ensued delayed the expedition and raised French and Russian frustration with Spanish inflexibility. If deftly manipulated by the insurgents, international rivalry over Spanish America could help advance the cause of independence.

Although this particular scheme fell through, the French continued to view the

³³ Mario Belgrano, *La Francia y la monarquía en el Plata* (Buenos Aires, 1933); Dardo Pérez Guilhous, *Las ideas monárquicas en el Congreso de Tucumán* (Buenos Aires, 1966); Joaquín Pérez, *Artigas, San Martín y los proyectos monárquicos en el Río de la Plata y Chile (1818–1820)* (Montevideo, 1960); and Carlos A. Villanueva, *La monarquía en América: San Martín y Bolívar* (Paris, 1911). The idea of granting independence under European princes to the Spanish provinces of America was seriously considered by all the great powers. The British minister Castlereagh seems to have been the first to broach the idea, when in 1807 he contemplated installing the Duke d'Orléans on the throne of Buenos Aires. The European powers remained attracted to the idea because it promised them access and offered an alternative to both republicanism and the reimposition of integral absolutism. Even Spanish American insurgents, notably San Martín, advocated monarchy for the independent polities they were fighting to create. By 1822, monarchical schemes for Latin America were so abundant and varied that John Quincy Adams commented that “a hankering after monarchy has infected the politics of all successive governing authorities of Buenos Ayres.” Lord Castlereagh, “Memorandum for the Cabinet, Relative to South America” (1807), in Charles William Vane, ed., *Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh, Second Marquess of Londonderry*, 12 vols. (London, 1848–1853), 7: 320; C. K. Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1815–1822* (London, 1934), 563; and John Quincy Adams, *The Writings of John Quincy Adams*, ed. Worthington Ford, 7 vols. (New York, 1913–1917), 7: 424–441. I thank Emilio Ocampo for providing me with these references.

³⁴ Armand-Emmanuel du Plessis, duc de Richelieu, *Lettres du duc de Richelieu au marquis d'Osmond, 1816–1818*, ed. Sébastien Charlety (Paris, 1939), 232–233. For a detailed but somewhat tendentious treatment of this affair, see Miguel Cané, *La diplomacia de la revolución: El director Pueyrredón y el emisario Le Moyne* (Buenos Aires, 1960). See also Belgrano, *La Francia y la monarquía*.

³⁵ Robertson, *France and Latin-American Independence*, 166–169. Was this discourse of cultural affinity (a standard trope of insurgents seeking French aid) on the religious and cultural affinities of Spanish America with France at the root of the concept of “Latin America”? The term itself was not employed until several decades later. As they constructed their own national identities in the mid-nineteenth century, some Latin American nationalists gravitated toward Frenchness as a welcome alternative to Spanish colonial oppression, cold-hearted British commercialism, and the rising imperialism of the United States. For their part, the French clung to this same notion of a special affinity between “Latins,” first in the vain hope that it could help offset the preponderance of British commerce, and then in the equally vain ambition of securing a Gallic foothold in Mexico in the 1860s.

erection of Bourbon monarchies in Spanish America as the best way to promote French interests there. As late as March 1830, the French government was holding talks with Argentine diplomats about the possibility of establishing a Bourbon monarchy.³⁶ The notion of creating new world monarchies was so appealing to the French that they pursued it even after recognition—although the idea increasingly came to be seen as a means of checking the expansion of the United States. From this perspective, French support for Texas independence in the 1830s and the installation of monarchy in Mexico in the 1860s reflects France's persistent determination to halt the advance of "Anglo-Saxon" power in the Americas.³⁷

Even if some observers foresaw the rise of a North American superpower, the United States had not yet reached that point in 1815. On the contrary, the triumphalism that accompanied the end of hostilities with Britain concealed insecurity. It would be too much to say that the United States had emerged from the war a chastened, fearful nation, but the conflict had certainly given its leaders a new respect for British power. Even though popular Anglophobia—often expressed through sympathy for Latin American independence—ran strong after 1815, the Madison and Monroe administrations followed a prudent course in foreign policy.³⁸ While ideological, political, and economic factors played a role, the decisive influence over U.S. policy toward "the civil war now raging between Spain and her colonies" came from lessons learned in the War of 1812.³⁹

The situation of the United States in 1815 resembled that of France. Both countries nursed a tradition of hatred for Great Britain, a sentiment sharpened by recent military encounters. Both viewed the disintegration of Spanish dominion in the Americas with a combination of fear (that Britain would appropriate the spoils) and longing (to reap the spoils themselves). But the United States differed from France in one critical respect: it shared a land border with Spanish America. Thus, with the exception of Portugal, the United States found itself in the unique position of being able to profit territorially from the crisis by annexing adjacent Spanish provinces. One can even speak of a borderland variant on Latin American independence (pre-figured a decade earlier by the transfer of Louisiana to the United States) in which annexation rather than self-determination provided a way out of the Spanish monarchy. American hunger for Spanish land—Florida, Texas, Mexico, and Cuba—was barely concealed. But fearing that too aggressive a policy would provoke British or

³⁶ Robertson, *France and Latin-American Independence*, 519–520.

³⁷ Like the Latin American insurgents, the "Texians" sought to play on France's geopolitical ambitions to secure military and financial assistance in their struggle against Mexico. And like the insurgents, they tried (however improbably) to stress the affinities between France and Texas. Consider, for example, the monarchical profession of faith offered by Texas president Sam Houston to the French ambassador Dubois de Saligny: "You are very fortunate in France to have a monarchy. May we one day be able to enjoy the same advantage in this country . . . It is impossible that the whole world not be disabused by the example of what goes on in all the republics of America, beginning with that of the United States; and between us, Monsieur de Saligny, as I've often said, I'm confident that, for the good of humanity, there will no longer remain a single republican government on the face of the globe within fifty years." AAE, CP, Texas, 4, Dispatch (Galveston, May 16, 1842). Saligny later became one of the principal architects of the French intervention in Mexico.

³⁸ Piero Gleijeses, "The Limits of Sympathy: The United States and the Independence of Spanish America," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24, no. 3 (1992): 481–505.

³⁹ Madison Papers, reel 18, William H. Crawford to James Madison (Washington, D.C., September 27, 1816).

European countermeasures, the U.S. government resisted public pressure and restricted its ambitions to acquiring Florida legally from Spain.

The U.S. government had gained from the War of 1812 the understanding that obtaining Florida was essential to the survival of the Union. During the war, the British had used that province as a sanctuary for guerrilla operations against the southern states and as a base of operations for an amphibious assault on New Orleans.⁴⁰ In 1815, this city was the most sensitive strategic point in the United States, for all commerce to and from the Mississippi and Ohio River valleys had to pass through it. Whoever held New Orleans controlled the destiny of the trans-Appalachian West, and hence the fate of the Union itself.⁴¹ Florida was an ideal launching point for attacks on this vulnerable chokepoint. As long as it remained in weak Spanish hands or, worse, fell into the hands of a powerful foe such as Britain, the United States' hold on New Orleans and the inland empire it served would remain tenuous. In itself, Florida was "comparatively nothing," wrote President Madison, but because it was occupied by a hostile power, it was "of the highest importance."⁴² This overriding aim—to secure Florida—powerfully shaped the United States' approach to the upheavals of Spanish America.

The efforts of the United States to obtain Florida were constrained by interlocking imperatives.⁴³ The first of these was to secure the territory without provoking war with Britain. This ruled out the use of force; the United States would have to treat with Spain for the purchase or transfer of Florida. Accordingly, in 1818 the United States opened negotiations with Spain, negotiations that became tied up with the Spanish American insurgency. To exert pressure on the dilatory Spanish, the United States threatened to recognize Latin American independence. It also threatened to use military force.⁴⁴ At the same time, the U.S. government realized that excessive pressure could backfire. Spain might withdraw from talks and possibly declare war. Premature recognition could turn to Britain's exclusive advantage or even spark European retaliation. A heavy-handed approach, the U.S. government realized, could be disastrous. But it also realized that too accommodating a position toward Spain carried its own risk. If negotiations dragged on, international circumstances might shift in Spain's favor, or it might be able to crush the insurgency. If the administration were seen as treating Spain with too much sympathy, it might lose domestic support, alienate the insurgents, and drive them into the arms of the British. For the United States, the path to Florida was squeezed between clashing in-

⁴⁰ James G. Cusick, *The Other War of 1812: The Patriot War and the American Invasion of Spanish East Florida* (Gainesville, Fla., 2003); and Frank L. Owsley, Jr., *The Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands: The Creek War and the Battle of New Orleans, 1812–1815* (Gainesville, Fla., 1981).

⁴¹ James E. Lewis, Jr., *The American Union and the Problem of Neighborhood: The United States and the Collapse of the Spanish Empire, 1783–1829* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998).

⁴² James Monroe to John Quincy Adams (Washington, D.C., December 10, 1815), in *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States Concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations*, ed. William R. Manning, 3 vols. (New York, 1925), 1: 17.

⁴³ For a comprehensive history of the United States' attempts to obtain Florida, see Hubert Bruce Fuller, *The Purchase of Florida: Its History and Diplomacy* (Gainesville, Fla., 1964).

⁴⁴ In 1818, General Andrew Jackson actually invaded Florida. But since he had done so without official authorization, the Monroe administration ordered him to withdraw. Negotiations with Spain for the purchase of Florida and the settlement of the boundary question then resumed, perhaps accelerated by both the ease of Jackson's conquest and the goodwill that the United States government had shown in disavowing it.

ternational and domestic imperatives. In 1821, Spain finally relinquished Florida for an indemnity, a defined border with the United States, and the abandonment of Washington's claims to Texas.⁴⁵ It was with evident relief that, several months later, President Monroe could finally voice personal and public sentiment by recognizing Latin American independence. But until it secured Florida, the United States trod softly.

The reserved policy of the United States ran against a strong current of public opinion shared by certain members of the government, who sometimes acted independently on their feelings. For example, the 1817 expedition of the Scottish adventurer Gregor MacGregor against Spanish Florida was an enterprise in which members of the Monroe administration—possibly the president himself—were implicated.⁴⁶ A former British soldier, MacGregor had joined the cause of Venezuelan independence in 1811, first as Francisco Miranda's aide-de-camp and then as a general under Simón Bolívar. By early 1817, however, he had fallen out with Bolívar and moved to the United States to organize an invasion of Florida. He first secured authorization from insurgent agents to seize the province. He then approached the governments of the United States and Great Britain. To William Thornton, head of the Patent Office and a close friend of Richard Rush (who probably transmitted the information to Monroe), MacGregor offered to sell Florida to the United States.⁴⁷ To the British ambassador Charles Bagot, however, he proposed to occupy Florida to keep it out of American hands.⁴⁸ MacGregor's real aim was to exploit Anglo-American rivalry to secure backing from one or the other government, or, better yet, to spark a bidding war between them.⁴⁹ It was a strategy that other adventurers employed as they sought to turn the great powers' rivalries over Spanish America to their personal advantage.

In June 1817, MacGregor captured Amelia Island, a smuggling entrepôt at the mouth of the Saint Mary's River, the border between Spanish Florida and Georgia. After proclaiming the independence of the Republic of the Floridas, MacGregor did little to extend his conquest or create republican institutions. Rather, he focused on privateering and smuggling. These lucrative activities intensified with the arrival of Louis Aury in September.⁵⁰ Formerly of Napoleon's navy, Aury had become a pri-

⁴⁵ For a comprehensive treatment of these negotiations, see Philip Coolidge Brooks, *Diplomacy and the Borderlands: The Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819* (Berkeley, Calif., 1939).

⁴⁶ Unless otherwise indicated, the following account of the Amelia Island affair is based on T. Frederick Davis, "MacGregor's Invasion of Florida, 1817," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (1928): 2–71; and David Bushnell, ed., *La República de las Floridas: Texts and Documents* (Bogotá, 1986). For an overview of MacGregor's adventurous life, see Tulio Arends, *Sir Gregor Mac Gregor: Un escocés tras la aventura de América* (Caracas, 1988).

⁴⁷ Adams Papers, reel 33, diary entries for February 13 and 23, 1818; Adams, *Memoirs*, 4: 53, entry for February 7, 1818.

⁴⁸ Public Record Office [hereafter PRO], Foreign Office [hereafter FO], 115/30, Charles Bagot to Lord Castlereagh (Washington, D.C., April 25, 1817). In this meeting, MacGregor also informed Bagot that he had held talks with Regnault Saint-Jean d'Angély, a close advisor to the exiled Joseph Bonaparte, and then with Joseph himself. He claimed that the Bonapartists were trying to enlist him in a grand scheme to crown Joseph king of New Spain and rescue Napoleon from Saint Helena.

⁴⁹ The French ambassador, Hyde de Neuville, suspected as much when he noted in his dispatches that MacGregor was letting it be known that he was "supported and protected" by both Britain and the United States. AAE, CP, États-Unis, 74, Hyde de Neuville to Duke de Richelieu (New Brunswick, May 14 and July 7, 1817).

⁵⁰ On Aury, see Stanley Faye, "Commodore Aury" (unpublished manuscript), Aury Papers, Center

vateer and had risen to command the insurgent fleet at the siege of Cartagena in 1815. Like MacGregor, he had left Bolívar and struck out on his own, establishing the privateering base of Galveston in 1816 before joining MacGregor on Amelia. During Aury's two-month stay, the island's economy boomed. According to Lloyd's of London, Aury's crew of Haitian ex-slaves, free blacks, and mulattoes smuggled into the United States contraband worth \$500,000, mainly Africans taken from Spanish slave ships.⁵¹ Aury's success was his undoing. Citing slave smuggling and the proximity to Georgia of "a body of [armed] Blacks from St. Domingo," President Monroe ordered troops to occupy the island in December.⁵² MacGregor's attempt to manipulate Anglo-American rivalry had failed; he had become a pawn in their geopolitical machinations by providing the United States a pretext for getting a foothold in Florida.

During the period 1815–1820, other incursions into Florida and Texas were launched from American territory.⁵³ But those expeditions paled in significance beside another unauthorized activity: the fitting out of insurgent-flagged privateers in U.S. ports.⁵⁴ By interdicting Spanish commerce and communications with America, the privateers forced Spain to fight a costly guerrilla war at sea.⁵⁵ In September 1818, it was estimated that thirty-seven insurgent privateers were operating from U.S. ports.⁵⁶ Although we lack a comprehensive study of insurgent privateering, it appears to have overwhelmed the Real Armada. By 1820, Spain had lost control of the At-

for American History, University of Texas; and Carlos A. Ferro, *Vida de Luis Aury, corsario de Buenos Aires en las luchas por la independencia de Venezuela, Colombia y Centroamérica* (Buenos Aires, 1976).

⁵¹ Frank Lawrence Owsley, Jr., and Gene A. Smith, *Filibusters and Expansionists: Jeffersonian Manifest Destiny, 1800–1821* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1997), 139. Aury's principal lieutenant was Joseph Savary, a mulatto refugee from the Haitian revolution who had settled in Louisiana and commanded one of the free colored militia companies that took part in Andrew Jackson's 1815 defense of New Orleans.

⁵² John Quincy Adams to Caesar A. Rodney, John Graham, and Theodorick Bland, Special Commissioners of the United States to South America (Washington, D.C., November 21, 1817), in *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, 1: 47–49. Despite this setback, the careers of MacGregor and Aury were not finished. In 1819, they joined forces again in an attack on the Isthmus of Panama that temporarily succeeded in taking the Spanish fort of Portobello, but failed to link up with Lord Thomas Cochrane's fleet in the Pacific and cut Spanish America in two. While Aury died of disease soon after Portobello, MacGregor continued his adventurous activities both under Bolívar and on his own. In 1820, he founded a short-lived "Kingdom of the Poyais" in present-day Honduras.

⁵³ Owsley and Smith, *Filibusters and Expansionists*; Harris Gaylord Warren, *The Sword Was Their Passport: A History of American Filibustering in the Mexican Revolution* (Baton Rouge, La., 1943).

⁵⁴ By 1818, the principal privateering port, Baltimore, had earned the dubious reputation among the European diplomatic corps as "the new Algiers." José Corrêa da Serra, *José Corrêa da Serra: Ambassadeur du Royaume-Uni de Portugal et Brésil à Washington, 1816–1820*, ed. Léon Bourdon (Paris, 1975), 106. The best studies of the overlooked naval aspects of Latin American independence are José L. Franco, *Política continental americana de España en Cuba*, vol. 1: *La batalla por el dominio del Caribe y el Golfo de México* (Havana, 1964); Laurio H. Destéfani, "El curso en la emancipación Hispanoamericana," *Cuarto Congreso Internacional de Historia de América* 4 (1966): 371–384; Destéfani, "La Real Armada española y la guerra naval de la emancipación Hispanoamericana," *Cuarto Congreso Internacional de Historia de América* 4 (1966): 385–404; and Jaime Duarte French, *Los tres Luises del Caribe: ¿Corsarios o libertadores?* (Bogotá, 1988).

⁵⁵ Almost 3,000 cases of "piratical aggression against merchant ships" were reported between 1815 and 1823. Arthur Preston Whitaker, *The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800–1830* (Baltimore, Md., 1941), 305.

⁵⁶ [José Corrêa da Serra], *An Appeal to the Government and Congress of the United States, against the Depredations Committed by American Privateers on the Commerce of Nations at Peace with Us. By an American Citizen* (Philadelphia, 1819), 83–84. The end of the War of 1812 and the Napoleonic wars in Europe had freed thousands of experienced naval personnel for this kind of activity.

lantic, and privateers cruised the Mediterranean, off the African coast, and in Philippine waters in search of Spanish shipping. The naval insurgency alone did not win Latin American independence, but it contributed significantly to the outcome. The importance of the naval conflict underlines the global scale of the wars of Latin American independence.⁵⁷

While deploring insurgent privateering, one European diplomat dismissed it as a “pinprick” compared to the “sword thrusts” that Britain was delivering to the Spanish cause.⁵⁸ Britain’s policy was more subtle than that of the United States, but arguably more deadly. The British sought to prevent clear resolution of the Spanish American conflict while preserving the insurgents’ goodwill and avoiding the European peace. Having emerged triumphant from the Napoleonic wars, Britain was happy with the status quo—which allowed it to trade with Latin America without repudiating the principle of legitimacy. Uncertainty about the fate of Spanish America did not slow the burgeoning commerce between British and insurgent ports. On the contrary, only absolutist restoration and the reimposition of trade restrictions could hamper this lucrative trade. “The avowed and true policy of Great Britain,” wrote the British foreign minister, Robert Stewart Castlereagh, in 1817, was “to appease controversy, and to secure, if possible, for all states a long interval of repose.”⁵⁹

The British government thus quietly endeavored to prevent such a restoration. Despite official prohibition, it tolerated the recruitment on its territory of volunteers for the armies of Bolívar and San Martín.⁶⁰ Of greater significance were its efforts to block European intervention in the conflict. In British thinking, intervention would upset the status quo, entangle European power politics even more tightly with American affairs, and increase the risk of a new war. Britain sabotaged intervention in two ways: by blocking Spanish attempts to assemble a coalition of armed mediators

⁵⁷ Although it is beyond the scope of this essay, the phenomenon of insurgent privateering raises questions about the relationship between slavery, shifts in Atlantic trade patterns (particularly the growing importance of direct trade between Iberian America and Africa), and the independence movement. Many of the insurgent privateers doubled as slavers or slave smugglers, particularly in the Gulf of Mexico, where the demand of southern planters coupled with the official prohibition of slave importation made this business profitable. The link between insurgent privateering and illegal slave trading was significant. It highlights the accommodating plasticity of racial solidarities, even in the banned slave trade. For example, take the Colombian-flagged privateer/slaver/smuggler *Fortuna*. Its captain was a Connecticut Yankee, its second-in-command was Danish, and its crew counted numerous hands classified as “pardos,” “morenos,” and “chinos” by the Spanish authorities who captured them in 1816, as well as Haitians, “negros,” and “blancos” from the United States, Spanish deserters, a stray Irishman, and a lone Frenchman. Franco, *Política continental*, 142. On the trade generally, see Joseph C. Dorsey, *Slave Traffic in the Age of Abolition: Puerto Rico, West Africa, and the Non-Hispanic Caribbean, 1815–1859* (Gainesville, Fla., 2003).

⁵⁸ AAE, CP, Etats-Unis, 74, Hyde de Neuville to Duke de Richelieu (Washington, D.C., May 14, 1817).

⁵⁹ PRO, FO, 5/120, Lord Castlereagh to Charles Bagot (London, November 11, 1817).

⁶⁰ The 4,000–6,000 British volunteers who served in Bolívar’s army played a key role, particularly at the battles of Boyacá (August 7, 1819) and Carabobo (June 24, 1821). More research is needed on the British and other foreign volunteers, as the only book on the subject is dated, Anglocentric, and purely anecdotal. Alfred Hasbrouck, *Foreign Legionaries in the Liberation of Spanish South America* (New York, 1928). Foreign volunteers also fought for Spain. In 1817, the Spanish legation in London began negotiations with an English soldier (the unfortunately named Colonel Fucker), who proposed to form a “Real Legión Anglo-Hispana” of demobilized British soldiers to fight against the insurgency. Edmundo A. Heredia, *Planes españoles para reconquistar Hispanoamérica (1810–1818)* (Buenos Aires, 1974), 358–359.

(generally centered on France and Russia) and by proposing to mediate the conflict itself on terms (free trade) that Spain would reject. British offers of mediation also encouraged European frustration at Spanish intransigence, thereby making the possibility of intervention even more remote and showing the insurgents that Britain was doing something for their cause.

Even as British diplomats were undercutting Spanish diplomacy and destroying that country's best prospects for restoring its authority in America, Britain endeavored to postpone the inevitable recognition of independence. Like European intervention, recognition would upset the balance that Britain was trying to preserve, dash any hope of compromise, polarize the international community, and produce changes that none could foresee. Specifically, the British government feared that recognition might invite a European riposte—whether diplomatically, on the battlefields of South America, or in another region where British interests collided with those of France and Russia. The main British effort to discourage premature recognition of Latin American independence was directed toward the United States. To this end, Castlereagh played on American fears of British might. In 1816, he informed John Quincy Adams, U.S. ambassador to London, that if Britain should find his country “pursuing a system of encroachment upon [its] neighbors,” he could not rule out military retaliation.⁶¹ This, the only hint ever dropped that Britain might counter American designs on the Spanish borderlands by force, was enough (together with the pending Florida negotiations) to keep the North Americans from open aggression. One false step, Adams warned his government, would “plunge us into a new contest with [England].”⁶² It was not until 1822, when Florida had been transferred and British diplomats had admitted that they viewed independence as inevitable, that the United States dared offer formal recognition. The power vacuum in which the Western Question played out was not simply the consequence of rebellion in Spanish America; it was also a deliberate aim of British diplomacy. The “busy procrastination” of the British government perpetuated a “precious stalemate” in Atlantic geopolitics.⁶³

With the exception of independence, stalemate was the last thing the Spanish monarchy wanted. When Ferdinand's restoration in 1814 failed to end the rebellion, his government resolved to “pacify” Spanish America. With the exception of the interlude of the government of José García de León y Pizarro (1816–1818), Spanish policy was dictated by hardliners who rejected conciliation. Their efforts to quell the insurgencies—primarily by force, but also through foreign intervention—have been closely examined.⁶⁴ But existing accounts concentrate on the internal aspects of pacification. Just as the Spanish American insurgency had a significant international

⁶¹ Adams, *Memoirs*, 3: 290–291.

⁶² Adams Papers, reel 143, John Quincy Adams to William Eustis (Ealing, March 19, 1816).

⁶³ William W. Kaufmann, *British Policy and the Independence of Latin America, 1804–1828* (New Haven, Conn., 1951), 105, 113.

⁶⁴ Anna, *Spain and the Loss of America*; Michael P. Costeloe, *Response to Revolution: Imperial Spain and the Spanish American Revolutions, 1810–1840* (Cambridge, 1986); and María del Carmen Pintos Vieites, *La política de Fernando VII entre 1814 y 1820* (Pamplona, 1958). For an earlier examination of Spanish policy, see A. F. Zimmerman, “Spain and Its Colonies, 1808–1820,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 2, no. 4 (1931): 439–463. Useful works on the military aspects of Spanish policy are Heredia, *Planes españoles*; and José M. Mariluz Urquijo, *Los proyectos españoles para reconquistar el Río de la Plata (1820–1833)* (Buenos Aires, 1958).

dimension, so too did the pacification campaign. To the Spanish government, pacification was not only about quelling internal strife and restoring obedience within Spanish America. It was also about protecting Spanish lands from foreign predators who threatened the territorial integrity of the empire, fomented instability, and aided the insurgents. To the Spanish government, the internal and external facets of pacification were inextricably linked. We have already seen one example of this interconnection in the case of MacGregor's invasion of Florida. For Spain, pacification was a two-front war against internal rebellion and foreign aggression.

Although it ultimately failed to preserve its overseas dominions, the Spanish government pursued an ingenious strategy in its efforts to do so. It sought in the internal struggle resources for defending the external borders of its empire, while simultaneously exploiting the international situation to quell internal disorder. Only in the maneuvers of the insurgents, who displayed similar flexibility, is there such clear illustration of the imbrication of the internecine and the international in the wars of Latin American independence.

One example of the interplay between the local and the geopolitical in Spanish pacification efforts can be found in the misadventures of a group of Bonapartist refugees who in 1818 founded an armed camp in Texas, on land claimed by both Spain and the United States.⁶⁵ Although nothing in the background of these Napoleonic veterans suggested sympathy for Ferdinand VII's cause, they were actually encouraged in their design by the Spanish ambassador to Washington, Don Luis de Onís. In secret talks held at the end of 1817 between Onís and the refugees' spokesman, the adventurer Louis-Jacques Galabert, an extraordinary plan took shape. Galabert claimed that although he and his comrades had come to America to join the insurgents, they had become disillusioned with the revolutionary cause. Repentant, they now longed to serve the Spanish monarchy and earn royal clemency.⁶⁶ Onís, who advocated the formation of an independent Bourbon monarchy in Texas to shield New Spain from the United States, welcomed Galabert's offer of service as an opportunity to enlist "these auxiliaries to the South American Revolutions" as border guards.⁶⁷ Onís extolled them as the best "antidote against the ambitious views of this Republic." Their military prowess was unquestionable, and they "hated the Anglo-American, . . . could not stand his pride, . . . [and] could not adapt to his customs and religion."⁶⁸ In the ambassador's scheme, potential insurgents would defend the empire from foreign aggression.

⁶⁵ On the Bonapartist "colony" in Texas, the so-called *Champ d'Asile*, see my *Bonapartists in the Borderlands: French Exiles and Refugees on the Gulf Coast, 1815–1835* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 2005). Other Bonapartist officers, under San Martín's sometime rival General Michel-Sylvestre Brayer, served in the campaigns of South America. Emilio Ocampo, "Brayer: Un general de Napoleón que desafió a San Martín," *Todo es Historia*, no. 455 (2005): 60–77.

⁶⁶ To put further pressure on Onís, the group's leader, General Charles Lallemand, held a series of ostentatious meetings with the U.S. secretary of state, John Quincy Adams. He also spread rumors that the expedition to Texas was supported by France, which (he claimed) intended to turn that province into a New Louisiana. These maneuvers are strongly reminiscent of MacGregor's intriguing. The resemblance was not lost on members of the European diplomatic corps, who wondered whether the Bonapartists were not "replaying at Galveston the same comedy Aury had performed at Amelia." AAE, CP, Etats-Unis, 75, Hyde de Neuville to Duke de Richelieu (Washington, D.C., July 2, 1818).

⁶⁷ Adams Papers, reel 146, John Quincy Adams to Pierre-Paul-François Degrand (Washington, D.C., January 21, 1818).

⁶⁸ Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Estado, Legajo 5642, dispatch 175 (Philadelphia, October 9, 1817).

At the same time, the Spanish government used the Bonapartist desperadoes to argue the necessity of European intervention. First, the Spanish ambassador to Paris pointed to them in his effort to get the French to join his government in pressuring Washington. International revolutionaries, their principles were “subversive of the social order” and a threat to “the august Bourbon house.” No less than Spain, France “could not view with indifference . . . a colony composed of such elements in the vicinity of land stolen from Spain, bordering on Spanish possessions, and on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico.”⁶⁹ Next, the Spanish government brought the Bonapartists to the attention of the European cabinets as they prepared for the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. In a circular note, it argued that the doings of the Bonapartists in Texas revealed a deadly threat imminent in the Spanish American crisis: Napoleon’s return to the world stage.⁷⁰ The Spanish note began by warning that

European malcontents and criminals who have sought refuge in the United States have leagued with Bonaparte and seek to continue in the New World his plans of ambition, usurpation, and disorder . . . The allies cannot disregard the new aspect these circumstances give to the whole matter of the revolution in America . . . America has become the theater of organized subversion, usurpation, and domination under the hateful name of a family which has destroyed thrones and public happiness everywhere in Europe! The cause of America is not only the cause of a false and impossible liberty; it is the cause of Napoleon’s domination . . . The American revolution is the European revolution; all that remains is for the Bonaparte family to take a personal part in it.⁷¹

While even the most conservative European powers did not consider the prospect of a republicanized Western Hemisphere sufficiently menacing to intervene on Spain’s behalf, perhaps the threat of Napoleonic resurgence would change their minds.

Providing opportunities for the adventurous and the unscrupulous, the struggle for Latin American independence also illustrates the entwining of interest and ideology in the revolutionary movements—even in the motivations of individual revolutionary actors. Indeed, the vacuum created by international competition over Spanish America favored adventurism to a degree unknown since the time of the buccaneers. An example of the relationship between the powers, the adventurers, and the insurgency is provided by the career of the infamous Lafitte brothers of New Orleans.⁷² It is not known when they arrived there, but by the outbreak of war with Great Britain in 1812, they were already key figures in a piratical smuggling syndicate operating in the swampy Barataria region below the city. By this time, American authorities were beginning to take steps against the Baratarians. To exempt their “business” (whose most lucrative component was slave smuggling) from the impending crackdown, the Lafittes agreed to work for the United States. During the war,

⁶⁹ AAE, CP, Espagne, 701, Fernán Núñez to Duke de Richelieu (Paris, March 2, 1818).

⁷⁰ The fear that Napoleon might escape from St. Helena and place himself at the head of a world revolution was taken very seriously by European statesmen in the late 1810s. At least one rescue attempt was actually made in 1817, launched from the short-lived Republic of Pernambuco. There is no comprehensive work on the attempts, real or rumored, to free Napoleon from his island prison.

⁷¹ José García de León y Pizarro, *Memorias*, ed. Alvaro Alonso-Castrillo, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1964), 1: 280–285.

⁷² Over the years, the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* has published many articles (too numerous to cite here) on the Lafittes. The most helpful are those by Stanley Faye, especially his survey “Privateersmen of the Gulf and their Prizes,” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (1939): 1012–1094.

they monitored British operations in the Gulf and fought to defend New Orleans in 1815. Soon after the cessation of hostilities, the brothers offered to serve the Spanish American insurgency. By early 1817, they had obtained letters of marque from Cartagena and supplanted Aury as masters of Galveston. Their association with the insurgency did not stop them from also working for Spanish spymasters in New Orleans. Over the next several years, they informed on the activities of insurgents and adventurers in the Gulf.⁷³ As spies for both the United States and Spain, the Lafittes could denounce their business competitors—including Aury—to those powers while simultaneously protecting their own operations. Perhaps their crowning moment came in 1818, when—in consultation with both Spanish and U.S. authorities—they drafted plans for capturing the Bonpartist invaders of Texas.⁷⁴ Although the intruders withdrew before their plan could be set in motion, the brothers earned both Spanish and American gratitude and removed from their area of operations the uninvited newcomers. Just as Spain and the United States used the Lafittes' services, the brothers used these powers to eliminate their rivals in piracy and smuggling.

The same interplay between the local and the geopolitical characterized the activities of Spanish American royalists and insurgents as they sought to manipulate international rivalries to advance their respective causes.⁷⁵ This was nowhere more evident than in the Banda Oriental, a borderland where Portuguese and Spanish ambitions collided.⁷⁶ There, local royalists and insurgents—both provincial “federalists” and centralizers seeking to create a unitary state ruled from Buenos Aires—played upon Portuguese territorial ambition in their three-way struggle. In 1811, royalists besieged in Montevideo by federalist and centralist insurgents appealed to the Portuguese government of Brazil to clear the province of “Jacobins.” The Portuguese eagerly complied, but were soon forced to withdraw by the British, who were determined to keep their Iberian allies from fighting each other. With the Portuguese gone, Montevideo soon fell, and with it the hopes of the royalists. But victory was not sweet for the insurgents. With no common enemy to hold them together, federalists and centralists began to fight over the shape of the new polity. In 1814, troops from Buenos Aires attacked those loyal to the federalist leader, José Artigas, and drove them out of the province. Desperate, Artigas sought Portuguese intervention against the *porteños*. Before this happened, however, Artigas rallied his forces and, supported by resurgent federalism across the region, regained control of the province. Faced with growing political opposition and a bleak military situation, the government of Buenos Aires in its turn resorted to foreign intervention. To eliminate Artigas and embroil Spain in an international conflict, the *porteños* turned to the

⁷³ Harris Gaylord Warren, “Documents Relating to Pierre Lafitte’s Entrance into the Service of Spain,” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (1940): 76–87.

⁷⁴ Stanley Faye, “The Great Stroke of Pierre Lafitte,” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1940): 733–826.

⁷⁵ My attempt to distinguish between adventurers and insurgents is somewhat arbitrary, as it is based on my subjective assessment of the relative degree to which the desire for personal gain or the desire for independence motivated their actions. But it is very likely that both motivations—for profit and for liberty—coexisted in the minds and hearts of many of the principal actors in the drama of Latin American independence.

⁷⁶ The following is based on John Street, *Artigas and the Emancipation of Uruguay* (Cambridge, 1959).

Portuguese. In 1816, their troops invaded and routed Artigas.⁷⁷ Between 1811 and 1816, the three main factions struggling over Platine independence had each tried to unleash the ambition of a foreign power against their internecine rivals. In the domestic politics of Latin American independence, the local and the geopolitical were interwoven.

In other areas, international competition provided opportunities to the insurgents. In London and Washington, insurgent propagandists played on the rivalry between Britain and the United States to win public support.⁷⁸ The most effective practitioner of this strategy in the United States was the Venezuelan agent Manuel Torres. Through his contacts with newspaper editors William Duane and Baptis Irvine, Torres injected an anti-British note into American press coverage of Latin American independence. He also wrote several pamphlets between 1816 and 1819 that pointed out "the efforts made by England . . . to obtain by means of commerce, the precious metals of the new world" and warned that "the intercourse of friendship and interest between the inhabitants of South and North America" was "absolutely necessary to their mutual safety."⁷⁹ A friend of Monroe and Adams, Torres also influenced American policy more directly. For example, he effectively dictated the instructions that Adams issued to the first American minister to Colombia.⁸⁰ During the same period, insurgent representatives in London manipulated British fears of American penetration of Latin America. These efforts were led by the government of Buenos Aires, which employed a London firm, Hullet Brothers, to commission articles favorable to its cause. One typical piece published in the *Morning Chronicle* warned that Latin America would be "lost to us . . . as soon as North American enterprize gets into full play. Is this not a question on which British ministers and merchants ought to ponder while it is yet time? . . . Is it not time to look across the Atlantic?"⁸¹ By stressing the rivalry between the United States and Britain, insurgent agents put pressure on both powers.

The insurgents also exploited Franco-British jealousies. We have already encountered one example of this in Pueyrredón's manipulation of Le Moyne's mission. Another can be seen in the machinations of General Mariano Renovales. In 1818, this Spanish veteran of the anti-Napoleonic struggle in the peninsula proposed to organize an expedition to liberate New Spain. Although based in England (where he simultaneously told his British interlocutors a different story), Renovales secretly contacted the French ambassador and offered to install a "French monarchy in Mexico." Effusively praising France, "whose religion, customs, and spirit suit us better than any other," Renovales convinced the ambassador that he desired "neither the republic nor the Bonapartes" and preferred "France to England." In return for financial backing, he promised to grant the French a 50 percent tariff reduction on

⁷⁷ As a result, Pueyrredón was denounced by his factional rivals as a "tool of the Portuguese." Henry Marie Brackenridge, *South America: A Letter on the Present State of That Country* (London, 1818), 55.

⁷⁸ This strategy is described in great detail in Whitaker, *The United States and the Independence of Latin America*, 141–188. Unless otherwise noted, this paragraph is based on Whitaker's account.

⁷⁹ Manuel Torres, *An Exposition of the Commerce of Spanish America with Some Observations upon Its Importance to the United States* (Philadelphia, 1816), 14.

⁸⁰ Manuel Torres to John Quincy Adams (Philadelphia, November 30, 1821), in *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, 2: 1212–1216; and John Quincy Adams to Richard C. Anderson (Washington, D.C., May 27, 1823), *ibid.*, 1: 192–208.

⁸¹ Cited in *Niles' Weekly Register* 9, no. 10 (November 4, 1815): 170.

their exports to Mexico. This was music to the ears of the French, so eager were they to beat Britain in the race for Latin American markets. Talks between Renouales and the ambassador continued through the spring of 1818. But as the general's demands grew more extravagant, the French foreign minister decided that "something in his conduct stank of the adventurer," and the project was abandoned.⁸² This was an accurate assessment: between 1815 and his death in 1820, Renouales successively offered his service to the insurgency, Britain, France, and finally Spain.⁸³ His story not only illustrates the interplay between geopolitics and the Latin American insurgency; it also demonstrates the difficulty of tracing clear lines between insurgents and adventurers, between revolutionaries and profiteers.

BETWEEN 1815 AND 1820, THE MOVEMENT for Latin American independence was entangled with an international struggle over the fruits of Spanish imperial collapse. But while both the Western and the Eastern Question involved geopolitical competition over dying empires, the parallel between them is not exact. Unlike the Eastern Question, the Western Question was not perennial, nor did it provoke major armed conflict between the great powers.⁸⁴ Moreover, Latin American independence never became the subject of international congresses or collective action. For these reasons, Paul Schroeder has concluded that Latin American independence was not a great concern of the great powers.⁸⁵ I think that Schroeder is wrong to interpret absence from congress diplomacy as insignificance. First, the powers viewed the troubles of Latin America as an internal Spanish matter. Although he considered the Spanish American revolt one of the two most important issues of the day (the other was the occupation of France), the Austrian diplomat Friederich von Gentz did not think it a legitimate object of international involvement. There was simply "no analogy between the transactions of sovereigns and the question of the insurrection of an immense continent against its former government," he wrote in early 1818 to the Russian foreign minister.⁸⁶ Another reason why the Western Question was excluded from the post-Napoleonic congresses—Britain's determination to make Latin America its exclusive preserve—underlines how seriously that power took the fate of Spanish America. Thanks to its naval supremacy, Britain could have single-handedly kept the Western Question off the table. But other factors also contributed to its exclusion. By refusing to grant concessions in return for European intervention, Spain

⁸² AAE, CP, Angleterre, 610, Marquis d'Osmond to Duke de Richelieu (London, April 14, May 12, and May 16, 1818); and Richelieu, *Lettres du duc de Richelieu*, 196–198. To complicate matters further, Renouales also had contact with the Bonapartists in the United States (including Lallemand), who, it was rumored, were planning to rescue Napoleon from St. Helena. AAE, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique, 34, Duke de Richelieu to Duke de Laval (Paris, February 7, 1818).

⁸³ For an overview of Renouales's career, see Franco, *Política continental*, 261–298.

⁸⁴ On the other hand, every country (the United States, Portuguese Brazil, and Haiti) that shared a land border with Spanish America took advantage of the crisis to invade and annex contiguous Spanish territories. This suggests that geography goes a long way toward explaining why the Western Question was relatively peaceful and short-lived in contrast to the Eastern Question.

⁸⁵ In his magisterial survey of European diplomatic history between 1763 and 1848, he devotes only nine pages to the subject. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics*, 628–636.

⁸⁶ Friederich de Gentz to Karl Robert de Nesselrode (Vienna, December 20, 1817, and January 27, 1818), in *Lettres et papiers du chancelier comte de Nesselrode, 1760–1850*, ed. comte A. de Nesselrode, 11 vols. (Paris, 1904–1912), 5: 287, 294–295.

scuttled the possibility of collective action by the powers. British possessiveness and Spanish intransigence suited France and Russia, which were thus freed from having to choose between ideological sympathy for Spain and hunger for Latin American trade.⁸⁷ The Western Question was not addressed squarely in the great congresses of post-Napoleonic Europe because it was too sensitive to submit to their collective deliberations.

Silenced by tacit agreement of the powers, the Western Question was played out on a different level of diplomatic activity from that examined in traditional diplomatic histories. Acting through their ambassadors and consuls, the Atlantic powers jockeyed for position, spinning webs of intrigue designed to snare the spoils of Spanish imperial collapse and thwart the schemes of their rivals. Featuring consummate spymasters such as Onís and Hyde de Neuville, the European diplomatic corps not only implemented the unavowed policies of their governments, but also wove their own plots and counterplots. In their covert activities, they employed the services of the *demimonde* of spies, mercenaries, and privateers that had coalesced in the Americas after 1815. These adventurers included some of the most colorful characters of the age—the Lallemands and their train of Napoleonic exiles, the Lafitte brothers, Gregor MacGregor, and Commodore Aury with his slave-trading crew of Haitian pirates. It was through their good offices, rather than formal diplomatic channels, that the Western Question was pursued during its brief, but intense, lifespan. Just as the Eastern Question had its Western forerunner, the Great Game of central Asia had its earlier, Atlantic equivalent.

How important were these international machinations to ending Spanish rule? In the actual event, they contributed substantially to the outcome. British diplomacy defeated Spanish attempts to secure European intervention, effectively reducing Spanish options to unacceptable compromise or impossible repression. The desire of France and Russia for Latin American trade made it unlikely that, even absent British spoiling tactics, those countries would have helped to restore Spanish authority. The United States gave moral and material support to the insurgents—as well as a sanctuary from which to mount their attacks. Foreign adventurers, privateers, and mercenaries helped to ensure the military outcome, especially at sea. Perhaps other factors—the financial and military weakness of post-Napoleonic Spain, the distance between Spain and its American provinces, the vast territory and large populations over which it had to restore its authority—would have guaranteed the eventual independence of Latin America. But this is speculation. In fact, geopolitical forces and foreign involvement were integral to the struggle.

Viewed from this perspective, the wars of independence were more than just a civil war within the Spanish world. Geopolitics infused the contest, and in turn, turmoil within the Spanish world influenced international relations.⁸⁸ By the early

⁸⁷ Although relieved that they did not have to make a choice, Russian government officials nonetheless remained deeply interested in the Latin American independence struggles. In instructions drafted in 1817 for his ambassador to Washington, Tsar Alexander I elevated the task of following “the extraordinary events which are shaking the American continent” to the same level of importance as pursuing “our relations . . . with the United States.” Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Russian Reproductions, Petrograd, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Carton 7, no. 24, “Mémoire destiné à servir d’instruction au général-major baron Tuyl” (Washington, D.C., 1817).

⁸⁸ An important article that brings both European and American aspects of Latin American independence into a single frame of analysis is Adrian J. Pearce, “Rescates and Anglo-Spanish Trade in the

1820s, however, the conditions that had made Spanish America the object of international competition began to change. Insurgent successes beginning with Bolívar's victory at Boyacá (1819) and San Martín's invasion of Peru (1820) made it unlikely that Spanish forces in America could prevail. The 1820 revolt of the Spanish expeditionary force awaiting embarkation at Cádiz eliminated the possibility of reinforcements. These developments encouraged the Atlantic powers to offer formal recognition. The United States did so first, in 1822, followed in 1825 by Britain.⁸⁹ Although France and Russia still refrained, they harbored no illusions about the eventual outcome. In 1823, France assured Britain that it would not intervene in Spanish America, and Russia urged Spain to compromise. As a new order precipitated out of the vortex of the Western Question, the foreign adventurers who had moved across the stage of American affairs sought greener pastures—service in Ottoman, Egyptian, and Persian armies, the cause of Greek independence and Neapolitan revolution, and the defense of Spanish constitutionalism. In what had been Spanish America, new polities arose, fragmented, and fought, against the backdrop of what the United States, France, and Russia had feared—British economic domination.⁹⁰ Taking the form of commercial dependence, free trade, and wage labor rather than mercantilism, territorial rule, and slavery, British hegemony inaugurated a new model of empire.⁹¹ Latin American independence had resulted in a fundamental reworking of Atlantic power relations—a geopolitical revolution that would haunt the American successor states to the old Spanish monarchy throughout the nineteenth century and beyond.

Neither Latin American independence nor British commercial hegemony ended European involvement in the Americas. Indeed, the 1830s and 1840s saw a new wave of European interventions in Latin America, notably by the French in Mexico and Argentina.⁹² But increasingly, a new concern began to shift European perceptions of the Americas—the rising power of the United States. Already in the early 1800s, European statesmen had imagined a day when the United States, straddling the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, would become “too powerful for Europe.”⁹³ By the 1830s, that day appeared imminent. The support of Britain and France for Texas independence, their joint pressure on behalf of Mexico during its war with the United States, disputes over possible canal sites in Central America, Anglo-French flirtation

Caribbean during the French Revolutionary Wars, ca. 1797–1804,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 38, no. 3 (2006): 607–624.

⁸⁹ Shortly thereafter, France effectively recognized Haitian independence, perhaps spurred on by the obvious difficulties of reestablishing French authority there in the context of an independent, republican Western Hemisphere.

⁹⁰ In Chateaubriand's view, “at the moment of their emancipation, the former colonies of Spain effectively became English colonies.” Chateaubriand, “Voyage en Amérique,” in Chateaubriand, *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1859–1862), 217. On the rise of British hegemony in Latin America, see Tulio Halperin Donghi, *The Aftermath of Revolution in Latin America* (New York, 1973), 44–81.

⁹¹ Jeremy Adelman, *Republic of Capital: Buenos Aires and the Legal Transformation of the Atlantic World* (Stanford, Calif., 1999); and Bernard Semmel, *The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism: Classical Political Economy, the Empire of Free Trade, and Imperialism, 1750–1850* (Cambridge, 1970).

⁹² These and other examples are discussed in Iwan Morgan, “French Policy in Spanish America, 1830–1848,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 10, no. 2 (1978): 309–328.

⁹³ The phrase was Napoleon's, uttered in the context of discussions about the sale of Louisiana. François Barbé-Marbois, *The History of Louisiana: Particularly of the Cession of That Colony to the United States of America* (1830; repr., Baton Rouge, La., 1977), 312.

with the Confederacy, and French intervention in Mexico during the 1860s should all be seen in this light: as European efforts to block the expansion of the United States across North America, or, failing that, to create a counterweight to its power.⁹⁴ The Western Question had burst the bounds of its original Atlantic context to pose the problem of the global distribution of power.

⁹⁴ For an overview of these efforts, see David Pletcher, *The Diplomacy of Annexation: Texas, Oregon, and the Mexican War* (Columbia, Mo., 1974).

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Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds:
The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery

ELIGA H. GOULD

ON THE MORNING OF AUGUST 19, 1741, Peter Vezian, quartermaster of the Boston sloop *Revenge*, appeared before a British judge on New Providence Island to request permission to sell four black prisoners taken on board a Spanish privateer. By all accounts, one of the prisoners, Francisco Menéndez, was a man of high rank, having commanded a Spanish unit of black soldiers during the relief of the British siege of St. Augustine in 1740, and a pair of witnesses claimed that the other three prisoners, who had served in Menéndez's company, were also freemen. Exploiting inconsistencies in the testimony, Vezian insisted that neither witness was to be believed. Instead, he invoked the indisputable evidence of skin color. "Does not their Complexion and features," Vezian asked the Bahamian court, "tell all the world that they are of the blood of Negroes and have suckt Slavery and Cruelty from their Infancy?" Vezian also reminded his listeners of the "barbarous Action[s]" allegedly committed by Menéndez's soldiers during the siege of St. Augustine—a record, he maintained, which showed that their perpetrators knew nothing of either "Liberty or Christianity." On this basis alone, Vezian hoped that the judge would accept Menéndez's status as a slave, and he urged the court to follow the "old Law of Nations" in sentencing the others, whereby "all Prisoners of War, nay Even their posterity are Slaves."¹

Stories such as those of Menéndez and his fellow prisoners have long served as an example of the rich potential in comparative history, especially histories that take as their subject the inhabitants of the Spanish and British empires. Whether we consider John Elliott's magisterial new history of Britain and Spain in America or the continued interest in Herbert Eugene Bolton's classic essay "The Epic of Greater

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¹ J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period* (1923; repr., New York, 1970), 410–411.

America" (1933), historians have often looked to comparative history as a way to transcend "national frameworks" in both colonial Anglo-American and Spanish American historiographies.² In the case of Francisco Menéndez, the Spanish corsair's fate suggests that, despite its many problems, there is still merit in Frank Tannenbaum's famous thesis—first articulated sixty years ago—that Spanish law and custom gave blacks in Spain's Atlantic empire "certain rights and protections not found in other slave systems."³ As Jane Landers has written, Spaniards "generally accepted" testimony that men such as Menéndez were free, and Spanish law "granted the enslaved a moral and juridical personality." On the other hand, British and Anglo-American jurists tended to be much less accommodating, demanding certificates and other written evidence of free status that "were almost impossible to produce." In keeping with such tendencies, the judge on New Providence Island proved willing to accept Peter Vezian's representation and allowed Francisco Menéndez to be sold as a slave.⁴

If the proceedings against Menéndez invite comparisons between the Atlantic empires of Britain and Spain, however, they also highlight some of the limitations inherent in comparative history. In particular, the case shows that, far from being distinct entities, as comparative studies usually suggest, the two empires were part of the same hemispheric system or community. This interconnected system, moreover, was fundamentally asymmetric, with Spain, as the senior and historically pre-eminent member, often holding the upper hand.⁵ Although the judge on New Providence Island ruled that Menéndez and another of the prisoners were slaves "according to the Laws of the plantations," and he declared the other two captives to be prisoners of war (though not slaves) "according to the Laws of England," the various parties seem to have realized that Britain might not have the final word in the matter. In a letter to the *Revenge's* owners in Boston, the ship's master noted somewhat defensively that the "Negro Man Francisco," whose sale added a meager

² J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830* (New Haven, Conn., 2006); Herbert E. Bolton, "The Epic of Greater America," *American Historical Review* 38, no. 3 (April 1933): 448–474; Jack P. Greene, "Comparing Early Modern American Worlds: Some Reflections on the Promise of a Hemispheric Perspective," *History Compass* 1, no. 1 (2003), <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/abs/10.1111/1478-0542.026>. See also Ian K. Steele, "Exploding Colonial American History: Amerindian, Atlantic, and Global Perspectives," *Reviews in American History* 26, no. 1 (1998): 70–95; Alan Taylor, *American Colonies* (New York, 2001); David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (Basingstoke, 2002); Joyce E. Chaplin, "Expansion and Exceptionalism in Early American History," *Journal of American History* 89, no. 4 (2003): 1431–1455; Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550–1700* (Stanford, Calif., 2006), esp. chap. 6.

³ Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (New York, 1946); Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana, Ill., 1999), 2. See also David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966); Herbert S. Klein, *Slavery in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Virginia and Cuba* (Chicago, 1967); Carl N. Degler, *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (New York, 1971); Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (London, 1997); Seymour Drescher, *From Slavery to Freedom: Comparative Studies in the Rise and Fall of Atlantic Slavery* (Oxford, 1999).

⁴ Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, 2, 45.

⁵ For Spain's wider historical importance from the standpoint of Latin American history, see Jeremy Adelman, "Latin American and World Histories: Old and New Approaches to the Pluribus and the Unum," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84, no. 3 (2004): 399–409. On the incomparability of Spanish American and Anglo-American history, see Amy Turner Bushnell, "Introduction: Do the Americas Have a Comparable Colonial History?" in Bushnell, ed., *Establishing Exceptionalism: Historiography and the Colonial Americas* (Aldershot, 1995), xiii–xxiii.

thirty-four pounds to the total value of the Spanish prize, “was one of the Capts. belonging to that Comp’y of Negros and Molattos that used the English so barbarously . . . att St. Aug’ne.”⁶ In ruling that only two of the prisoners were slaves, the judge seems to have had similar concerns, based, perhaps, on the tendency of Spanish officials to mount successful appeals against verdicts like the one handed down against Menéndez. Although we do not know whether that is what happened on this occasion, it is certainly one possibility, for Spanish records show that by 1759, Menéndez had resumed his post at the head of the black garrison at St. Augustine.⁷

As Francisco Menéndez’s captivity, enslavement, and eventual liberation suggest, the history of the Spanish and English-speaking Atlantic worlds is often best approached not from a comparative standpoint, but as a form of interconnected or “entangled” history. In its most pronounced form, comparative history studies societies that are geographically or temporally remote.⁸ Even when the societies in question are closer in space or time, comparative approaches tend to accept national boundaries as fixed, to take the distinctiveness of their subjects as a given, and to assume that the subjects being compared are, in fact, comparable.⁹ Entangled histories, by contrast, examine interconnected societies. Rather than insisting on the comparability of their subjects or the need for equal treatment, entangled histories are concerned with “mutual influencing,” “reciprocal or asymmetric perceptions,” and the intertwined “processes of constituting one another.”¹⁰ Because such interconnections often (though not always) occur in contiguous societies, one way to think

⁶ Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy*, 411, 414.

⁷ Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, 45.

⁸ For two recent examples, see Deborah A. Rosen, “Women and Property across Colonial America: A Comparison of Legal Systems in New Mexico and New York,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 60, no. 2 (2003): 355–382; Daniel T. Reff, *Plagues, Priests, and Demons: Sacred Narratives and the Rise of Christianity in the Old World and New* (Cambridge, 2005). Marc Bloch argued that comparative approaches worked best with “societies that are at once neighboring and contemporary, exercising a constant mutual influence . . . and owing their existence in part at least to a common mutual origin”; Bloch, “A Contribution towards a Comparative History of European Societies,” in Bloch, *Land and Work in Mediaeval Europe: Selected Papers*, trans. J. E. Anderson (New York, 1969), 44–81. Although Bloch is often held up as one of the founders of comparative history, contemporary practitioners of comparative history have not always followed these guidelines.

⁹ The literature on comparative history, pro and con, is vast; for the current state of the field, see Deborah Cohen and Maura O’Connor, eds., *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective* (New York, 2004). See also George M. Fredrickson, *The Comparative Imagination: On the History of Racism, Nationalism, and Social Movements* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Ann Laura Stoler, “Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies,” *Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (2001): 829–865; Khaldoun Samman, “The Limits of the Classical Comparative Method,” *Review: A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Center* 24, no. 4 (2001): 533–573; Donald R. Kelley, “Grounds for Comparison,” *Storia della Storiografia*, no. 39 (2001): 3–16.

¹⁰ Jürgen Kocka, “Comparison and Beyond,” *History and Theory* 42, no. 1 (2003): 42. Entangled history is an inexact translation of (and slight variation on) *histoire croisée*, for which see Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, “Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity,” *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (2006): 30–50; Deborah Cohen and Maura O’Connor, “Comparative History, Cross-National History, Transnational History—Definitions,” in Cohen and O’Connor, *Comparison and History*, ix–xxiv. Although *histoire croisée* has received its most extensive application at the hands of European historians—especially historians of the Franco-German relationship—interest in entangled histories of various sorts is increasingly evident in other fields; see, for example, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia,” *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997): 735–762; Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); Emma Rothschild, “Globalization and the Return of History,” *Foreign Policy*, no. 115 (1999): 106–116; Julia Rodriguez, “South Atlantic Crossings: Fingerprints, Science, and the State in Turn-of-the-Century Argentina,” *American Historical Review* 109, no. 2 (April 2004): 387–416.

of entangled history is as a more capacious form of borderland history; entangled history also bears some resemblance to transnational history, although the latter, as Akira Iriye has written, “retains ‘national’ as part of what it describes.”¹¹ As is evident from Francisco Menéndez’s experience, an array of interconnected processes linked the British and Spanish Atlantic worlds throughout the early modern era, some national in character, others having more to do with cosmopolitan phenomena such as race, religion, commerce, gender, and the law. Because of the dominance of national frameworks—both within the British and Spanish Atlantic empires and, eventually, in the creole American republics that succeeded them—historians have not always grasped or adequately conveyed the significance of these overlapping processes, yet they were both profound and tangible. Although the concern here is mainly with the implications for the history of the English-speaking Atlantic, it is worth noting that for Francisco Menéndez, the community that mattered most was probably neither the Spanish Empire in whose service he spent most of his adult life nor the British Empire whose courts briefly condemned him to slavery, but the entangled community that included both.

LIKE COMPARATIVE HISTORY, ENTANGLED HISTORY speaks to tendencies that have long had a presence in the scholarly literature, especially the literature on what historians of Anglo-America call the Spanish borderlands. Stretching from Florida to Texas and California, these are the lands that formed the core of Bolton’s “Greater America”; although sometimes studied from a comparative standpoint, they remain an important part of the attempt to complicate Anglo-centric histories of the United States by emphasizing interconnecting themes and influences.¹² As critics have often noted, Bolton’s vision suffered—and in the hands of his successors occasionally continues to suffer—from a number of shortcomings, one of the more notable being a preoccupation with “those regions,” in the words of Jack Greene, “that subsequently became part of the United States.”¹³ To this, we might add a second, related short-

¹¹ Akira Iriye, “Internationalizing International History,” in Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), 51. The tendency that Iriye notes is especially problematic for histories such as that of early America and the early modern Atlantic world, which predate the emergence of the nation-state as the dominant imaginary in political and historical discourse. For transnational history’s influence on historians of the post-1776 United States, see especially Ian Tyrrell, “American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History,” *American Historical Review* 96, no. 4 (October 1991): 1031–1055.

¹² The literature on borderland history is vast, but see Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, “From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples In Between in North American History,” *American Historical Review* 104, no. 3 (June 1999): 814–841; David J. Weber, “The Spanish Borderlands of North America: A Historiography,” *Magazine of History* 14, no. 4 (2000): 5–11; Nathan J. Citino, “The Global Frontier: Comparative History and the Frontier-Borderlands Approach in American Foreign Relations,” *Diplomatic History* 25, no. 4 (2001): 677–693; Benjamin Johnson, “Engendering Nation and Race in the Borderlands,” *Latin American Research Review* 37, no. 1 (2002): 259–271; Amy Turner Bushnell, “Borderland or Border-Sea? Placing Early Florida,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 60, no. 3 (2003): 643–653; Juliana Barr, “A Diplomacy of Gender: Rituals of First Contact in the ‘Land of Tejas,’” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 61, no. 3 (2004): 393–434; Iris H. W. Engstrand, “In Virtual Search of the Spanish Borderlands,” *Historian* 66, no. 3 (2004): 501–508; Alan Taylor, “Continental Crossings,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 24, no. 2 (2004): 182–188; Juliana Barr, “From Captives to Slaves: Commodifying Indian Women in the Borderlands,” *Journal of American History* 92, no. 1 (2005): 19–46.

¹³ Greene, “Comparing Early Modern American Worlds.”

coming, which is that the interest in borderland history has tended to limit the search for points of contact between the early modern Spanish and English-speaking Atlantic worlds to those parts of the British Empire and the United States that were once part of or immediately contiguous to the Spanish Empire. Although not all parts experienced the interplay with the same intensity, the mutual influencing evident in Francisco Menéndez's ill-fated encounter with a British judge on New Providence Island recurred throughout the English-speaking Atlantic, including localities as distant from Spain's frontiers as Virginia, New England, and Ireland.

If we think of the British and Spanish Atlantic empires as two parts of the same hemispheric system, we also need to realize that this system was deeply asymmetric, with the balance of power tilting heavily for much of the colonial era in Spain's favor. Not only was Spain the dominant military and naval power during the first century and a half of Europe's overseas expansion, but as late as the end of the eighteenth century, its American possessions far outstripped those of its rivals, including Britain and the United States, in both wealth and population. On the eve of the American Revolution, at a time when the combined indigenous, settler, and enslaved population of Britain's North American colonies was perhaps 3 million, the Spanish empire contained nearly three times as many inhabitants. In 1800, the one urban area in the Americas with a population of more than 100,000 was Mexico City, and Spanish America boasted thirty-seven of the hemisphere's fifty largest cities, as opposed to a mere five that fit that category in the United States.¹⁴ Although Spanish creoles lagged behind their Anglo-American counterparts in some areas—the first successful Spanish American newspapers date only to the 1790s—their cultural achievements in music, theater, architecture, and the writing of their own history were much more impressive.¹⁵ As Jose Moya has aptly written, “only the blinders of U.S.-centrism can obscure the fact that before 1776 the principal sites of modernity could be found not in Boston or Philadelphia, but in places like Guanajuato and Salvador[,] . . . Mexico City and Lima.”¹⁶ If British America was a provincial fragment of Britain proper, it was also, in important respects, part of a Spanish periphery that included much of the Western Hemisphere.

This asymmetric relationship touched practically every aspect of Britain's Atlantic empire, starting with the way that Britons conceived of their imperial project and how they understood the relationship of their own overseas expansion to that of their European rivals. For writers on empire throughout the English-speaking Atlantic, it was a commonplace that Britain's was a polity, in the words of David Armitage, at once “Protestant, commercial, maritime, and free.”¹⁷ One of the chief

¹⁴ Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 304; Richard M. Morse, “Trends and Patterns of Latin American Urbanization, 1750–1920,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 16, no. 4 (1974): 416.

¹⁵ Victor M. Uribe-Uran, “The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America during the Age of Revolution,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, no. 2 (2000): 440–448, esp. Table 2 (446–447). Mexico City and Lima both had newspapers during the first half of the eighteenth century, but Uribe-Uran discounts their importance because they were published only intermittently (440–441). On historical writing in Spanish America, see Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford, Calif., 2001).

¹⁶ Jose Moya, “Modernization, Modernity, and the Trans/Formation of the Atlantic World in the Nineteenth Century,” in Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Erik Seeman, eds., *The Atlantic in World History, 1500–2000* (Upper Saddle River, N.J., 2006), 189.

¹⁷ David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2000), 195. See also

purposes of this formulation was to embolden the British in the face of threats from hostile powers in Europe, especially powers that were Catholic. In the words of London's Anglican clergy, speaking during the last great Jacobite rebellion in 1745, Britain had a long and distinguished history on this score, time and again thwarting "the restless spirit of Popery, which never neglects the least opportunity of enlarging it's borders," and defying "the pleasure which arbitrary powers naturally take, in destroying the liberties of a free nation."¹⁸ As Linda Colley has written of Anglo-French relations during the long eighteenth century, "the British and French had their teeth so sunk into each other . . . that they could neither live together peacefully, nor ignore each other and live neutrally apart."¹⁹ The same was true of Britain and Spain in America, where, as Anthony Pagden has reminded us, Spanish aspirations to establish a "true 'lordship of all the world'" during the mid-sixteenth century helped set the terms by which Spain's European competitors, including both Britain and, eventually, the United States, measured their own imperial history.²⁰

Nowhere was this influence more conspicuous than in the arguments with which the British sought to legitimate their possessions in America. Even before the first successful settlement at Jamestown, England's expansion was heavily indebted to Spain's example. In Ireland, Elizabethan adventurers such as Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Henry Sidney justified their brutal treatment of the Gaelic Irish during the 1560s and 1570s by drawing on published accounts of the conquest of Mexico, and that experience in turn helped shape the ideology that the English used against the native peoples of Virginia.²¹ Because the first English settlers in America hoped to replicate the indigenous labor and tributary systems of New Spain and Peru, Spanish history also figured prominently in the Virginia Company's decision to establish a settlement among the powerful and well-organized Algonquian-speaking Indians of the lower Chesapeake. Although Powhatan's authority over the *werowances* within his chiefdom was far less extensive than that of either the Aztecs or the Incas over their own tributary subjects, and his ability to resist European invaders was much greater, the English spent their first fifteen years in Virginia trying to turn the colony into a sort of Protestant Mexico. "The manner how to suppress them is so often related and approved, I omit it here," wrote John Smith of the bloody Indian warfare that plagued the colony during its early years; "you have twenty examples of the Spaniards how they got the West-Indies, and forced the treacherous and rebellious Infidels to doe all manner of drudgery worke and slavery for them."²²

Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn., 1992); Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture, and Imperialism in England, 1715–1785* (Cambridge, 1995).

¹⁸ Clergy of London, Address to the Throne (1745), State Papers (SP) 36/79/80–81, National Archives (formerly Public Record Office), Kew, United Kingdom.

¹⁹ Colley, *Britons*, 2–3.

²⁰ Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500–c. 1800* (New Haven, Conn., 1995), 4. For the persistence of Britain's preoccupation with the Spanish Empire into the later eighteenth century, see Gabriel Paquette, "The Image of Imperial Spain in British Political Thought, 1750–1800," *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 81, no. 2 (2004): 187–214.

²¹ Nicholas P. Canny, "The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 30, no. 4 (1973): 575–598. See also Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established, 1565–76* (New York, 1976); Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580–1650* (Oxford, 2001).

²² John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* (London, 1624),

If the British sought to imitate key parts of Spain's empire, they consciously rejected others, especially the claim, based on Alexander VI's papal bull of 1493, to sovereignty over all American lands and waters west of the Azores. Although Spain's hemispheric pretensions were never enforceable—a reality that Madrid admitted in 1670 by recognizing England's right to trade and settle in North America and the West Indies—they had the effect of casting the British as interlopers committed to the principles of international liberty, both for themselves and for the other maritime powers of Europe.²³ In both Britain and America, such interactions contributed to the myth of the Black Legend, which identified Spain's overseas empire with everything that Britain's was not: indolence, superstition, backwardness, and tyranny.²⁴ Even after the balance of power began to tip in Britain's favor, Alexander's donation continued to haunt Anglo-Spanish relations, with Spain's determination to interpret British rights as narrowly as possible mirroring protestations that "Britons," in the words of James Thomson's famous anthem, "never will be slaves."²⁵ During the so-called War of Jenkins' Ear, British dramatists, writers, and composers—among them George Frideric Handel—routinely depicted Britain as a modern-day Israel, resisting the tyrannical grasp of a new pharaonic Egypt.²⁶ "We are certainly a most exposed

in Philip L. Barbour, ed., *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith, 1580–1631*, 3 vols. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986), 2: 229. See also Robert A. Williams, *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: The Discourses of Conquest* (Oxford, 1990); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2000); April Lee Hatfield, *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia, 2004), 8, 16–18. For a similar Anglo-Spanish mimesis in Puritan New England, see Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors*.

²³ Alexander VI, "Inter Caetera" (May 4, 1493) and "Treaty between Great Britain and Spain, concluded at Madrid" (October 8, 1670), in Frances Gardiner Davenport, ed., *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1917–1937), 1: 71–78, 2: 187–196. The intellectual legacy of Alexander's donation is the subject of James Muldoon, *The Americas in the Spanish World Order: The Justification for Conquest in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1994); Anthony Pagden, "The Struggle for Legitimacy and the Image of Empire in the Atlantic, to c. 1700," in Nicholas P. Canny, ed., *The Origins of Empire* (Oxford, 1998), 34–54. For the diplomatic and military history, see Max Savelle, *The Origins of American Diplomacy: The International History of Anglo-america, 1492–1763* (New York, 1967); Carl Bridenbaugh and Roberta Bridenbaugh, *No Peace beyond the Line: The English in the Caribbean, 1624–1690* (Oxford, 1972); Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge, 1984).

²⁴ Richard L. Kagan, "Prescott's Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain," *American Historical Review* 101, no. 2 (April 1996): 430; Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 404. As James Epstein notes in "Politics of Colonial Sensation: The Trial of Thomas Picton and the Cause of Louisa Calderon," in this issue, the Black Legend remained a foil for Britain's imperial identity as late as Thomas Picton's trial for the torture of Louisa Calderon, a young mulatto girl, while he was governor of the former Spanish colony of Trinidad in 1801; while conceding that such practices were not legal under the common law of England, Picton's defense successfully argued that Spanish law sanctioned judicial torture.

²⁵ "Rule Britannia" (1740), in James Thomson, *The Complete Poetical Works of James Thomson*, ed. J. Logie Robertson (Oxford, 1908), 420. For a similar contrast between Britain's libertarian (and liberationist) American empire and the despotic empire of Spain, see Edward Trelawney, Governor of Jamaica, to the Duke of Newcastle, January 15, 1740/1, Colonial Office [hereafter CO] 137/ 57/1, 27, National Archives.

²⁶ Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge, 1995). For the Anglo-Spanish War of 1739 and the response in Britain and the colonies, see Kathleen Wilson, "Empire, Trade and Popular Politics in Mid-Hanoverian Britain: The Case of Admiral Vernon," *Past and Present* 121 (1988): 74–109; Richard Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739–1763* (1936; repr., Oxford, 1963); David S. Shields, *Oracles of Empire: Poetry, Politics, and Commerce in British America, 1690–1750* (Chicago, 1990), 177–194; Bob Harris, *A Patriot Press: National Politics and the London Press in the 1740s* (Oxford, 1993).

people,” warned the New England poet and clergyman Mather Byles in a sermon before Boston’s artillery company in 1740; “assure your selves [that] you are venturing in the name of the Lord of Hosts; and he is engaged for you.”²⁷

Despite such Hispanophobic tendencies, the history of Britain’s expansion remained intertwined with its Spanish antithesis, as Britons adopted a language of imperial legitimacy diametrically and self-consciously opposed to the Spanish model of donation and conquest. Drawing on the Roman law concept of *res nullius*, British and Anglo-American writers—including, famously, John Locke—argued that before Columbus’s first voyage, the Americas were among the “empty things” of the world and were thus the property of all mankind and beyond the power of any sovereign to bequeath or possess. In such unoccupied lands, *dominium* (i.e., property rights and sovereignty) as it existed in Europe was possible only among settlers who had taken actual possession of the land.²⁸ Among other things, the doctrine of effective occupation, as it came to be known, was meant to subvert Spanish claims to territory not directly under Spain’s control, but it also served to differentiate Britain’s “libertarian” imperial project from what the British came to regard as a Spanish empire dependent on excessive force and conquest. Because Indians cultivated only a small portion of the land in North America, Anglo-Americans were allegedly free to purchase and settle on the large tracts that remained without violating the rights of the original inhabitants. In this, the British told themselves, they differed from the Spanish, whose empire had its origins in the brutal subjection of the more densely settled and “civilized” pre-Columbian peoples of Mexico and Peru.²⁹ Indeed, given the breadth of Spain’s hemispheric aspirations, the British were not above claiming Spanish tyranny as part of the benighted state from which they hoped to rescue the woodland peoples of Virginia and New England—a claim vividly illustrated by the Indian who beseeches the English on the seal of the Massachusetts Bay Company (1629) to “Come over and Help Us.”³⁰

Put this way, the contrast between the two Atlantic empires could not be greater

²⁷ Mather Byles, *The Glories of the Lord of Hosts, and the Fortitude of the Religious Hero. A Sermon Preached to the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company June 2, 1740. Being the Anniversary of Their Election of Officers* (Boston, 1740), 29, 31. See also Shields, *Oracles of Empire*, 185–194.

²⁸ John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government* (1689), especially chap. 5, §§ 25–51 (“Of Property”), in Locke, *Political Writings of John Locke*, ed. David Wootton (New York, 1993), 273–286. For the absence of *dominium* among Indians, see *ibid.*, chap. 8, § 108, 316. See also Pagden, “The Struggle for Legitimacy,” 34–54; James Tully, “Rediscovering America: The Two Treatises and Aboriginal Rights,” in Tully, *An Approach to Political Philosophy: Locke in Contexts* (Cambridge, 1993), 137–176.

²⁹ Although the work of armchair jurists and theorists, this discourse can also be found throughout the papers and memoranda of colonial officials; see, for example, Harman Verelst, “Observations on the Right of the Crown of Great Britain to the North West Continent of America” (April 16, 1739), CO 5/283, 1–9 et seq.; see also James Muldoon, “Discovery, Grant, Charter, Conquest, or Purchase: John Adams on the Legal Basis for English Possession of North America,” in Christopher L. Tomlins and Bruce M. Mann, eds., *The Many Legalities of Early America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001), 25–46; Williams, *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought*; Stuart Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005).

³⁰ For the Spanish reference in the Massachusetts seal, see Pagden, “The Struggle for Legitimacy,” 52. In an indication of the prevalence of such views, the Swiss jurist Emer de Vattel, whose treatise on the law of nations was the standard text on the subject in both Britain and the colonies during the later eighteenth century, praised the Puritans for “purchas[ing] of the Indians the land of which they intended to take possession”; Vattel, *The Law of Nations; or, Principles of the Law of Nature, Applied to the Conduct and Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns. From the French of Monsieur de Vattel* (London, 1797), book 1, chap. 18, § 209 (101).

or—to students of comparative history—more familiar, pitting an Iberian model, in which authority descended from on high, against what Pagden has called the “nascent republicanism” of Britain’s decentralized, settler-based ideal.³¹ What has received less attention is that the terms upon which the British sought to legitimate their imperial project were never sufficient to disentangle that project from its Spanish antithesis. Although Anglo-American settlers on land claimed by Spain could unilaterally create *de facto* property rights and exercise many of the attributes of sovereignty, neither they nor the British government could hope to establish *dominium* in the fullest sense of the word. For that, Britain needed Spain’s recognition, and for most of the early modern period that recognition was not forthcoming. Although the Anglo-Spanish Treaty of 1670 acknowledged Britain’s right to all lands that its subjects “at present hold and possess,” Spain insisted well into the eighteenth century that the concession did not apply to settlements made subsequent to the treaty, including Georgia, British Honduras, and the so-called Neutral Islands in the West Indies; nor did it guarantee freedom of the seas.³² As late as the American Revolutionary War, Britain and Spain were still arguing over such matters in the South Atlantic and the Caribbean, and Spanish claims in the Pacific nearly caused a breach during the Nootka Sound incident of 1789. Only with the collapse of the Bourbon monarchy in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars did Spain’s pretensions cease to matter. Even then, the (admittedly remote) possibility that the revanchist government of Ferdinand VII might attempt to revive them during the 1820s was enough to lead President James Monroe of the United States to make his famous proclamation, with Britain’s tacit support, that the Americas would henceforth be off limits to European expansion.³³

THIS ENTANGLED ANGLO-SPANISH HISTORY necessarily complicates any attempt—including any attempt undertaken from a comparative standpoint—to write the history of either Britain’s Atlantic empire or the early United States as the history of politically self-sufficient nations with full mastery over their own destiny. Although British and Anglo-American officials such as the judge who consigned Francisco Menéndez to slavery in 1741 would have been loath to admit it, Spanish norms and institutions continued to intrude, sometimes decisively. This was especially true for groups on the margins of creole society: Indians, African Americans, and white squatters and interlopers. On Honduras Bay and Nicaragua’s Mosquito Coast, where several thousand British settlers conducted a profitable trade in logwood (used in the manufacture of dye) and mahogany throughout the eighteenth century, Spain’s refusal to grant Britain territorial jurisdiction placed the mixed-race inhabitants in what the king’s advocate James Marriott called a legally ambiguous “family state.” Because the logwood cutters were under the jurisdiction of neither Britain nor Spain, they were in effect subject “to no Jurisdiction at all”—“a collective body of fugitive

³¹ Pagden, “The Struggle for Legitimacy,” 54.

³² Davenport, *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States*, 2: 194. See also Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies*.

³³ Ernest R. May, *The Making of the Monroe Doctrine* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975). See also Rafe Blau-farb, “The Western Question: The Geopolitics of Latin American Independence,” in this issue.

persons composed of all nations,” as Marriott wrote in 1766, who lived as “Outlaws with respect to the laws of both . . . Sovereigns.” Although free as individuals to occupy land, erect houses, and establish families, “which is in effect colonizing,” the settlers together constituted, at best, a “sort of colony,” whose collective rights, according to Marriott, were “sometimes maintained by force, often interrupted and never allowed by the Court of Spain.”³⁴ Under such conditions, Spain’s refusal to give up territorial sovereignty rendered the settlers stateless, sentimentally part of the British nation (though only just), but only tenuously subject to the jurisdiction of the British government. “As they have a *natural* right,” wrote Marriott, “to form themselves by an original compact into any model of government, so they may commit irregularities and outrages on the Neighboring Settlements of the Crown of Spain, without the Crown of Great Britain by the law of nations being responsible for it.”³⁵

The same stateless, freelancing dynamic was evident in Britain’s maritime rivalry with Spain in the “border seas” of Florida and the West Indies.³⁶ Because the Spanish treated the crew of any merchant ship that strayed into what they claimed as their territorial waters as outlaws and the ship itself as a legitimate prize, the British government faced an unenviable choice, between going to war to avenge the insults of Spanish corsairs, and appearing to accept the legality of Spain’s assertions by allowing its subjects to be treated like pirates. In the celebrated case of Captain Robert Jenkins, whose vessel was stopped by a Havana *guarda costa* shortly after sailing from Jamaica in 1731, the Spanish commander strung him up by the neck, threatened to burn the ship if he did not divulge the location of its money, and severed his left ear, “bidding him carry it to his Master King George.”³⁷ Although the episode eventually supplied the name for the Anglo-Spanish War of 1739, perhaps the most interesting part of Jenkins’s story is that the British government waited eight years to avenge his dismemberment, thereby appearing to accept Spain’s version of the encounter. As Rear Admiral Stewart, commander of the British station at Jamaica, wrote in his report on the attack, it was well known that “the traders of Jamaica [were] as great rogues as the Spaniards,” that this “illicit trade [was frequently] carried on by armed sloops, or in convoy, in defiance of the law,” and that Britain’s own mariners were often as “cruel to the Spaniards” and had “murdered seven or eight of them on their own shore.” As long as Spain maintained its maritime pretensions, and as long as

³⁴ James Marriott, “Case of the Settlers in the Bay of Honduras” [letter to John Pownall, secretary to the Lords of Trade], April 21, 1766, CO 123/1, 123, 125. For the British settlements on the Central American coast, see Jennifer L. Anderson, “Nature’s Currency: The Atlantic Mahogany Trade and the Commodification of Nature in the Eighteenth Century,” *Early American Studies* 2, no. 1 (2004): 47–80.

³⁵ Marriott, “Case of the Settlers in the Bay of Honduras,” CO 123/1, 123, 125. The settlers took a similar view of their situation; see, for example, “Letter from the Inhabitants of the Bay of Honduras,” June 2, 1745, CO 137/57/2, 130; see also [Daniel Defoe], *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pyrates . . . By Captain Charles Johnson* (London, 1724), 283–284; William Douglass, *A Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements, and Present State of the British Settlements in North-America*, 2 vols. (1747; repr., London, 1755), 1: 87–90; Tobias Smollett, *Continuation of the Complete History of England*, 5 vols. (London, 1760–1765), 2: 189, 364–368. For statelessness as a general problem in American history, see Linda K. Kerber, “Toward a History of Statelessness in America,” *American Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2005): 727–749.

³⁶ Bushnell, “Borderland or Border-Sea?” 643–653.

³⁷ *American Weekly Mercury*, September 30–October 7, 1731, 2. The Anglo-Spanish dispute over maritime rights in the Caribbean is covered in detail in Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies*, esp. chaps. 1, 2, and 11.

Britain was unwilling or unable to compel Madrid to change course, British sailors in the Caribbean had every reason to disregard the laws of their own government as well as those of Spain, and to use force independently in their own defense. "Villany," Stewart concluded, "is inherent to that Climate."³⁸

In the case of Indians and African Americans, these conflicts over territorial and maritime sovereignty often included jurisdictional disputes over the bodies and souls of people either allied with or subject to the British crown. Under the terms of Alexander's donation, the Spanish claimed dominion not only over the "mainlands and islands" of America but over the hemisphere's "residents and inhabitants" as well, the expectation being that Spain would use its authority to reduce its new subjects "to the Catholic faith."³⁹ Although this requirement applied only to Indians, Spaniards in Florida and the Caribbean effectively broadened it to include Africans, especially Africans fleeing slavery in South Carolina and the British West Indies. Given the suspicion with which they regarded Protestant missionaries in their own midst, Anglo-American planters frequently noted the threat posed by Spanish clerics who preached the doctrine of liberty for slaves who converted to Christianity.⁴⁰ British records are full of complaints like the one lodged against a priest on Puerto Rico for giving "spiritual advantage to slaves, who are quite insensible of them, except as procuring their manumission." Invariably, the British responded by disputing the legality of Spain's jurisdiction over their own servants, as well as the sincerity of the conversions upon which that jurisdiction depended. "I pray leave to assure you," insisted Gilbert Fleming, governor of the Leeward Islands, to his counterpart on Puerto Rico in 1751, "that not a single Slave has deserted us in search of the Roman Catholick Religion, or of Christianity of any Denomination whatsoever."⁴¹ As Fleming must have realized, however, African slaves in the British colonies—particularly those whom Ira Berlin has described as "Atlantic creoles"—were often aware of the possibilities for improving their condition in Spanish territory; in more than a few instances, religion was a decisive factor. During the Stono Rebellion of 1739, many of the slaves who sought to escape the plantations of South Carolina for Florida were "Angolans" who observed the Catholic rites and catechism of their native Kongo. Of those who managed to elude capture, several ended up swearing allegiance to the

³⁸ "Notes of correspondence between the Lords [of Admiralty] and [Rear Admiral] Stewart as to Spanish depredations, the orders for reprisals, and the difficulties they will raise," May 15, 1731, in R. G. Marsden, ed., *Documents Relating to Law and Custom of the Sea*, 2 vols. (1915; repr., London, 1999), 2: 278. For similar accounts of peacetime depredations by British and Anglo-American mariners, see Henry Moore, Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica, to the Earl of Holderness, August 31, 1757, October 4, 1757, and February 6, 1758, CO 137/60, 262, 264, and 270.

³⁹ "Inter Caetera," in Davenport, *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States*, 1: 76 (editor's trans.). The original text from which the quoted excerpts are taken reads: "terras firmas et insulas predictas illarumque incolas et habitores . . . subijcere et ad fidem Catholicam reducere propositis" (73).

⁴⁰ For the longstanding hostility of Anglo-American slaveholders to Protestant missionaries, see especially Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).

⁴¹ Gilbert Fleming to Don Augustine Pareja, May 21, 1751, CO 152/45, 256. See also Lords of Trade to the Earl of Holderness, May 22, 1754, CO 152/41, 63–68. Conversely, when the Jamaican corsair Robert Searle sacked St. Augustine in 1668, he informed the Spanish authorities that his governor had given him permission to enslave all people of color, regardless of whether they were free subjects of the king of Spain; Amy Turner Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida* (Athens, Ga., 1994), 136.

Spanish king and serving in Francisco Menéndez's company of black soldiers at St. Augustine.⁴²

Despite Spain's own growing dependence on plantation slavery—notably, from the 1760s onward, in Cuba—this willingness to make Catholic freemen of British slaves had far-reaching consequences along what the English earl of Egmont called the “frontiers of America.”⁴³ In South Carolina, the proximity of Spanish territory, coupled with a large black majority, helped make the slave codes among the harshest in the Americas; slaves caught attempting to flee could expect to face a horrific array of penalties, including, for repeat offenders, castration.⁴⁴ On the other hand, Spain's policy of manumitting African American fugitives and encouraging acts of slave resistance in Britain's colonies repeatedly forced Britons and Anglo-Americans to make concessions of their own. To counter “Offer[s] of Liberty from the Spaniards,” British officials were often compelled to manumit black soldiers in the West Indies, assuring them that they would “not be employed but as soldiers.”⁴⁵ The fear of Spanish intervention was likewise instrumental in persuading Jamaica to reach a negotiated settlement to the island's long-running Maroon War in 1739, and such considerations helped postpone the spread of slavery in Georgia.⁴⁶ Although the British government legalized the institution in 1750, many settlers worried about Georgia's “nearness to the Spaniards.” In such a vulnerable borderland, wrote the colony's president, William Stephens, in 1742, slaves “would soon find means, by untrodden paths thro' a Wilderness of thick Woods,” to flee to the Spanish stronghold at St. Augustine. Once in Florida, “they would soon have Arms put into their hands, and . . . fight against us.”⁴⁷

Farther to the north, British colonists had less to fear from direct threats of the sort described by Stephens, yet even there, what contemporaries understood as a

⁴² Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 73. See also Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, 34, 37, 112–113; John K. Thornton, “African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion,” *American Historical Review* 96, no. 4 (October 1991): 1101–1113; Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), 454–455.

⁴³ “Diary of the Earl of Egmont,” January 17, 1738/9, in Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1930–1935), 4: 592. For the growing importance of plantation slavery in Cuba, see Klein, *Slavery in the Americas*; Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440–1870* (New York, 1997), 272–273; Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, 497–499; Evelyn Powell Jennings, “War as the ‘Forcing House of Change’: State Slavery in Late-Eighteenth-Century Cuba,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 62, no. 3 (2005): 411–440.

⁴⁴ South Carolina's slave statute of 1696 stipulated that male slaves apprehended attempting to escape for the fourth time “shall be gelt”; William M. Wiecek, “The Statutory Law of Slavery and Race in the Thirteen Mainland Colonies of British America,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 34, no. 2 (1977): 270.

⁴⁵ Trelawney to the Duke of Newcastle, May 29, 1741, CO 137/57/1, 101. For more on the use of black soldiers during the Anglo-Spanish War of 1739, see Trelawney to Newcastle, May 17, 1741, *ibid.*, 62–63; Trelawney to Newcastle, April 25, 1742, *ibid.*, 145–146; see also papers relating to the British expedition against Omoa (1779), CO 137/39; Sir John Dalling, Governor of Jamaica, to Lord Germaine, no. 76, July 2 and 28, 1780, CO 137/78, 166–171. See also Edward L. Cox, “The British Caribbean in the Age of Revolution,” in Eliga H. Gould and Peter S. Onuf, eds., *Empire and Nation: The American Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Baltimore, Md., 2005), 275–294; Christopher Leslie Brown and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Arming Slaves: From Classical Times to the Modern Age* (New Haven, Conn., 2006).

⁴⁶ Mavis Campbell, *The Maroons of Jamaica, 1655–1796: A History of Resistance, Collaboration and Betrayal* (Granby, Mass., 1988), 117–118; Trevor Richard Reese, *Colonial Georgia: A Study in British Imperial Policy in the Eighteenth Century* (Athens, Ga., 1963).

⁴⁷ Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade*, 4: 595, 604.

Spanish model of incorporating blacks and Indians into colonial society intruded on the polarization that characterized race relations in Britain's empire. In the Protestant revivals that swept the North American seaboard from the 1740s onward, the specter of militant Catholicism almost certainly helped missionaries such as George Whitefield begin to overcome white hostility toward evangelizing free and enslaved blacks.⁴⁸ Britain's colonists were also keenly aware of their vulnerability to Spanish warships, many of which depended so heavily on sailors "of broken color [i.e., mulattoes], blacks, and Indians" that the governor of Florida claimed during the 1750s that he could not "arm a single corsair with [only] Spaniards."⁴⁹ When a Cuban *guarda costa* seized several vessels off the Capes of Virginia in 1724, the *Boston Gazette* pointedly noted the presence of "Negros and Molattos" among the ship's Spanish crew.⁵⁰ "Let us fall upon some Means," implored the Anglican clergyman William Currie following a Spanish raid on two Delaware plantations in 1747, "to keep off those Enemies of human Nature; I mean a lawless Crew of *French* and *Spanish* Privateers."⁵¹ Significantly, during the New York slave conspiracy of 1741, five of the plot's alleged ringleaders were black sailors who had been taken from a Spanish corsair and, like Francisco Menéndez, sold into slavery. Among the charges leveled against them was that they were "Emissaries" of Spain, whom Spanish officials had commissioned "to burn all the Magazines and considerable Towns in the English North-America."⁵²

Despite the absence of a British counterpart to the Spanish missions and *castas* that governed the status of Indians in New Spain and Peru, Indians played an especially important role in perpetuating these interracial Anglo-Spanish entanglements, and none more so than the "wild" or independent Indians who made up roughly half the native population of Spanish America.⁵³ On the Mosquito Coast,

⁴⁸ For the growing receptiveness of Anglo-American planters to black Christianization, see especially Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*. For the Protestant awakening as a response to militant Catholicism, French as well as Spanish, see Nathan O. Hatch, "The Origins of Civil Millennialism in America: New England Clergymen, War with France, and the Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 31, no. 3 (1974): 407–430; W. Reginald Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge, 1992); Eliga H. Gould, "The Christianizing of British America," in Norman Etherington, ed., *Missions and Empire* (Oxford, 2005), 25–26.

⁴⁹ Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, 44–45. For African American sailors on British and Anglo-American vessels, see W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997).

⁵⁰ Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade*, 4: 119. For similar observations about the crew of a Franco-Spanish vessel (sailing under the American flag) during the American Revolutionary War, see Sir John Dalling, Governor of Jamaica, to Lord Germaine, no. 18, April 25, 1778, CO 137/73, 143–144.

⁵¹ [William Currie], *A Sermon, Preached in Radnor Church, on Thursday, the 7th of January, 1747 [i.e., 1748]. Being the Day Appointed by the President and Council of the Province of Pennsylvania, to Be Observed as a General Fast* (Philadelphia, 1748), 17.

⁵² [Daniel Horsmanden], *A Journal of the Proceedings in the Detection of the Conspiracy Formed by Some White People, in Conjunction with Negro and Other Slaves, for Burning the City of New-York in America, and Murdering the Inhabitants* (New York, 1744), 11. See also Jill Lepore, *New York Burning: Liberty, Slavery, and Conspiracy in Eighteenth-Century Manhattan* (New York, 2005), 160–164, 165–167.

⁵³ David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven, Conn., 2005), 6. As Weber notes, historians have tended to overlook the large number of Spanish Indians in borderlands (or "frontier" regions) such as Patagonia, California, the Gulf Coast, and the Lower Mississippi Valley. In such regions, the points of contact between Spanish-Indian relations and Indian relations in the empires of France and Britain were considerable; see Amy Turner Bushnell, "Gates, Patterns, and Peripheries: The Field of Frontier Latin America," in Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy, eds., *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500–1820* (New York, 2002),

the “aversion” of the local Miskito Indians to Spanish authority was so intense that the British agent Robert Hodgson could only surmise that, despite having “no record of [Spain’s] Inhumanity in those parts of the World,” the Miskitos had “implicitly imbibed an hereditary Rancour.”⁵⁴ Capitalizing on this animosity, the British constructed a series of alliances during the eighteenth century that included mutual pledges of military assistance, Miskito participation in the Indian slave trade (mainly with Jamaica), and elaborate coronation ceremonies, whereby British officials conferred the titles of “general,” “admiral,” and “governor” on a succession of Miskito kings, along with badges of honor such as a “laced hat” and written expressions of fealty. Typically, this diplomacy also had a sexual dimension, as Miskito women formed liaisons with English settlers, creating a mixed-race population in which, by the mid-1750s, mestizo boys and girls outnumbered white children by eleven to one.⁵⁵ Whether the Miskitos’ embrace of British culture represented anything more than a shared hatred of Spain is hard to say. On attempting to convert a Miskito king to Christianity in 1775, Olaudah Equiano, for one, was shocked to hear the other Indians mock their leader, telling him “never to fear the devil, for there was none existing.”⁵⁶ Nonetheless, the British were only too happy to cast the Miskitos as supporting actors in their own Hispanophobic narratives of liberty and empire. In 1740, the Miskito King Edward signed a declaration in which he pledged to assist the British in “help[ing] all Indian Nations who are now in Subjection to the Spaniards to throw off the Spanish Yoke, and to recover their Ancient Liberty.”⁵⁷

If Britain used Indian alliances to make inroads in Mesoamerica, Spain’s still-extensive claims in North America led the Spanish to adopt a similar strategy among the woodland Indians of the Gulf Coast and the Mississippi Valley. As David Weber notes, officials in Spain’s distant borderlands increasingly emulated the Indian diplomacy of Britain and France, basing Madrid’s authority not on papal donation and unilateral conquest, but on written treaties with the representatives of local Indian nations. On this basis, the Bourbon monarchy was able to establish a formidable presence in North America in the years following the Spanish acquisition of Louisiana in 1762, creating a network of alliances that, during the early 1790s, included the Choctaws, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles.⁵⁸ At a time when the Spanish population (creole and peninsular) of East and West Florida was probably no more than two thousand, the Creeks and Seminoles alone may have numbered as many as forty thousand men, women, and children, giving Spain an effective buffer against land-hungry Anglo-Americans. In 1786, a Creek military campaign to expel Georgia squatters from lands west of the Ogeechee River was so successful that

15–28; Weber, *Bárbaros*, 1–18; Daniel H. Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992).

⁵⁴ Robert Hodgson, “The First Account of the State of that Part of America called the Mosquito Shore” (1757), CO 123/1, 77.

⁵⁵ Some Miskito children also served as apprentices in Jamaica: Trelawney to Newcastle, March 16, 1739/40, CO 137/57/1, 35–36. For Anglo-Miskito diplomatic rituals, sexual liaisons, and demography, see Nicholas Rogers, “Caribbean Borderland: Empire, Ethnicity, and the Exotic on the Mosquito Coast,” *Eighteenth-Century Life* 26, no. 3 (2002): 122–125.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁵⁷ “The Declaration of Edward King of the Mosquito Indians” (March 16, 1739/40), CO 123/1, 52. See also Hodgson to Trelawney, November 28, 1740, CO 137/57/1, 39–43.

⁵⁸ Weber, *Bárbaros*, 204–208.

Spanish officials feared being drawn into an open war with the United States. Following the Treaty of Nogales (modern Vicksburg, Mississippi) in 1793, Spain briefly headed a confederation of Indian nations whose influence covered millions of acres claimed by the American Republic, including land from the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains in Georgia to the confluence of the Ohio and Tennessee rivers in western Kentucky.⁵⁹

Despite this vast territorial reach, Spain's empire over the Indians of the Southeast was in many respects a hollow empire.⁶⁰ Not only did the Indians themselves remain fiercely independent, but Spain's influence in the region depended heavily on the cooperation of French and British traders, many of whom had Indian wives and families and were integrated into Indian society. In the Catholic missions of Mexico and Peru, the Spanish tolerated, and at times positively encouraged, interracial unions, both as a means of converting Indians to Christianity and as a way to incorporate them into Spanish society.⁶¹ Among non-mission Indians, on the other hand, Spain's ability to regulate interracial unions was far more circumscribed, especially in distant borderlands such as those of North America.⁶² Because of the matrilineal structure of Indian society in the Southeast, European men who married Indian women tended to be marginal figures, typically wielding influence only insofar as they embraced the customs of their adoptive nations. Southeastern Indians were also adept at compelling Spanish officials to play the part of benevolent but powerless "fathers," notably through the costly practice of giving gifts in exchange for military and economic favors.⁶³ "In the Floridas," observed the council of Charles IV in 1792, "we occupy only the ports and forts of Mobile, Pensacola, and St. Augustine." The rest of Spain's territory still belonged to the Indians.⁶⁴

If Spain's powers were attenuated, the sovereignty that it claimed over the southeastern Indians was nonetheless a significant impediment to the ambitions of its European rivals, including Britain and the United States. Probably no figure used this Spanish counterpoise to greater advantage than the Creek leader Alexander

⁵⁹ J. Leitch Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People* (Lincoln, Neb., 1986), 114–127; David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, Conn., 1992), 274–278, 284. Charles A. Weeks, *Paths to a Middle Ground: The Diplomacy of Natchez, Boukhouka, Nogales, and San Fernando de Las Barrancas, 1791–1795* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 2005).

⁶⁰ The notion of a hollow empire comes from Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673–1800* (Cambridge, 1997). See also Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (New York, 2000), chap. 72.

⁶¹ Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Stanford, Calif., 1991), xix. See also Amy Turner Bushnell, "Ruling 'the Republic of Indians' in Seventeenth-Century Florida," in Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, eds., *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast* (Lincoln, Neb., 1989), 134–150; Jerald T. Milanich, *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and Southeastern Indians* (Washington, D.C., 1999). The relative population figures for mission and non-Indian missions in the Spanish empire come from J. H. Elliott, *Britain and Spain in America: Colonists and Colonized* (Reading, 1994), 4.

⁶² Quoted in Weber, *Bárbaros*, 255.

⁶³ Theda Perdue, "'A Sprightly Lover Is the Most Prevailing Missionary': Intermarriage between Europeans and Indians in the Eighteenth-Century South," in Charles M. Hudson, Thomas J. Pluckhahn, and Robbie Franklyn Ethridge, eds., *Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 2006), 165–178; Theda Perdue, "Mixed Blood" Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South (Athens, Ga., 2003); Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733–1816* (Cambridge, 1999), chap. 6.

⁶⁴ Quoted in Weber, *Bárbaros*, 204.

McGillivray. The son of a Scottish Indian trader and the mestiza sister of a Kosati chief, McGillivray was among the “gorget chiefs” who rose to prominence during the imperial conflicts of the later eighteenth century, centralizing political authority within the Creek nation, encouraging its members to adopt slave-based agriculture, and amassing a personal fortune that included several plantations.⁶⁵ During the American Revolutionary War, McGillivray led the pro-British faction in the Creek National Council, shifting the Creeks’ allegiance to Spain at the war’s end. As he wrote in 1784 to Estevan Miró, governor-general of Spanish Louisiana, “the protection of a great Monarchy is to be preferred to that of a distracted Republic.” Despite such professions, McGillivray reserved the Creeks’ right to wage war in circumstances “where Self Defense Made it absolutely Necessary.” He also maintained covert ties with Britain and the United States, serving as a silent partner in the Scottish firm of Pantón, Leslie, and Company, which managed Spain’s trade with the Creeks, and accepting a secret commission as a brigadier in the United States Army worth \$1,200 per annum. If McGillivray was able to win concessions from Spain’s rivals, however, that was largely because of his status as Spain’s official commissioner for the Creeks—“nuestro mestizo,” as the Spanish called him.⁶⁶ In the interplay between the various European contenders for dominion in the Southeast, Spain’s hollow empire ensured that mestizos such as Alexander McGillivray remained the creatures of none.

AT THE TIME OF MCGILLIVRAY’S DEATH at Pensacola in 1793, the political contours of the Western Hemisphere had already started to change. The salient features of these transformations are well known. In both empires, the roots of change lay in the upheavals of the Seven Years’ War, followed by the attempts of two new monarchs, Charles III (1759) and George III (1760), to strengthen their respective empires through far-reaching military, fiscal, and economic reforms. In the American territories of each crown, the new initiatives, which had as their goal to make the two empires more closely resemble “unitary nation-states,”⁶⁷ proved deeply unpopular, triggering crises with both European creoles and Indians that included riots,

⁶⁵ For McGillivray and the transformation of Creek society, see Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles*, 116–117; Saunt, *A New Order of Things*, chap. 3. The term “gorget chief” refers to the medal or gorget that Indians wore around their necks as commissioned officers in European armies; Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (Cambridge, 1995), 60. See also Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge, 1991), 403–406.

⁶⁶ Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country*, 276 (including first McGillivray quote); Weeks, *Paths to a Middle Ground*, 42 (second McGillivray quote), 82–83; Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 282–285; Saunt, *A New Order of Things*, chap. 3.

⁶⁷ Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 376. For the same goal in the British imperial reforms of the 1760s and 1780s, see Eliga H. Gould, “A Virtual Nation: Greater Britain and the Imperial Legacy of the American Revolution,” *American Historical Review* 104, no. 2 (April 1999): 481; Gould, *The Persistence of Empire: British Political Culture in the Age of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000), xvii–xix. Because the British imperial reforms were cut short by the Revolutionary War, British and Anglo-American historians tend to place less emphasis on their character as a “failed attempt at national integration”; *ibid.*, xvii, n. 5. But see Stephen Conway, “From Fellow-Nationals to Foreigners: British Perceptions of the Americans, circa 1739–1783,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 59, no. 1 (2002): 65–100. The Bourbon reforms are the subject of Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein, *Apogee of Empire: Spain and New Spain in the Age of Charles III, 1759–1789* (Baltimore, Md., 2003).

rebellion, and, eventually, independence. Alexander von Humboldt, for one, had a keen sense of the many similarities between the two. He described the Túpac Amaru rebellion, which convulsed the southern Andes between 1780 and 1783 and claimed more than 100,000 Indian and Spanish lives, as having come close to “snatching from the King of Spain all the mountainous region of Peru at the same time as Great Britain was losing almost all its colonies in the continent of America.”⁶⁸ Although Bourbon officials managed to quell the rebellion and contain the immediate crisis that had provoked it, the underlying fissures were similar in many ways to those driving the revolution to the north, and they anticipated the seismic rifts that finally destroyed Spain’s American empire during the 1820s.

Despite the many points of comparison in the crises that beset the empires of Britain and Spain, however, the two crises were hardly comparable. Not only did Spain’s American empire remain intact almost fifty years longer than Britain’s, but when the final, protracted Spanish crisis began in 1808, Hispanic creoles proved much more reluctant than their Anglo-American counterparts to sever all ties to the metropole. For both Britain and the United States, Spain accordingly remained a potent and hostile antithesis, limiting the ability of either nation to control its imperial project on its own terms. In the case of the Bourbon reforms of the 1760s and 1770s, people throughout the English-speaking Atlantic evinced a keen awareness that the Spanish mantle of American lordship was still an asset of considerable value, one that seemed to justify vigorous measures to strengthen Britain’s authority over its own colonies.⁶⁹ As had been true since the early eighteenth century, Britons, in particular, also worried that Spain’s American empire might fall to another rival. Despite the apparent priority of Britain’s century-long rivalry with France, one of the main sources of British anxiety during the revolutionary era was the question of which of the two “natural enemies” would control the wealth of Spanish America—a question settled in Britain’s favor only with the “informal empire” that its merchants gained over the newly independent Latin American republics after 1815.⁷⁰ Significantly, during the final years of the American Revolutionary War, Britons across the political spectrum convinced themselves that the best way to counter the transatlantic threat of France’s alliance with Spain was to recognize American independence and, in so doing, draw the former colonies into a “family compact” of their own.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Quoted in Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 355.

⁶⁹ See especially Gould, *The Persistence of Empire*, chap. 4. For the influence of Britain’s example on the reforms of Charles III, see Stein and Stein, *Apogee of Empire*, esp. chap. 6.

⁷⁰ The classic statement on Latin America as part of an “informal” British empire is John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, “The Imperialism of Free Trade,” *Economic History Review* 6, no. 1 (1953): 1–15. For a skeptical assessment that nonetheless accepts parts of the Robinson and Gallagher thesis, see Alan Knight, “Britain and Latin America,” in Andrew Porter, ed., *The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1999), 122–145. See also Blaufarb, “The Western Question”; Peggy K. Liss, *Atlantic Empires: The Network of Trade and Revolution, 1713–1826* (Baltimore, Md., 1983); Jeremy Adelman, *Republic of Capital: Buenos Aires and the Legal Transformation of the Atlantic World* (Stanford, Calif., 1999), 45–46, 121–127, 309 n. 27; Jaime E. Rodríguez O., *The Independence of Spanish America* (Cambridge, 1998), 244–246. For the centrality of Spanish America in Britain’s rivalry with France, see Paquette, “The Image of Imperial Spain in British Political Thought,” 187–214; Paul Mapp, “The Spanish Empire and the Seven Years’ War,” *Common-place* 1, no. 1 (2000), <http://common-place.org/vol-01/no-01/crucible/crucible-mapp.shtml> (accessed April 16, 2007).

⁷¹ [Joseph Cawthorne], *A Plan of Reconciliation with America; Consistent with the Dignity and Interests of Both Countries* (London, 1782), 48. See also Viscount Mahon to the Earl of Chatham, February 11,

Although these British plans did not find many American takers, no European power posed a greater threat to the new American Republic or cast in sharper relief its post-independence vulnerability to foreign powers than Spain. With a continental empire that stretched from Upper California to the Florida Keys, the Spanish were in a position during the later 1780s and early 1790s to intervene in the affairs of the United States on multiple fronts, providing sanctuary to escaped slaves in Florida, refusing to allow Anglo-American farmers as far inland as Pittsburgh to ship goods through New Orleans, and encouraging secessionist talk among disaffected settlers in Kentucky and Tennessee.⁷² Entangling the region's politics still further, Britain also retained a presence in Spanish North America, both through the covert activities of backcountry Loyalists and through the monopoly that the merchant house of Pantón, Leslie, and Company retained on Spain's Indian trade at Pensacola.⁷³ Given the small Hispanic populations of Spain's North American provinces and the proximity of much larger numbers of Anglo-Americans—many with designs on land under Spain's nominal jurisdiction—Spanish officials bolstered Madrid's authority by naturalizing non-Hispanic settlers in East and West Florida and Louisiana, requiring only that they take oaths of allegiance and agree to raise their children as Catholics. Thomas Jefferson, for one, hoped that the resulting influx of Anglo-American settlers would Americanize Spain's frontier, thereby becoming “the means of delivering to us peaceably, what may otherwise cost us a war.”⁷⁴ But Jefferson also feared that settlers within the United States' own limits were capable of transferring their allegiance in other, less welcome directions, including to the crown of Spain.⁷⁵

In voicing concerns about the loyalty of U.S. citizens, Jefferson knew whereof he spoke. As long as Spain's American empire remained intact—that is, as long as there was no Hispanic counterpart to the British imperial crisis of 1776—it proved impossible to extricate the rights of Anglo-American settlers from Spain's territorial

1778, in William Stanhope Taylor and John Henry Pringle, eds., *Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, 4 vols. (London, 1838–1840), 4: 503; William Pulteney, *Considerations on the Present State of Public Affairs, and the Means of Raising the Necessary Supplies* (London, 1779), 10; [John Jebb], *An Address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, Assembled at Free Masons Tavern* (London, [1779]), 17 n. For the British debate over federating with the erstwhile colonies between 1778 and 1782, see Gould, *The Persistence of Empire*, 165–168.

⁷² Bowing to pressure from the United States, Spain agreed to stop offering sanctuary to escaped slaves in Florida in 1790; Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, 80. For Spanish intrigues and threats in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, see A. P. Whitaker, “Spanish Intrigue in the Old Southwest: An Episode, 1788–89,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 12, no. 2 (1925): 155–176; Thomas P. Slaughter, *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution* (New York, 1986), 30–59, 155–163; James E. Lewis, *The American Union and the Problem of Neighborhood: The United States and the Collapse of the Spanish Empire, 1783–1829* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), esp. chap. 1.

⁷³ Both groups often displayed the same independence and disregard for the authority of the British government that Marriott noted (*supra*) in his observations on the logwood cutters on Honduras Bay; see, for example, the depiction of British squatters in East Florida following the province's cession to Spain (1783) as “banditti,” “outlaws,” and “rebels,” in Patrick Tonn to Lord Sydney, no. 5, December 6, 1784, CO 5/561, 13–20. See also J. Leitch Wright, *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America* (Athens, Ga., 1971), chaps. 12 and 13.

⁷⁴ Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 281. The Jefferson quote comes from a private letter that Jefferson wrote to George Washington in 1791.

⁷⁵ See, for example, Jefferson's letter to Archibald Stuart, January 25, 1786, written from Paris in response to news of Spain's secessionist intrigues during the Kentucky Convention of 1785, in Thomas Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (New York, 1984), 844. “I fear,” Jefferson wrote, “that the people . . . think of separating not only from Virginia (in which they are right) but also from the confederacy.”

pretensions, even when those pretensions were superficial, conjectural, or unenforceable. In Franklin, the short-lived republic proclaimed in 1786 by settlers in North Carolina's three western counties (modern Tennessee), disaffected Anglo-Americans briefly contemplated declaring independence from the United States and placing themselves under the protection of Spain, their hope being, as James Robertson told Alexander McGillivray, that officials at New Orleans "would furnish us with trade, and receive our produce."⁷⁶ In order to avoid Spanish tariffs on goods shipped down the Mississippi, some Tennesseans, including a young Nashville lawyer named Andrew Jackson, went so far as to swear oaths of allegiance to the king of Spain.⁷⁷ Writing in 1789 to Estevan Miró, governor-general of Spanish Louisiana, James Robertson claimed that "unprotected, we are to be obedient to the new Congress of the United States; but we cannot but wish for a more interesting connection." "For my own part," added Robertson, "I conceive highly of the advantages of your government."⁷⁸ In order to weaken and contain such sympathies, Congress extended broad rights of self-government to Anglo-American settlers in the trans-Appalachian west in 1790, ensuring, in the words of Peter Onuf, that the American union would remain a loose-knit federation in which the individual states "could (probably) do whatever they pleased."⁷⁹ Even so, as late as the mid-1790s, some Tennesseans could imagine circumstances under which their "Country," in the words of Andrew Jackson, might be compelled "to break or seek a protection from some other Source than the present."⁸⁰

In terms of the subsequent history of the United States, one of the most important effects of this Spanish lordship was to feed and encourage the American Republic's own unilateralist tendencies—whether on the part of the union as a whole or, more typically, through the agency of filibustering strongmen acting at the behest of autonomous states such as Tennessee.⁸¹ As their predecessors had done since the seventeenth century, Anglo-Americans responded to Spain's still-vast American empire by insisting that settlers who possessed absolute property rights as individuals had an equally unlimited right to the other attributes of sovereignty, including, if they so desired, the *dominium* of independent statehood. Not coincidentally, the Mississippi Valley and Gulf Coast produced a succession of Anglo-American leaders during the early nineteenth century who in embracing this settler republicanism also

⁷⁶ Quoted in Slaughter, *The Whiskey Rebellion*, 52. McGillivray intermittently served as intermediary between the Franklinites and the Spanish authorities; Whitaker, "Spanish Intrigue in the Old Southwest," 166–167. On the history of Franklin, see Samuel Cole Williams, *History of the Lost State of Franklin* (1924; rev. ed., Philadelphia, 1974). See also Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars* (New York, 2001), 31.

⁷⁷ According to records in the Spanish archives, Jackson took an oath of loyalty to the king of Spain at Natchez in 1789; Remini, *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars*, 285 n. 16.

⁷⁸ Robertson to Miró, September 2, 1789, quoted in Whitaker, "Spanish Intrigue in the Old Southwest," 170–171.

⁷⁹ Peter S. Onuf, *Statehood and Union: A History of the Northwest Ordinance* (Bloomington, Ind., 1987), xvi. The passage quoted refers to the Northwest Ordinance (1787), which applied only to new states admitted to the union from territory north of the Ohio River; in 1790, Congress extended all of the ordinance's provisions to Tennessee except for the prohibition against slavery, making states' right to self-government south of the Ohio even broader. See also Onuf, *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood* (Charlottesville, Va., 2000).

⁸⁰ Quoted in Remini, *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars*, 33.

⁸¹ For American unilateralism generally, see especially Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrickson, *Empire of Liberty: The Statecraft of Thomas Jefferson* (Oxford, 1990).

embraced the freelancing tendencies that had long characterized the expansion of British settlers into Spanish territory. Despite his youthful flirtation with Spain, Jackson eventually came to personify the determination of Anglo-American settlers to seize the northern outposts of Spain's American empire by force, regardless of the seizures' legality and with or without the American government's approval. Following his defeat of the British at New Orleans in 1815, whereby the future president consolidated the authority of the American union over a region whose inhabitants had often seemed to "acknowledge allegiance to NONE," Jackson used Spain's waning presence to continue fighting in his own behalf as well as that of his settler constituents.⁸² In 1818, Jackson launched an unauthorized invasion of Spanish Florida, only to become the territory's first American governor. In the process, he earned a reputation, at least in the eyes of some historians, as an Anglo-American version of the Spanish *caudillo*.⁸³

If the borderland into which Jackson extended this Anglo-American empire was a zone of unilateral expansion, it was also a racial frontier, a place where Indians, in particular, remained both sovereign and autonomous, and where they intermixed with white creoles in ways that Anglo-Americans increasingly refused to accept. For the persistence of this "mestizo America"—in the suggestive words of Gary Nash—one need look no further than the multiracial armies with which Jackson triumphed at New Orleans and invaded Spanish Florida.⁸⁴ Along with white militiamen from Kentucky, Louisiana, and Tennessee, Jackson's forces at New Orleans included Choctaw warriors, two companies of free blacks, and a band of pirates from Jean Lafitte's celebrated Baratarian "republic."⁸⁵ Even as Jackson continued to operate within the parameters of a racial order little changed since the colonial era, however, he played a central role in smashing that order to pieces. In the decade following his victory at New Orleans, Jackson destroyed the so-called Negro Fort overlooking the Apalachicola River in the Florida Panhandle, subdued the last of Spain's southeastern Indian allies during the Seminole War, and started the brutal process of Indian removal that culminated, shortly after the conclusion of his second presidential term, in the Cherokee Trail of Tears (1838). Jackson also imposed a brutal terminus on Britain's history in the region, summarily executing two British mer-

⁸² The phrase is from a dispatch by the British spy "P[eter] Allaire," August 1790, quoted in Slaughter, *The Whiskey Rebellion*, 59.

⁸³ Jackson is "the border captain" in Marquis James, *Andrew Jackson: The Border Captain* (New York, 1933). The term *caudillo* appears in an offhand characterization of Andrew Jackson in Ronald P. Formisano, *The Transformation of Political Culture: Massachusetts Parties, 1790s–1840s* (New York, 1983), 18. In a review of Formisano's book, "Putting Some Class Back into Political History: 'The Transformation of Political Culture' and the Crisis in American Political History," *Reviews in American History* 12, no. 1 (1984): 80–88, Paul Goodman called the characterization an "unexplained swipe" (81). But see Sean Wilentz, "The Original Outsider," *New Republic* 206, no. 25 (1992): 34–38, who refers to Jackson as the "Tennessee caudillo" (36); and Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "Andrew Jackson's Honor," *Journal of the Early Republic* 17, no. 1 (1997): 1–36, who also uses the term, crediting Formisano without repeating Goodman's criticism (3). Fred Anderson and Andrew R. L. Cayton also indirectly liken Jackson to a caudillo, writing that Santa Anna the Mexican "caudillo . . . resembled Jackson the Tennessee militia commander"; Anderson and Cayton, *The Dominion of War: Empire and Liberty in North America, 1500–2000* (New York, 2005), 254.

⁸⁴ Gary B. Nash, "The Hidden History of Mestizo America," *Journal of American History* 82, no. 3 (1995): 941–964.

⁸⁵ Anderson and Cayton, *The Dominion of War*, 234. See also Alice Dunbar-Nelson, "People of Color in Louisiana: Part II," *Journal of Negro History* 2, no. 1 (1917): 57–61.

chants at Pensacola in 1818 on charges of inciting Indian raids against American citizens.

In so doing, Jackson helped transform a borderland whose racial and political complexity would have been familiar to Francisco Menéndez and Alexander McGillivray into the clearly bounded territory of the United States.⁸⁶ At the same time, as exemplified by the oath that he took to Charles IV in 1789, Jackson's career stands as an enduring testimonial to the manifold ways in which entangled institutions and cultural practices that had developed over three centuries of Spanish rule continued to shape the process by which both Britons and Anglo-Americans extended and established their own national sovereignties.⁸⁷ Although the "manifest destiny" that gripped Britain and the United States during the nineteenth century sprang partly from sources internal to each nation, their sense of imperial mission was also a product of their deep and longstanding entanglement with Spain's global lordship. For the American Republic, in particular, practically every nineteenth-century accession to its empire, from the Louisiana Purchase (1803), through the Mexican War (1845–1848), to the annexation of the Philippines (1898), involved territory that at some point had been Spanish. When Rudyard Kipling, Britain's imperial poet laureate, invited his Anglo-American cousins to "take up the white man's burden" at the century's end, effectively welcoming the United States into the select club of Europe's imperial powers, it was entirely fitting that the final dissolution of Spain's overseas empire should supply the occasion.⁸⁸

IN THE FORTY YEARS SINCE THE EMERGENCE of Atlantic history as a scholarly field, one of its defining features has been an insistence on studying the early modern Atlantic world as a zone of interconnection, whether through the movement of peoples, the exchange of goods, or the transfer of institutions and ideas.⁸⁹ In the case of Atlantic history's English-speaking component, however, this insistence has been most evident in histories of developments internal to Britain's Atlantic empire and the early American Republic. For histories that reach beyond these limits, especially histories

⁸⁶ Adelman and Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders," 814–841; Adam Rothman, *Slave Country: American Expansion and the Origins of the Deep South* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005).

⁸⁷ The literature on Jackson and the conquest of the Southeast is enormous; for the formative influence of Jackson's early involvement with Spain, see especially Remini, *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars*; Anderson and Cayton, *The Dominion of War*, chap. 5; Anthony F. C. Wallace, *The Long, Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians* (New York, 1993).

⁸⁸ For the interconnected history of British and Anglo-American imperial thought during the later nineteenth century, see especially Paul Kramer, "Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between the British and United States Empires, 1880–1910," *Journal of American History* 88, no. 4 (2002): 1315–1353.

⁸⁹ The first Atlantic Seminar in the United States convened at Johns Hopkins in 1967; the creation of the Johns Hopkins Program in Atlantic History and Culture followed in 1971. For the importance of interconnectedness in Atlantic history, see Jack P. Greene, "Beyond Power: Paradigm Subversion and Reformulation and the Re-creation of the Early Modern Atlantic World," in Greene, *Interpreting Early America: Historiographical Essays* (Charlottesville, Va., 1996), 17–42; David Eltis, "Atlantic History in Global Perspective," *Itinerario* 23, no. 2 (1999): 141; Horst Pietschmann, "Introduction: Atlantic History—History between European History and Global History," in Pietschmann, ed., *Atlantic History: History of the Atlantic System 1580–1830* (Göttingen, 2002), 35–43; Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), esp. 59–62. The potential for truly interconnected Atlantic histories emerges forcefully in John R. Gillis, *Islands of the Mind: How the Human Imagination Created the Atlantic World* (New York, 2004).

that consider the relationship of the English-speaking Atlantic to the Atlantic communities formed by the expansion of Europe's other maritime powers, British and Anglo-American scholars (insofar as they have attempted to write such histories) have tended to favor comparative approaches. In many ways, this is a legitimate response to problems inherent in the Atlantic world's utter vastness, allowing historians to focus on discrete parts of much larger relationships and to engage in close analysis of a sort that studies attempting to capture broader horizons often cannot.⁹⁰ Nonetheless, as critics of comparative approaches in other fields have frequently noted, historical comparison tends to take as a given the very national boundaries that Atlantic history has long sought to complicate, and it often presupposes comparability where comparability did not exist.⁹¹ For all these reasons, there is a need for Atlantic historians to think equally hard about what it means to write entangled history of the sort exemplified by the English-speaking and Spanish Atlantic worlds. Among other things, the effort should remind us that analytical categories such as the nation, which comparative approaches tend to take as fixed, were (and are) themselves entangled constructs with shifting histories and borders, literal as well as figurative. After all, even a topic as broad as the history of the English-speaking Atlantic world is no less susceptible than other objects of historical analysis to becoming, in the words of Thomas Bender, another "limiting conceptual box."⁹²

This, at any rate, is one of the lessons to be learned by acknowledging the entangled history that bound the English-speaking Atlantic to its Spanish counterpart. Even in moments of apparent self-sufficiency and triumph, the British and Anglo-American Atlantic world(s) remained deeply intertwined with Spain's Atlantic empire. Only in the most general sense, however, can these transatlantic communities be said to have been comparable or distinct. Despite some apparent similarities, "the new England and the new Spain" were ultimately "not equivalents," as Francisco Valdes-Ugalde has written, and at no point were their national boundaries and histories unproblematically separate.⁹³ Together, such concerns ought to stand as a warning both against claiming too much for comparative history and of the need to be open to other approaches, especially when the history involves such dissimilar but entangled communities. We cannot hope to understand the cosmopolitan world in-

⁹⁰ Recent examples of the fruitful application of comparative history include Carole Shammas, "Anglo-American Household Government in Comparative Perspective," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 52, no. 1 (1995): 104–144; Camilla Townsend, *Tales of Two Cities: Race and Economic Culture in Early Republican North and South America—Guayaquil, Ecuador, and Baltimore, Maryland* (Austin, Tex., 2000); Richard Ross, "Legal Communications and Imperial Governance: British North America and Spanish America Compared," in Christopher L. Tomlins and Michael Grossberg, eds., *The Cambridge History of Law in America* (Cambridge, 2007, forthcoming). I am grateful to Richard Ross for permitting me to read his essay before it was published.

⁹¹ See discussion above and at notes 8–11. For a brief but cogent discussion of the relative merits of (and appropriate subjects for) comparative versus connected approaches to Atlantic history, see David Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," in Armitage and Braddick, *The British Atlantic World*, 16–25. See also Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors*, chap. 6.

⁹² Thomas Bender, "Introduction: Historians, the Nation, and the Plenitude of Narratives," in Bender, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, 8. Bender is referring here to limits vis-à-vis global history; see also Peter A. Coclanis, "Drang Nach Osten: Bernard Bailyn, the World-Island, and the Idea of Atlantic History," *Journal of World History* 13, no. 1 (2002): 169–182.

⁹³ Francisco Valdes-Ugalde, "Janus and the Northern Colossus: Perceptions of the United States in the Building of the Mexican Nation," *Journal of American History* 86, no. 2 (1999): 575. See also Bushnell, "Do the Americas Have a Comparable Colonial History?," xiii–xxiii.

habited by people such as Francisco Menéndez and Alexander McGillivray, or, for that matter, the significance of a totemic figure such as Andrew Jackson, unless we realize that each belonged not to one community but to several, and that those communities together constituted—indeed, still constitute to this day—an interconnected yet porous and open-ended whole.

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AHR Forum
Entangled Histories:
Borderland Historiographies in New Clothes?

JORGE CAÑIZARES-ESGUERRA

THE THREE ESSAYS IN THIS *AHR* FORUM make a very persuasive case for understanding the histories of Spanish and British America as an entangled whole. Each demonstrates the futility of studying historical phenomena that were transatlantic, hemispheric, and transnational within the limits of national narratives. This is a worthwhile endeavor that could easily be expanded into national histories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹ However, although the examples offered here are valuable, they are also limited, because most of them describe interactions at the margins, not at the core. An alternative version of “entangled histories” is needed—one that grapples with quintessentially “American” narratives. One such narrative is the construction and origins of seventeenth-century creole Puritan identities.

JAMES EPSTEIN FOCUSES ON GENERAL THOMAS PICTON, who was brought to trial in London (1803–1807) for having ruled the island of Trinidad (1797–1803) in the same despotic, brutal style as the former haughty, tyrannical Spanish overlords, including the summary execution of a number of slaves by decapitation and burning and of a British soldier by hanging. Trinidad was taken by the British from Spain in 1797. The excuse for the trial was Picton’s torture of the *mulata* Luisa Calderon in 1801. He was found guilty but never sentenced. The defense argued that Picton was within his right to torture Calderon, because until the Peace of Amiens in 1802, when Trinidad was legally transferred to Britain, the island remained under Spanish law. Moreover, Trinidad was a tropical place of corruption, sexual promiscuity, and violence in need of discipline. The prosecution and the republican popular press, on the other hand, strove to cast Picton in the role of a “Latin villain” in the Gothic fiction then popular in England: a master of dungeons, a torturer of a defenseless, suffering beauty, and a sexually corrupt aristocrat. The trials of U.S. soldiers for misconduct in Iraq come to mind here. There are parallels in the breach of the rule of law, in the misplaced voyeuristic public attention to the spectacle of torture and the details of a singular case, and in the construction of an alien other against which to judge an alleged

I thank Jim Sidbury for offering references and ideas on how to reorganize previous drafts of this essay.

¹ See Erik Seeman and Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, eds., *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500–2000* (Upper Saddle River, N.J., 2006).

imperial humanitarian self. And in the end, Picton, like most American GIs, enjoyed impunity. In Epstein's essay, Spain hovers like a ghost, an inverted mirror image of who the British aspired to be, a source of villains and dungeons for the Romantic Gothic mill. Never mind that the defense was never able to prove that Spanish law in Trinidad sanctioned judicial torture. For all his fascinating analysis, Epstein does not probe more deeply into the larger history of how the British used Spain (or Catholic France in the eighteenth century) to construct an imperial self.² Tyrannical Spain (which in some circles stood for the Antichrist itself) shaped the British ideology of empire from its very beginnings as an antithetical other.³ But the interactions run deeper and are not only negative: for all the criticisms of the greed and plunder of the "conquistador" in Protestant sources, Iberian epics of conquest defined how the hero as privateer was hailed in Elizabethan England.⁴

Unlike Epstein, who focuses on the imaginary interactions of the British with Spain, Rafe Blaufarb explores the many interacting geopolitical interests during the Spanish American Wars of Independence (1808–1824): the British, the French, and the U.S. Americans, each wary of the intentions and the military and commercial strategies of the other; each aware of the high stakes of asserting control over the resources, markets, trade routes, and military strategic territories of the "southern" part of the Western Hemisphere (New Orleans and Florida); each uncertain of the benefits of having a clear winner in the draw between Spanish American rebels and the Spanish monarchy. It is in the context of this kaleidoscope of mutually opposing interests and often self-contradictory imperial impulses that the final outcome of the wars needs to be understood. Britain benefited from the stalemate; the United States needed Florida (and thus the Spanish monarchy) to keep the British from attacking New Orleans and thus the trans-Appalachian trade; the French sought to do away with British control of "free" trade during the wars but feared just as much the return of Spanish mercantilism and monopolies. Both the Spanish American patriots and the Spanish monarchy skillfully pitted the opposing parties against each other to gain logistical or political support. Blaufarb argues that the historiography on the wars has paid little attention to this larger geopolitical context. He uses the often overlooked naval history of the conflict (of swarming insurgent privateers) to demonstrate "the Atlantic and even global dimensions of the struggle for Latin American Independence." In a delicious irony, Blaufarb turns the whole of Spanish America into a "borderland," a contested space not firmly controlled by any empire, in which opposing local native populations manipulate imperial rivalries to their own advantage.⁵ Blaufarb's model could lead into a mutually enriching dialogue between the

² Benjamin Schmidt's *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570–1670* (New York, 2001) is a marvelous study on the role that the image of tyrannical Spain played in the Dutch colonial imagination; for the similar role of Catholic France in the eighteenth-century British imperial imagination, see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn., 1992).

³ David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2001).

⁴ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550–1700* (Stanford, Calif., 2006), 55–58.

⁵ Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples In Between in North American History," *American Historical Review* 104, no. 3 (June 1999): 814–841. For a critique of the blind spots in this historiography, see Claudio Saunt, "European Empires and the History of the Native American South," in Seaman and Cañizares-Esguerra, *The Atlantic in Global History*, 61–75.

traditional historiography on geopolitics and international relations and that on “borderlands” and “middle grounds.”

Eliga Gould also offers a challenging essay. He lucidly and succinctly makes some important points, including his assertion “that, far from being distinct entities, as comparative studies usually suggest, the two empires were part of the same hemispheric system or community. This interconnected system, moreover, was fundamentally asymmetric, with Spain, as the senior and historically preeminent member, often holding the upper hand.” According to Gould, Spain loomed large in the British Atlantic (and later in the early U.S. Republic): it defined the way Britain articulated discourses of territorial possession and expansion (by either imitation or negative critique); it created a permanent class of “legally ambiguous” British colonists in Honduras, Florida, and the West Indies, who organized into armed bands concerned solely with their own self-defense, often openly hostile to the interests of their motherland; it improved the leverage of slaves on British plantations (as it offered refuge and granted rights to runaway slaves or Catholic Angolans) but also polarized race relations at the ports (the crews of the privateers that attacked British American ships were Spanish American mulattoes and blacks); and it made it harder for the British (and U.S. Americans) to expand into the Southeast and the trans-Appalachian West as it struck alliances with various Native American groups.

Gould argues that his version of entangled histories is not just borderlands historiography in new clothes. Borderlands historiography, he argues, emphasizes interactions only “in those parts of the British Empire and the United States that were once part of or immediately contiguous to the Spanish Empire.” Yet this crucial point remains largely rhetorical, because most of the interactions he cites as examples took place in the borderlands (either in the Southeast, the West Indies, or Honduras). His version of entangled histories thus remains a challenge and an open invitation to explore deeper levels of interaction. The religious, patriotic identities of Puritan settlers in New England, for example, cannot be understood without first studying theological and demonological debates in the Spanish Empire.

EL ESCORIAL, ARGUED THE JERONYMITE JOSÉ DE SIGÜENZA (1544–1606) in 1600, only two years after the death of his patron Philip II, was the architectural fulfillment of several biblical prefigurations: Like Noah’s Ark, it saved “countless souls fleeing from the deluge of the world.” Like the Tabernacle of Moses, “it kept the ark in which God Himself dwelled, protecting and disseminating His laws.” Like the Temple of Solomon, it specialized “day and night in the praising of the Lord, the continuous performance of sacrifices, the burning of incense, the keeping of perpetual fire and fresh bread in front of the divine presence, and the preservation of the ashes and bones of those now sacrificed for Christ.”⁶ (See Figure 1.) Plastered on the walls

⁶ José de Sigüenza, *Fundación del monasterio de El Escorial* (1600–1605; repr., Madrid, 1963), 6. The literature on El Escorial is vast. Pioneering in calling attention to the role of the Temple of Solomon as the organizing metaphor of El Escorial (albeit with too much emphasis on Neo-Platonism and Rosicrucian symbolism) is René Taylor, *Arquitectura y magia: Consideraciones sobre la idea de El Escorial* (Madrid, 1992). For a more balanced approach that does not overlook the importance of the Temple of Solomon as a prefiguration of El Escorial, see Cornelia von der Osten Sacken, *El Escorial: Estudio iconológico*, trans. from the German by María Dolores Abalos (Madrid, 1984). Most studies, however,

of this palace-monastery are countless reminders of the importance that typology once held for issues both doctrinal and imperial. In the room behind the altar used to access the Tabernacle, for example, there are murals by Pellegrino Tibaldi (1527–1596) on Old Testament prefigurations of the Eucharist and of the appropriate relationship between secular and religious authorities: Israelites gathering manna in the desert; Melchizedek offering blessings, bread, and wine to Abraham and getting the right to the tithe in return (Genesis 14:17–44 and Hebrew 7); an angel handing bread and water to a fleeing Elijah (1 Kings 19:4–8); and a scene of the Paschal Supper (Exodus 12–13; Leviticus 23:15–14).⁷ On the façade of the Basilica are statues by Juan Bautista Monegro (1545–1621) of the kings of Judah who, in ascending order of piety, either destroyed pagan temples or built the Temple of Jerusalem: Jehoshaphat and the repentant Manasseh (outer flanks), Hezekiah and Josiah (outer middle), and David and Solomon (center), all prefigurations of the Counter-Reformation zeal of the Habsburgs, and of the piety and wisdom of Charles V and Philip II in particular.⁸ Finally, the courtyard of the monastery, with a fountain and four “rivers” in the middle, flanked by Monegro’s statues of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, was a prefiguration of both Paradise and the expansion of the Catholic monarchy into Asia, Africa, Europe, and the “new America.”⁹

“Typology” as a Christian tradition of reading (newer) events as the fulfillment of older biblical ones long predated the Spanish Catholic monarchy.¹⁰ In the Middle Ages, it often contributed to architectural design, and it was the tool of choice for elucidating doctrinal and political conflict.¹¹ It also helped sanction crusading campaigns against Slavs, heretics, Jews, and Muslims.¹² In the age of Atlantic expansion,

have not paid sufficient attention to how the typologies of Noah’s Ark and Moses’ Tabernacle influenced the design and function of the building.

⁷ Sigüenza, *Fundación*, 343–344. The use of at least three of the images at El Escorial (the gathering of the manna, Jews and the Paschal Lamb, and Melchizedek and Abraham) as a prefiguration of the Eucharist was a well-established medieval tradition. For example, see them clustered in Albert C. Labriola and John W. Smeltz, eds., *The Mirror of Salvation [Speculum Humanae Salvationis]: An Edition of British Library Blockbook G. 11784*, (Pittsburgh, 2002), 48–49.

⁸ Sigüenza, *Fundación*, 213–216. On the image of King Solomon and other biblical heroes, such as Gideon, as prefigurations of the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire from Charlemagne to Philip II, see Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven, Conn., 1993).

⁹ Sigüenza, *Fundación*, 247.

¹⁰ Leonhard Goppelt, *Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New*, trans. from the German by Donald H. Madvig (1939; repr., Grand Rapids, Mich., 1982); John J. O’Keefe and R. R. Reno, *Sanctified Vision: An Introduction to Early Christian Interpretation of the Bible* (Baltimore, Md., 2005); James Samuel Preus, *From Shadow to Promise: Old Testament Interpretation from Augustine to the Young Luther* (Cambridge, 1969); Erich Auerbach, “Figura,” in Auerbach, *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (New York, 1959), 11–76.

¹¹ Friedrich Ohly, “The Cathedral as Temporal Space: On the Doumo of Siena,” in Ohly, *Sensus Spiritualis: Studies in Medieval Significs and Philology of Culture*, trans. from the German by Kenneth J. Northcott (Chicago, 2005), 136–233; Richard K. Emmerson, “Figura and the Medieval Typological Imagination,” in Hugh T. Keenan, ed., *Typology and English Medieval Literature* (New York, 1992).

¹² J. Dunbabin, “The Maccabees as Exemplars in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries,” in Katherine Walsh and Diana Wood, eds., *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley* (Oxford, 1985), 31–41; Paul Alphandéry, “Les citations bibliques chez les historiens de la première croisade,” *Revue d’histoire des religions* 99 (1929): 137–157; and Philippe Buc, “La vengeance de Dieu: De l’exégèse patristique à la Réforme ecclésiastique et la Première Croisade,” in Dominique Barthélemy, François Bougard, and Régine Le Jan, eds., *La vengeance, 400–1200* (Rome, 2006), 451–486. I am thankful to David Nirenberg for these citations, and to Philippe Buc for making his article available to me.

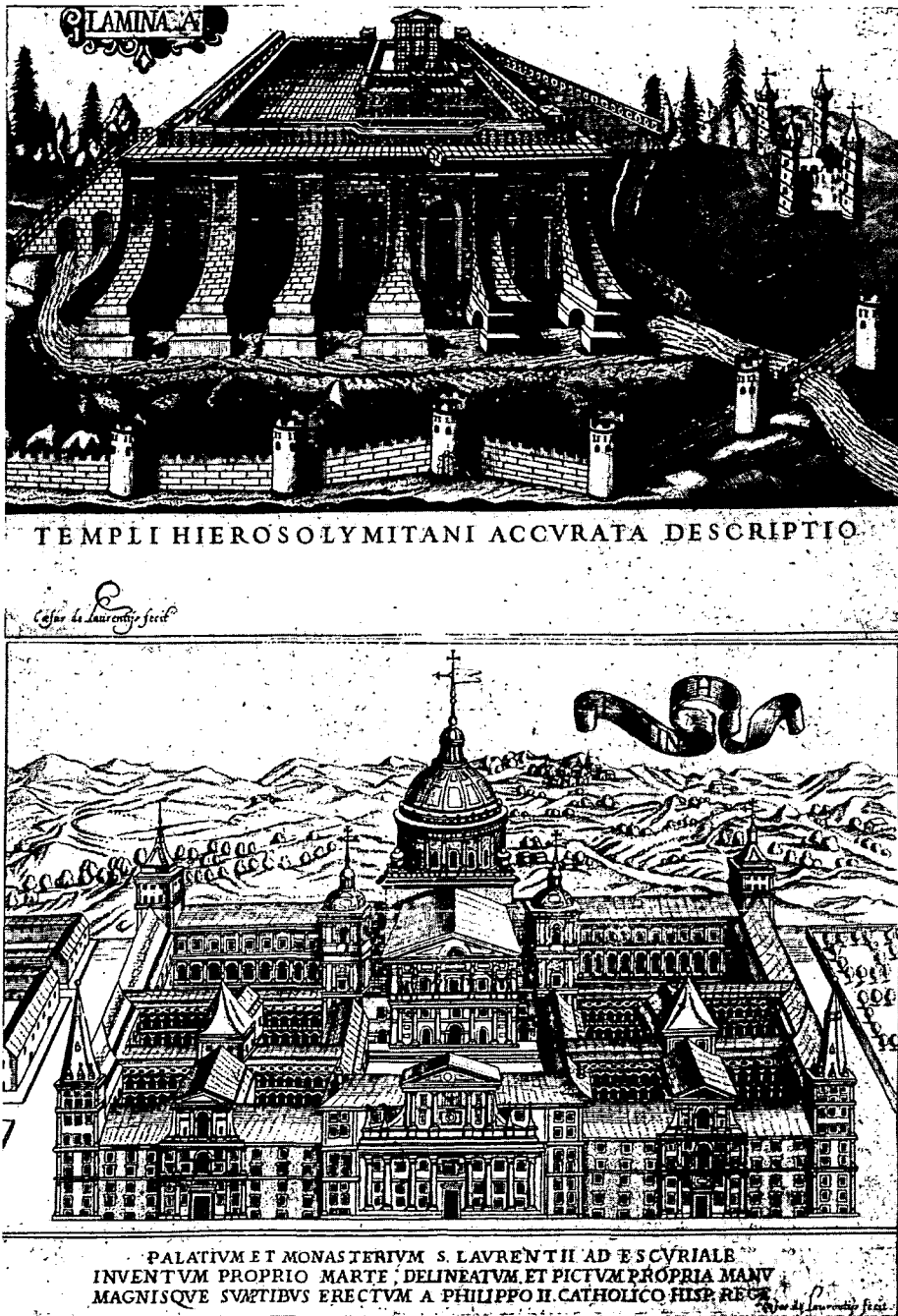


FIGURE 1: Images of the Temple of Solomon and El Escorial, according to the Cistercian Spanish theologian Juan de Caramuel. From *Architectura civil, recta y obliqua: Considerada y dibuxada en el Templo de Ierusalén . . . promovida a suma perfección en el templo y palacio de S. Lorenzo cerca del Escorial*, 3 vols. (Vigevano, 1678), 3: ills. A and H.

it was deployed by each and every European power. Typology informed the Portuguese imagination, because the Portuguese read their own imperial expansion as foreordained in the Bible, particularly in the prophetic books of Daniel and Revelation. They saw themselves and their monarchs as elect, a fifth monarchy that would usher in the millennium.¹³ Although the queen of England, Elizabeth I, could not cast herself as a King Solomon, she could nevertheless present her battles against the Spanish Antichrist as the fulfillment of biblical prefigurations. Thus in the eyes of some writers, Elizabeth became the antitype of the woman of the Apocalypse confronting the multi-headed dragon that was Philip II (Revelation 12). It should be remembered that the woman of the Apocalypse herself was a figure of Old Testament types: Judith, who beheaded the Assyrian general Holofernes (Judith 13:2), and Jael, who drove a tent peg through the brain of the Canaanite King Sisera (Judges 5:24).¹⁴ Typology also allowed the Dutch to develop a distinct national identity in which battles against the Spanish Antichrist loomed large.¹⁵ Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, and England, to cite only four examples of early modern European powers, shared common typological traditions that crossed the Atlantic in the caravels along with other staples.

Historians have assumed that after the Reformation, typology became a tradition of biblical reading distinctively Protestant, and particularly Calvinist. Thus we have become well acquainted with narratives of the Puritans casting themselves as Israelites in the Promised Land that was America, a land inhabited by hostile Canaanites.¹⁶ (See Figure 2.) We know little, however, of the Spanish and Portuguese side. A common misconception is that the Bible did not circulate widely among Catholics and was the preserve of a tiny priestly elite. In Iberia, this circulation allegedly became even more restricted because of the stifling presence of the Inquisition. These shibboleths explain nothing. Jaime Lara has recently shown that the Franciscans, along with cadres of native converts, saw themselves building new Temples of Solomon and new Golgothas in every mission. According to Lara, the grid plans of Spanish cities in the Indies (which historians have usually attributed to Renaissance urban ideologies, seeking to drive home the message that there were sharp differ-

¹³ Jacqueline Hermann, *No reino do desejado: A construção do sebastianismo em Portugal, séculos XVI e XVII* (São Paulo, 1998); Thomas M. Cohen, *The Fire of Tongues: Antônio Vieira and the Missionary Church in Brazil and Portugal* (Stanford, Calif., 1998); Carole A. Myscofski, "Messianic Themes in Portuguese and Brazilian Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 28 (1991): 77–94.

¹⁴ Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), chap. 2; Harold Fisch, *Jerusalem and Albion: The Hebraic Factor in Seventeenth-Century Literature* (New York, 1964); Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (London, 1993). The use of Judith, Jael, and Tomyris (killing Cyrus, taken from Herodotus, not the Bible) as prefigurations of the woman of the Apocalypse was a well-established medieval tradition; see the French translation of the *Speculum Humane Salvationis* by Jehan Mielot, "Le Miroir de l'Humaine Salvation," University of Glasgow Library, MS Hunter 60 (T.2.18), fol. 43 v.

¹⁵ Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York, 1987), chap. 2. See also Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*.

¹⁶ The literature is vast but is often focused on the uses of typology by the Puritans. Yet Anglicans, Scottish Presbyterians, and Quakers—and everyone else, for that matter—deployed typology. See Alfred A. Cave, "Canaanites in a Promised Land: The American Indian and the Providential Theory of Empire," *American Indian Quarterly* 12 (1988): 277–297; Sacvan Bercovitch, comp., *Typology and Early American Literature* (Amherst, Mass., 1972); Paul Stevens, "'Leviticus Thinking' and the Rhetoric of Early Modern Colonialism," *Criticism* 35 (1993): 441–461; Avihu Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom: History and Apocalypse in the Puritan Migration to America* (Cambridge, 2002).



FIGURE 2: Frontispiece (detail) of Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (London, 1625). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University. In this detail of the frontispiece, Purchas casts episodes in the lives of Elizabeth I, Prince Henry, James I, Charles I, and the British people as fulfillments of biblical and Virgilian prefigurations. Purchas, for example, turns “dux femina facti” (*Aeneid* I: 364) into a prefiguration of Elizabeth’s defeat of the Spanish Armada. Elizabeth thus becomes the fulfillment of Dido, who in the *Aeneid* defeats the tyrant Pygmalion to gain control of Carthage. According to Purchas, the short life of Prince Henry, here mourning the death of Elizabeth, is prefigured by that of Virgil’s Marcellus, Augustus’s nephew and adopted son: “ostendent terris hunc tantum fata nec ultra esse sinent / he would only be shown to the world and then snatched away” (*Aeneid* VI: 869). Proverbs 16:10 (“divination labiis Regis / A divine sentence is in the lips of the king”) appears as a prefiguration of James I’s divining powers to anticipate the Gunpowder Plot. Under the leadership of James I and Charles I, the British people are seen on their way to creating a heavenly Jerusalem (Hebrews 11; Revelation 21), thus becoming God’s elect (Psalm 147). It is curious that Psalm 147:20 (“he hath not dealt so with any nation”) became the verse used by the Mexican clergy (*non fecit taliter omni nationi*) to capture the story of the apparition of Our Lady of Guadalupe as an expression of providential election.

ences of rationality between the civilization of the Europeans and the alleged barbarism of the natives) originated in Christian dreams that sought to re-create in America the city of Jerusalem as laid out by Ezekiel (Ezekiel 40–48).¹⁷ Equally important are the findings of David Brading regarding the origins of the patriotic cult of the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico. According to Brading, seventeenth-century creole theologians read Revelation 12 as an anticipation of the conquest of Mexico, and thus attributed to the Mexican church a key role in the narrative of Christian salvation. In their typological imagination, the reception by Juan Diego of the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe at Mount Tepeyac was the fulfillment of the reception by Moses of the tablets of the Ten Commandments at Mount Sinai. Thus

¹⁷ Jaime Lara, *City, Temple, Stage: Eschatological Architecture and Liturgical Theatrics in New Spain* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2004). On the grid plan as an epiphenomenon of Renaissance imperial ideologies, see Valerie Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1535–1635* (Cambridge, 1990).

the canvas of Our Lady of Guadalupe became a document in "Mexican hieroglyphs" that recorded a new covenant between God and the Mexican elect.¹⁸ Biblical narratives and typological readings circulated widely in the Spanish Empire, affecting architecture, urban design, rituals, political philosophies, and patriotic identities. Simply put, the Bible was everywhere, relentlessly displayed in objects, buildings, images, and sermons. (See Figure 3.)

How biblical typology was used to justify slavery and the expansion into sub-Saharan Africa, particularly by the Portuguese and the Spaniards after the fifteenth century, we do not know. If the category of the Atlantic is to mean anything, it ought to include Africa, but there seems to be no room for this often overlooked fourth continent in most new versions of the Atlantic.¹⁹ John Thornton has shown that in places such as Kongo and Angola, Catholicism penetrated deeply into popular and elite consciousness, spawning local revivalist movements as early as the seventeenth century, but we lack the studies that could enable us to explore how the Bible was read in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century West Africa.²⁰ We do have some knowledge of how Afro-British Protestant communities turned to typology as their reading technique of choice. As John Saillant, Joanna Brooks, and James Sidbury have demonstrated, typologically inspired narratives began to emerge in the late eighteenth century among Calvinist, Quaker, Methodist, and Anglican black communities in Nova Scotia, Virginia, South Carolina, Boston, and London. Itinerant Atlantic preachers such as John Marrant turned to the Scriptures to articulate a discourse of black election. For them, Sierra Leone became a Promised Land to which Afro-Christians were to return to build a New Jerusalem among Canaanites in need of conversion and civilization.²¹

For a historiography that has been satisfied with nationally driven narratives, this

¹⁸ David Brading, *Mexican Phoenix: Our Lady of Guadalupe—Image and Tradition across Five Centuries* (Cambridge, 2001); see also Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors*.

¹⁹ Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (June 2006): 741–757, esp. 754. Yet Atlantic historiography was first created by historians of African slavery and the African American experience; see, for example, Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, Wis., 1969); and David Eltis and James Walvin, eds., *The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Origins and Effects in Europe, Africa, and the Americas* (Madison, Wis., 1981).

²⁰ John K. Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684–1706* (Cambridge, 1998); and Thornton, "The Development of an African Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Kongo, 1491–1750," *Journal of African History* 25 (1984): 147–167.

²¹ John Saillant, "'Wipe Away All Tears from Their Eyes': John Marrant's Theology in the Black Atlantic, 1785–1808," *Journal of Millennial Studies* 1 (Winter 1999), <http://www.mille.org/publications/winter98/saillant.PDF>; Joanna Brooks, *American Lazarus: Religion and the Rise of African-American and Native American Literatures* (Oxford, 2003); Jim Sidbury, *Becoming African in America: Race and Nation in the Early Black Atlantic* (Oxford, 2007). See also Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998). For the writings of John Marrant, see Brooks and Saillant, eds., "Face Zion Forward": *First Writers of the Black Atlantic, 1785–1798* (Boston, 2002). There were religious writings by Afro-Iberians, but in contrast to those of their British brethren, it is difficult to detect in them distinct typological readings of election, exodus, and promised lands. For an example, see the diaries of Ursula de Jesús, *The Souls of Purgatory: The Spiritual Diary of a Seventeenth-Century Afro-Peruvian Mystic*, Ursula de Jesús, trans. and ed. Nancy E. van Deusen (Albuquerque, 2004). On the interactions of Catholicism and blacks in Spanish America, see Herman L. Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570–1640* (Bloomington, Ind., 2003); Jean-Pierre Tardieu, *L'Eglise et les noirs au Pérou: XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1993); Margaret M. Olsen, *Slavery and Salvation in Colonial Cartagena de Indias* (Gainesville, Fla., 2004).



FIGURE 3: Frontispiece of Francisco Antonio de Montalvo, *El Sol del Nuevo Mundo: Ideado y compuesto en las esclarecidas operaciones del bienaventurado Toribio Arzobispo de Lima* (Rome, 1683). Courtesy of the John Hay Library, Brown University. *El Sol del Nuevo Mundo* is a hagiography produced by the Peruvian lobby that was seeking to promote in Rome the canonization of the late Toribio de Mogrovejo (1538–1606), archbishop of Lima, who had already been beatified. The author presents Mogrovejo as the blazing sun of Ezekiel's and John of Patmos's visions (Ezekiel 1:4–28; Revelation 4:7). Patristic and medieval sources had long presented Ezekiel's vision of an angel, an ox, a lion, an eagle, and a blinding light as a prefiguration of the four Gospel writers and Christ. This time, however, Mogrovejo himself appears as the fulfillment of Ezekiel's blinding light, capable of converting all four continents through his miracles and example. More important, at the bottom of the figure, the city of Lima appears as the fulfillment of Isaiah 60, a New Jerusalem where "the sun shall no more go down" (*non occidet ultra sol tuus*).

account of common biblical cultures across empires might appear novel. But is it enough to point out common structural resemblances? “Atlantic” history has to be more than old imperial comparative historiographies in new clothes. Moreover, the tool of typology was not limited to the imperial arsenal of early modern Europeans; it actually framed the way that Byzantium, Kievan Rus’, and Muscovite Rus’ expanded.²² There seems to be an emerging consensus that “the Atlantic” as a category should deliver narratives on the circulations of peoples and staples (to say nothing of ideas), carving out a distinctly transnational space in the process.²³ Typological narratives did circulate across national and confessional boundaries in the Atlantic basin. In fact, one was first created in Spanish America, then moved to England, and finally wound up in New England, leaving a lasting impact on Puritan patriotic discourses of election.

WHEN THE SPANISH MISSIONARIES ARRIVED IN MEXICO, they quickly identified the human sacrifice rituals of the Aztecs with satanic mockery of the Eucharist. The devil, after all, was seen as a specialist in inverting all sacraments and holy institutions.²⁴ Not even Christ himself could escape the mockery of the devil, for through the figure of the Antichrist, Satan mockingly re-created the life of Jesus (and the Virgin), from Annunciation to Resurrection.²⁵ It is no wonder, then, that in 1590 the Jesuit José de Acosta produced a full catalogue of all the satanic religious inversions he had managed to identify during his sixteen years in the Indies; the list included churches, holy sacrifices, penitence, nunneries, priests and monasteries, inverted versions of the sacraments (baptism, confession, the Eucharist, priestly anointing), the doctrine of the Trinity, and the celebration of Jubilee. Acosta’s much-touted ethnographic modernity was in fact old-fashioned demonology.²⁶ In the process, he introduced the notion that the Aztecs were Satan’s elect. According to Acosta, as soon as idolatry was being “extirpated from the best and most noble part of the world [Europe], the devil decided to withdraw to the most isolated place, to rule over this other part of

²² Daniel B. Rowland, “Moscow—The Third Rome or the New Israel?” *Russian Review* 55, no. 4 (1996): 591–614; Rowland, “Biblical Military Imagery in the Political Culture of Early Modern Russia: The Blessed Host of the Heavenly Tsar,” in Michael S. Flier and Rowland, eds., *Medieval Russian Culture*, 2 vols. (Berkeley, Calif., 1994) 2: 182–210; and Marilyn Nelson, “Biblical Typology,” in Paul D. Steeves, ed., *The Modern Encyclopedia of Religions in Russia and the Soviet Union*, 7 vols. (Gulf Breeze, Fla., 1991), 4: 90–97.

²³ Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), pt. 2; Games, “Atlantic History.” For concrete examples of how this model of transnational circulation led to the creation of distinct Atlantic experiences, see Allan Greer and Kenneth Mills, “A Catholic Atlantic,” in Seeman and Cañizares-Esguerra, *The Atlantic in Global History*, 3–19; Erik Seeman, “Jews in the Early Modern Atlantic: Crossing Boundaries, Keeping Faith,” *ibid.*, 39–59; and Claudio Saunt, “‘Our Indians’: European Empires and the History of the Native American South,” *ibid.*, 61–75.

²⁴ On the devil as a specialist on inversions, see the groundbreaking study of early modern demonology by Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, 1997), chap. 1.

²⁵ Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (New York, 1994); Jonathan B. Riess, *The Renaissance Antichrist: Luca Signorelli’s Orvieto Frescoes* (Princeton, N.J., 1995).

²⁶ José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (1590; repr., Madrid, 1608), bk. 5. In *Puritan Conquistadors*, I further study this tradition of demonological inversion as ethnography.

the globe, that albeit much inferior in quality [*nobleza*] is much larger in size.”²⁷ Acosta argued that the southbound migration of the Aztecs from Aztlán to central Mexico eerily resembled that of the Israelites from Egypt to Canaan. Like the Israelites, the Mexicans carried a tabernacle and the ark of their deity, Huitzilopochtli.²⁸ The Dominican Gregorio García fleshed out some of Acosta’s ideas in 1606 by explaining how Satan, mimicking the way God fed the Israelites in the wilderness, caused bread to rain from the sky and water to gush from rocks to feed the Aztecs during their own southbound migration. Thus, García concluded:

Who is to deny that the departure and peregrination of the Mexicans resemble the departure from Egypt of the Children of Israel and their exodus? For the former, like the latter, were prompted to leave and go in search of a Promised Land. Both peoples took their gods as guides, consulted the Ark, and built a tabernacle. Both drew advice and their laws and ceremonies [from these consultations]. And it took both a great number of years to reach the Promised Land. In these and many other things, the history of the Mexicans resembles the history of the Israelites according to Holy Scripture.²⁹

The Franciscan Juan de Torquemada built further on Acosta’s and García’s inverted typological readings of the history of the Aztecs as the satanic fulfillment of the Pentateuch, completing a massive Mosaic-like history of the Aztecs as Satan’s Israelites. In his interpretation, the Aztecs experienced an exodus under the leadership of their own Moses and Aaron. Upon arrival in their Promised Land, they also experienced an age of subordination to “Canaanites,” followed by an age of monarchies (the Aztecs had Davids and Solomons of their own, and built a temple) and an age of prophets. Finally, like the Israelites, the Aztecs saw their temple leveled and their capital destroyed by foreign powers.³⁰ Unaware of the typological origins of this narrative, historians today still recount the history of the Aztecs in the way that Torquemada suggested: in terms of migration, settlement, subordination, monarchy and empire, and foreordained doom and collapse.

The great English theologian John Mede (1586–1638) read these typological interpretations of the history of the Aztecs in Cambridge, England, and applied them to the entire continent. Copying Acosta and García almost verbatim, Mede argued that

the Devil, being impatient of the sound of the Gospel and Cross of Christ in every part of this old world, so that he could in no place be quiet for it, and foreseeing that he was like at length to lose all here, bethought himself to provide him of a seed over which he might reign securely . . . That accordingly he drew a Colony out of some of those barbarous Nations dwelling upon the Northern Ocean, (whither the sound of Christ had not yet come) and promising them by some oracle to shew them a Country far better than their own, (which he might soon doe) pleasant, large, where never man yet inhabited, he conducted them over those desert Lands and Islands (which are many in that Sea) by the way of the North into

²⁷ Acosta, *Historia*, bk. 4, chap. 1, 304.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, bk. 7, chap. 4, 459–460.

²⁹ Gregorio García, *Origen de los Indios del Nuevo Mundo e Indias Occidentales* (Valencia, 1606), bk. 3, chap. 3, sec. 3, fol. 234.

³⁰ Juan de Torquemada, *De los veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia indiana*, 3 vols. (1615; repr., Madrid, 1723), vol. 1.

America; which none would ever have gone, had they not first been assured there was a passage that way into a more desirable Country.³¹

This narrative of Amerindian satanic election led Mede to argue in *Clavis Apocalyptica*, his influential 1627 commentary on the Book of Revelation, that the devil enjoyed absolute sovereignty over the New World prior to the arrival of the Europeans. Mede argued that even after the second coming of Christ to inaugurate the millennium, America would not be able to shake off Satan's control. He offered a typological reading of Revelation 20:7–9 that demonstrated that John of Patmos had America in mind when thinking of the place where Satan would be kept from the rest of the world during the millennium. Only after the final battle between God and the armies of Gog and Magog, the Amerindian troops of Satan, would the devil be destroyed.³² This theory suggested that the devil's lordship over the continent had not been dented by the arrival of the Catholic Europeans, and that the European effort to convert the natives was doomed. In fact, in Mede's reading of the future, the settlers would soon be part of Satan's elect: "I will hope," Mede confided to his friend the theologian William Twisse (1578–1646) in 1635, "[the Puritan settlers] shall not so far degenerate (not all of them) as to come in that Army of Gog and Magog against the Kingdome of Christ."³³

The ideas of this influential English theologian moved from England back to New England and were greeted with dismay, because they showed that the Puritans' high hopes of turning their churches into New Jerusalems were mistaken. The New World was Satan's Jerusalem, and the settlers were on their way to becoming the devil's minions as well. At first the colonists seemed resigned, but as the century wound down, learned men such as Samuel Sewall and Nicholas Noyes offered pointed retorts, reclaiming the colonies for God.³⁴ The impact of Mede's writings should not be ignored. According to John Canup, Mede's ideas reflected the way that theories of creole degeneration expressed themselves in the seventeenth-century Puritan Atlantic.³⁵

³¹ Joseph Mede, *The Works of the Pious and Profoundly-Learned Joseph Mede* (London, 1672), bk. 4, epistle 43 (Answer to Dr. Twisse's fourth letter, March 23, 1634/35), 800. The influence of the Spanish inverted typological reading of Aztec history proved long-lasting. In 1680 and 1695, William Hubbard and Cotton Mather, respectively, still quoted the Spanish sources almost verbatim: "When the devil was put out of his throne in the other parts of the world, and that the mouth of all his oracles was stopped in Europe, Asia, and Africa, he seduced a company of silly wretches to follow his conduct into this unknown part of the world, where he might lie hid and not be disturbed in the idolatrous and abominable, or rather diabolical service he expected from those his followers; for here are no footsteps of any religion before the English came, but merely diabolical"; Hubbard, *A General History of New England from the Discovery to 1680* (1680; repr., New York, 1972), 26; "When the Silver-Trumpets of the Lord Jesus were to sound in the other Hemisphere of our World, the devil got a forlorn Crue over hither into America, in hopes that the Gospel never would come at them here"; Mather, *Batteries upon the Kingdom of the Devil* (London, 1695), 20.

³² Mede, "Conjecture Concerning Gog and Magog," in John Mede, *The Key of the Revelation* (1627; repr., London, 1650).

³³ Mede, *Works*, bk. 4, epistle 43, 800.

³⁴ Samuel Sewall, *Phaenomena quadam apocalyptica . . . Some few lines toward a description of the new heaven as it makes those who stand upon the new earth* (Boston, 1697); Nicholas Noyes, *New Englands duty and interest, to be an habitation of justice and mountain of holiness* (Boston, 1698). It is not clear why it took the colonists so long to articulate a sophisticated theological reply to Mede's ideas.

³⁵ John Canup, *Out of the Wilderness: The Emergence of an American Identity in Colonial New England* (Middletown, Conn., 1990), esp. 73–79. See also Oliver Scheiding, "Samuel Sewall and the Americanization of the Millennium," in Bernd Engler, Joerg O. Fichte, and Oliver Scheiding, eds., *Millennial*

Admittedly this is an obscure episode, but it encapsulates well the theme of this *AHR* Forum: the colonial histories of Spanish and British America cannot be disentangled. Notwithstanding the Puritans' representations of Spain as the Antichrist, Puritan theologians kept up with Spanish writings on the New World (but not the other way around), which in turn left a lasting impact on the ways in which Puritans represented themselves and the continent. But the circulation of typological readings is just one case. The history of the colonization of Virginia and New England reads differently when Iberian America becomes normative. Take, for example, Shakespeare's play *The Tempest*. Postcolonial scholars have conclusively shown that *The Tempest* was a colonial text. Yet it cannot be read as simply an allegory of the perils and promises of the English colonization of Bermuda and Virginia, because Shakespeare clearly modeled his Prospero after the Spanish conquistadors, who were capable not only of setting their terrifying hounds loose on Caliban, but also of wielding awesome preternatural powers to calm or set off storms. Milton's *Paradise Lost* is another quintessentially English text. Yet this satanic epic, in which the devil becomes a hero in his own right, draws upon epic models first established in the sixteenth century by the Portuguese and Spanish expansion to India and America. It is not difficult to demonstrate that Iberian epic, demonological, typological, millenarian, natural history, and horticultural-mystical discourses of empire and colonization left a lasting imprint on the British colonization of both Virginia and New England.³⁶ My version of entangled Atlantic histories goes beyond that put forth by the members of this *AHR* Forum and by borderland historians. Although I admire their contributions, they only occasionally upset the normative narratives of the core. I want to go a step further, for entangled histories a Milton, a Shakespeare, and a "City on the Hill" produced.

Thought in America: Historical and Intellectual Contexts, 1630–1860 (Trier, 2002), 165–185; John Bowman, "Is America the New Jerusalem or Gog and Magog? A Seventeenth Century Theological Discussion," *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society* 6 (1950): 445–452.

³⁶ For my readings of *The Tempest*, *Paradise Lost*, and the colonization of Virginia and New England as derivative of Spanish (or more generally medieval) models, see my *Puritan Conquistadors*.

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Featured Reviews

J. H. ELLIOTT. *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. xx, 546. \$35.00.

Academic presses are releasing a flood of books labeled to catch the current wave of interest in “Atlantic history.” There are histories of white, black, red, and green Atlantics, and there are studies of Dutch, English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish ones, as well as some that can be called American. Academic conferences and internet bulletin boards broker debates about what Atlantic history is and how to teach it. J. H. Elliott’s masterly synthesis is bound to become part of those debates, though it addresses neither of them directly.

When a leading expert on the history of early modern Spain and its empire offers a detailed comparison between Britain and Spain in America, sympathetic professional readers can be forgiven for holding their breath. So much comparative history is a shallow commerce in stereotypes, platitudes, and idiosyncrasies that most careful historians are inclined to avoid the approach entirely. Elliott promises a very nuanced playing of his analytic accordion, which alternates between pushing these competing colonial worlds together and then pulling them apart. While incorporating the rich recent scholarship on Amerindian and slave societies, he frankly admits “my principal focus has been the development of the settler societies and their relationship with their mother countries” (p. xviii). This is a social and political history of two successful transatlantic applications of the power to exploit, integrate, and create. Almost inevitably, the study divides into the three phases of occupation, consolidation, and emancipation. Such simplicity promises much less than this insightful and illuminating exploration delivers.

Pairing conquistador Hernán Cortés with Captain Christopher Newport as imperial pioneers may seem surprising but proves entirely apt. Cortés not only carried the ambitions and methods of the reconquista to America with spectacular success, he provided the basis for extravagant and enduring creole claims against the Spanish monarchy as well as aspects of a mestizo identity. Nearly a century later, a relatively colorless Elizabethan privateer named Christopher Newport led the expeditions of an English trading company that would

fail to find profit in what became Virginia. Obvious contrasts are tempered by discussing the private investors in the Cortés venture, his history as a trader and plantation owner in the unspectacular colony on Hispaniola, and the comparatively modest alternatives for which he had prepared. It was the unexpected and astonishing portable wealth of the Aztecs and Incas, and the vast scale of those confiscated, but still-functioning, empires that quickly drew the Spanish monarchy into governance and gave them the resources to control Spain, dictate to Europe, and spread Christendom. The Castilian dominance of that Spanish empire bears interesting comparison with the English dominance of the British one. In a telling aside, Elliott invites us to think of how different things would have been if the Tudors had funded Columbus: there might well have been an English absolute monarchy defending an unreformed faith, a luxuriant church that dominated its America, and a parliament that had faded into insignificance.

The papal bulls of 1493–1494 fantastically divided the world between Iberians, but that claim imposed a colossal religious assignment on the Spanish Hapsburgs that they had good reason to take seriously. America’s tithes all stayed in America to fund missions, to support religious orders and secular clergy, and to build and run cathedrals, hospitals, schools, and universities. By the seventeenth century this fortunate church was often the major source of local credit in Latin America. The Spanish and English both spoke of a Christianizing mission in the Americas, but circumstances never allowed the English even a remotely comparable investment of people or resources. Spain could afford to exclude and harass religious dissent; the English exported so much of it to America that a religious mission became all but impossible. Like Bartolomé de Las Casas, John Eliot of Massachusetts was called the “Apostle to the Indians,” but the difference in the scale of their influence was massive. There was never an English equivalent to Fray Pedro Claver’s selfless mission to arriving African slaves. Spanish and English both felt superior to the Indians, but the Spanish were confident that they could

impose their values on the people they put to work. Segregation and exclusion were seldom possible in Spanish America, whereas excluding the Indians became part of clearing the land in most of British America. Fences were illegal impediments to herds in Castilian law, but they were symbols of "improvement" in British America.

The consolidation of settler societies in Spanish and English America involved similar issues in contrasting physical, demographic, and economic circumstances. Authority was formally monarchical, and the Spanish monarchy exercised considerable real power through its myriad officers, ranging from the viceroy down to the level of town *cabildos*. The less secure English crown, and its increasingly hamstrung governors, often afforded little more than decorous resistance to government by local representatives in the colonies. Both empires shared a hierarchical model of family and polity that was bound to have trouble in colonies that attracted virtually no metropolitan aristocrats into the gender-skewed migration of socially ambitious Europeans. New England was exceptional as a family-based migration of those seeking a refuge and finding land for extended family labor. Farther south, in both British and Spanish colonies, migrant males prospered by commanding bound labor, and family was initially weaker and eventually more complex. Spanish obsessions with genealogy and color-coding could never sort the social ambiguities and tensions that were particularly evident in the major cities of Spanish America, which entirely dwarfed the towns of British America. Bacon's rebellion in Virginia (1675–1676) and the Mexico City insurrection (1692) are profitably compared in this regard.

Although Catholics and Protestants shared a belief that America mattered in God's providence, Elliott's examination of America as "sacred space" is one of Anglo-Spanish contrasts. On hearing reports of diabolical possession from the Mexican city of Querétaro in 1691, the Inquisition dismissed them as pretexts for blasphemy, and ended the matter by reprimanding friars who supposedly encouraged the frenzy. The following year, in Salem, Massachusetts, a somewhat similar outbreak was allowed to run its tragic course. Reformed Christians of the book were divided on biblical interpretation, separated into colonies of "chosen people," and imposed literary and social conditions on conversion that all but excluded Africans and Indians. The Catholic church in Latin America had its ferocious rivalries, but it was flexible enough to sustain both hierarchy and inclusion in impressive Baroque cathedrals, in access to sacraments, in elaborate religious festivals, and in popular pieties like the Mexican cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe and that of creole saint Rosa of Lima. Emerging creole identities were reinforced by the church, and strengthened by a Latin American economy that became increasingly interdependent as that of the mother country was hollowed out by its political and economic rivals. The Spanish Atlantic was gradually coming apart by the end of the seventeenth century, just

as the English Atlantic was coming together. Elliott never lets the contrasts run too far, however. A comparison of booksellers' 1683 inventories in Mexico City and Boston showed very similar reading tastes, and "In 1717 oranges grown in Spanish Florida were being shipped to Charles Town [South Carolina], and by the 1730s they were being enjoyed by the residents of Philadelphia and New York" (p. 231).

As this rich and delightful book progresses, complete with wonderful illustrations that are well integrated into the discussion, the unavoidable question becomes "Why did the British colonies revolt first?" Eighteenth-century white immigration diversified the settler population of both empires. It was not Castilians who emigrated, but people from Spain's north and east, and from the overcrowded Canary Islands, and their numbers were dwarfed by the estimated third of a million African slaves forced into Spanish American slavery in the century after 1651. The backcountry of much of British America was aggressively resettled by German and Scots-Irish migrants, helping make this empire even less urbanized than it had been. The Spanish borderlands remained cultural peripheries of mestizo fusion in contrast to British America's growing identity with an exclusionary white settler "frontier myth" fed by narratives of captivity among aliens and by strict racial barriers even where African and creole slaves were becoming the majority. While southern white elites glorified their own "liberty," revivalist Protestant movements farther north promoted individual choice in religion.

If the Seven Years' War and its aftermath have become the orthodox place to begin accounts of the American Revolution, there is special value in Elliott's comparative analysis of the consequences of that very expensive war on British and Spanish empires in America. The victor had to defend newly conquered colonies, and the loser had to remake colonial defenses of even the most vital ports. Elliott credits Spanish fiscal, administrative, and commercial reforms, sometimes following older British examples, with delaying Spanish American independence, while authoritarian British reforms provoked effective opposition all the way to independence. Contraband, rather than boycott, was the Spanish American protest against a more intrusive and bureaucratic imperial power. For all the parallels in colonial rhetoric and protest, and colonial fury against the "reforming" government of the Bourbon *peninsulares*, it is hard to avoid the impression that the Spanish empire had initially been more successful at weathering the storm. However, the dramatic expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 created a "gaping hole in the fabric of Spanish American life." Bourbon military reforms also began the rise of the military that so marked nineteenth and twentieth-century Latin America.

A cluster of British colonies, which had been more isolated and competitive than the regions of Spain's America, combined uneasily under a shared libertarian political banner to achieve independence. The socially and culturally interconnected creole elites of Spanish

America, in contrast, would separate from Spain by colony. Elliott's broader comparisons allow for little discussion of the colonists and colonies that remained loyal. He regards the lack of representative government as crucial to the directions taken, although it is also clear that there was less unity required to fight for independence once Napoleon Bonaparte had invaded Spain, and the bloodiest fighting was for power within the newly independent polities.

Measuring the comparative legacies of Britain and Spain in America promises to be an endless imposition of current values upon the dead who did not share them. However, such comparisons will long be constrained by Elliott's measured, restrained, and tolerant assessments. He cannot measure souls saved but shows some sympathy for the responsible Spanish commitment to that mission, lamed as it was by arrogance, brutality, and greed. Nor can he tell whether the pursuit of happiness was as successful as the pursuit of land. Without offering much detailed fiscal and economic history, Elliott suggests that circumstances and culture allowed Spain to take more profit from its American empire than did the British, and to share more inclusively and

flexibly in creating a composite social, cultural, and religious inheritance.

Elliott's Atlantic history is both innovative and traditional. He compares two dominant early-modern empires extensively, carefully, and unapologetically, making deft use of the vast scholarly literature cited in more than a hundred pages of notes and bibliography. "International" aspects are emphasized in migration, war, and contraband, but the social and political core of the book concerns lives lived within empires. Readers will, understandably, want more than this very substantial study can provide on many subjects. Professors will find more to enliven their teaching than they may want to admit, and the book's organization can help with the structuring of some, though certainly not all, Atlantic history courses. Scholars are invited to probe numerous ironies and puzzles uncovered here, and are challenged to find and apply such erudition and wisdom to other Atlantics, and to other large-scale comparative histories.

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WOLF LEPENIES. *The Seduction of Culture in German History*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 260. \$24.95.

About two thirds of the way through this meditation on what is wrong with the Germans, Wolf Lepenies declares that "culture is about interpretation and making sense" (p. 173). Such potentially practical virtues were not, however, foremost in his mind when he put "culture" in the title of this volume of essays. The culture that seduces, or is seduced, over the course of German history tends more toward the highest of artistic and intellectual creations, a point that Lepenies underlines in thick black pen at the outset by telling the story of how his father heard the strains of Richard Strauss's *Rosenkavalier* as a fighter pilot, flying high over Germany the night that Dresden burned, and tried in vain to use the clue this radio broadcast provided to intercept the Allied bombers heading toward their target. Culture in this guise proved a poor guide to the conduct of practical life, and its instrumentalization at the hands of the German high commanders was no protection at all against the destruction they had brought down upon Germany. For Lepenies, the story symbolizes "the close connection that war and culture, education and destruction, politics and poetry, and spirit and violence had entered into in Germany" (p. 2). With it, he introduces his theme of a distinctively German problem—a "national attitude"—of "regarding culture as a substitute for politics and of vilifying politics" (p. 5). But was it the culture signified by opera broadcasts that seduced Germans away from a more healthy interest in parliamentary coalition building (if indeed it did)? Or

was it a much broader kind of culture, in the anthropological sense of a German way of "interpretation and making sense" of things, the culture that includes pretty much everything? Lepenies wants all meanings of culture to resonate in both his title and his book: his topic is, in other words, the culture of overrating culture. The question for the reader then becomes whether a word that signifies everything can explain anything.

Lepenies thinks it can. With Thomas Mann as his opinionated and not always reliable Virgil, he sets off on his investigation of the conceits and self-deceptions endemic, it seems, to Germany's development as a national political entity since at least the days of Johann Gottfried Herder. In a series of loosely thematic chapters, he explores, with the elegance of a method that relies more on affinities and juxtapositions than on causal analysis, the compensatory role that great literature and learnedness (and music, though after his opening salvo, Lepenies has surprisingly little to say about it) played for a number of, well, writers, and other writers who read those writers—and perhaps for educated Germans *tout court*, although one must take that extension largely on faith. Lepenies asserts that this national attitude toward culture made Germans impatient with the unlovely, unmusical, tedious, banal, in short unaesthetic mess of actual politics. When political life proved unsatisfactory, as it always did, intellectuals and those influenced by them chose to wash their hands of

it, consoling themselves with the freedom they retained to conduct their spiritual exercises.

The consequences of preferring poetry to politics could not have been more dire. Lepenies sums them up at the close of his first chapter, "Culture: A Noble Substitute." They include "the submission of civil society to the state, the surrender of the individual to the community," "the propagation of national values and racial pride rather than the pursuit of universal ideals," the "deliberate rejection of liberal ideas," the "romantic revolt against modernity," and the alienation and exile of democrats and liberals. This round-up of the usual suspects culminates, as it must, in the assertion that the "tension between politics and culture"—and the choice, when push came to shove, of the latter over the former—contributed to "the rise of National Socialism and the fall of the Weimar Republic" (pp. 25–26). Following Hermann Rauschning and Joachim Fest, Lepenies suggests that during these dismal years, politics in some weird way became culture, indeed became opera, its "inflated words and shrill banners" drowning out even "the musical score" (p. 39). With the failed artists in charge, the "German penchant for an eschatological interpretation of history" was given free rein, and even those who had disdain for Nazi art as such "succumbed to the artful staging of Nazi politics," laying down their lives for Adolf Hitler in a deadly surrender more to ritual than to belief (p. 42). And although one would have thought that Oliver Hirschbiegel's *Downfall* would make it impossible—finally!—for people to regard the last days of the Third Reich as in any way like the last moments of a Wagner opera, here we read again that "Hitler made sure to stage his exit from the world as operatically as possible" (p. 40).

The historical quasi-narrative that underlies the book concludes in a series of short chapters concerned with the two Germanys after 1945 and their re-unification. Lepenies still finds considerable evidence for the "traditional aloofness from politics that had been so characteristic for large segments of the German cultural elite," and he still sees a persistent tendency to mystify and sanctify the cultural realm (p. 135). But alongside both the aloofness and the mystification, he identifies more hopeful signs, at least in the Federal Republic. In the spirit of the master ironist Mann, Lepenies suggests that in the west the very failure of denazification, and the consequent presence of the murderers among us, generated a highly politicized and hence healthy vitality in cultural life. As he writes, "the confrontation between émigrés and fellow travelers, between opponents of the regime and its collaborators, between Jews who had been driven out of their fatherland and anti-Semites who had been responsible for their flight led to the production of works of art and scholarly books that were provocative and full of innovative energy" (p. 147). In the German Democratic Republic, by contrast, the decision on the part of the ruling party to retrieve German culture—Goethe, Wagner, and all that—from the ruins of fascism amounted to yet another turning point where German history, in the east at least, failed

to turn. With Goethe came political quietism; with Wagner came a monumentalized, empty politics.

The most controversial part of Lepenies's meditations on culture and German history comes when he turns to the autumn of 1989 and describes its events as an "intellectual tragicomedy," in which East German intellectuals—"the avant-garde" who "turned out to be a group of latecomers"—tried and utterly failed to lead the actual people of East Germany toward a socialist utopia that existed only in their own "inner-worldly" imaginations (pp. 170–171). That failure, in turn, resonates in the public culture of a unified Germany, like an overtone series sounding again in response to the repetition of the fundamental—in this case, that "seemingly irresistible German urge to solve a political problem in the field of culture" (p. 205). In the endless, hypertrophied debates about building monuments and museums, Lepenies regrets the lack of attention to small, unpretentious acts of both memory and civil courage. "Human decency," he writes, "begins in everyday life," and cannot be memorialized by "awe-inspiring aesthetics" (p. 209). Culture cannot substitute for politics.

It would probably be a mistake to consult these essays for a history of modern German politics or modern German culture or even for a history of the interaction of the two, but then Lepenies seems not really to expect such a reception. Although he calls his method "intellectual history" and uses the word history in his title, he disarmingly admits at the outset that his brand of intellectual history is "an addition, but no alternative" to political and social history, a mere "adornment" to those, though a "useful" one (p. 7). And as it was for Friedrich Nietzsche, who along with Mann makes repeat appearances in these essays, history's only possible usefulness must be for the present, for life and not in retreat from it. Lepenies's graceful, artfully constructed essays add up to a quietly powerful argument for the importance of everything that his essays are not. Relying on impressions and thought-provoking single instances, he calls attention to the importance of the unexciting routines and procedures of the political world. Writing in an often exaggerated and dramatic register, he calls for Germans to value the actualities of political life, that is, compromise, give-and-take, and low-key pragmatism. Deconstructing dichotomies and exploring, even wallowing in, ambiguities, he calls for transparency and common sense. All this is appealing, though one wonders how useful such an ironic procedure is to achieving the goal of a politically pragmatic and culturally diverse Germany, which Lepenies desires (and for the pursuit of which he has been awarded the 2006 Peace Prize of the German Book Trade). He himself seems to have been seduced by the wonder of words and drawn most powerfully to those whose love of them far exceeds their interest in or commitment to, say, figuring out how to reconcile working parents' desire for longer store hours with small businesses' desire for limited ones.

But putting aside the question of this book's useful-

ness to the German future as unanswerable, it remains the case that Lepenies, for whatever extra-academic reasons, provides us with an account of German history in these pages, and in doing so, presents us not just with his interpretation of the primary sources, that is, the writings of German, English, and American intellectuals, but also with his response to the secondary literature of German history as written by professional historians. Although it may seem inappropriate to submit a work that seeks to escape from the ivory tower of scholarship to a scholarly critique, the accuracy of his diagnosis of the German problem does matter, particularly given that he has solutions to promote. What is most notable about the book from this perspective is its uncritical resurrection of an early version of the *Sonderweg* or special path interpretation of what went wrong in Germany—a version that did, in fact, regard what intellectuals said and did as crucial for political development. Lepenies often employs a kind of literary sleight-of-hand by which he slips texts like John Dewey's *German Philosophy and Politics* (1942) across the admittedly fog-covered divide between primary and secondary sources and then back again, so that one is never quite sure whether Dewey's words are invoked as evidence or explanation. Lepenies makes no serious effort to assimilate all the thousands of pages of sober and unsexuctive prose which have succeeded, over about four decades of scholarly effort, in restoring the history of actual politics, and not simply pronouncements about politics in general, to the center of any explana-

tion of why, for instance, Hitler was able to seize power in January of 1933, let alone why Germans were able and willing to unfold a program of genocide after 1939.

The problem with Lepenies's undertaking is that culture in Matthew Arnold's sense of "the best which has been thought and said in the world" or, more to the point, culture in the form of the literature, philosophy, art, and music that Germans and others have loved, is a lot more irrelevant to politics than Lepenies is willing to admit. That kind of culture intersects only glancingly and occasionally with the kind of everyday democratic and parliamentary politics that he rightly sees as worth valuing for entirely unaesthetic reasons, and even in Germany, that kind of culture was not a historical agent in the way that his thesis suggests that it was. Lepenies seems to acknowledge this in a brief passage about the Dreyfus affair, when the intellectual appeared "to serve an important function in modern politics and modern art" in a way that "became an issue for public debate" (p. 173). He goes on to quote Julien Benda's characterization of this moment as both fortunate and *rare*, but oh, how seductive a moment that was and how beautifully it seemed to recur in the Velvet Revolution of Vaclav Havel, the shining counter-example to all those disappointing East German intellectuals. Whether one actually needs intellectuals and artists in democratic political life as anything other than plain old citizens remains an open question.

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RODERICK MACFARQUHAR and MICHAEL SCHOENHALS.
Mao's Last Revolution. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 693. \$35.00.

The Chinese Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966–1976 in most accounts, including the one under review) was "a watershed, the defining decade of half a century of Communist rule in China," to quote the opening sentence of this volume. Roderick MacFarquhar has devoted most of his academic career to understanding the origins of this political movement, and has previously published three authoritative volumes covering the 1956–1966 period. In collaboration with Swedish scholar Michael Schoenhals, widely known in the China field for his dedication in ferreting out primary source materials from public flea markets and private sources within China, the two self-confessed "perfectionists" have produced their long-anticipated, much-delayed account, which will serve as a benchmark for future researchers on this subject. Given the complexity and ambiguities of the Cultural Revolution there can be no "definitive" account, and there are important areas that this volume does not cover, as well as some interpretations open to debate. However, the authors have clearly achieved their admirable goal of producing a single-volume history that simultaneously

serves scholars, students, and the general public. Were one to read just one book on the subject, this is unquestionably the first choice.

Research on the Cultural Revolution has had an even longer history than the movement itself. Each of the scholarly "waves" has been heavily influenced by the methodological sources available to the researchers. Much of the earliest secondary analysis, relying almost solely on Chinese documents available outside the country, sought to make coherent sense of the event while it was taking place, and to explain—as MacFarquhar has attempted to do in each of his books on this subject, including the current one—why Mao Zedong decided "to tear down what he had done so much to create" (p. 3). Stuart Schram, for example, went back to Qing-dynasty China in the nineteenth century and the debates over the proper relationship between the "Chinese essence" and "Western learning" in his quest for the "origins" of Mao's motivation (Schram, *Authority, Participation and Cultural Change in China* [1973]). Significantly, MacFarquhar and Schoenhals conclude that this quest is now officially over, with Deng Xiao-

ping's adoption of "market Leninism" initiating what is "a historic cultural revolution" and thus abandoning what has been a "vain search for a Chinese version of modernity that had preoccupied the nation's politicians and intellectuals for well over a century" (pp. 460–461). I will return to this argument.

By the mid-1970s, as the Cultural Revolution was nearing its official end, a new generation of graduate students went off to do fieldwork in Hong Kong, interviewing refugees and/or reading the increasingly available Red Guard tabloids. Now considered the "first wave" of Cultural Revolution scholarship, this body of work, based as it was on accounts from participants at the grass roots, generally adopted a bottom-up approach. Less concerned with the motivations of Mao and other elites and focused more directly on the conflicts between those satisfied with conditions in China and those who sought to use the movement—encouraged by Mao and his radical supporters, to be sure—to "rebel" (*zaofan*) against perceived inequities and improve their life chances, this body of scholarship revealed the underlying divisions in Chinese society, until then obscured by the tight control of information dispensed by the Chinese Communist Party's propaganda apparatus (Hong Yung Lee, *The Politics of the Chinese Cultural Revolution: A Case Study* [1978]; Susan L. Shirk, *Competitive Comrades: Career Incentives and Student Strategies in China* [1982]; Jonathan Unger, *Education Under Mao: Class and Competition in Canton Schools, 1960–1980* [1982]; Stanley Rosen, *Red Guard Factionalism and the Cultural Revolution in Guangzhou* [1982]; Anita Chan, *Children of Mao: Personality Development and Political Activism in the Red Guard Generation* [1985]).

In the intervening years, despite the occasional conference convened to introduce new information that had surfaced (William Joseph, Christine P. W. Wong, and David Zweig, eds., *New Perspectives on the Cultural Revolution* [1991]), the Cultural Revolution as a scholarly subject has generally been bypassed as researchers have embraced the rise of China, fueled by the Chinese economic miracle, and other, more exciting contemporary subjects (including the brief enthusiasm over nascent civil society development and democratization associated with the 1989 student movement). Within China, particularly after the release of the official *Resolution on CPC History, 1949–81* (1981), which offered a party-sanctioned, politically correct account of major developments of post-1949 Chinese history, and Mao's role in that history, research on the Cultural Revolution was strongly discouraged. Over the last year or two, however, a second wave of "Mao scholarship" and Cultural Revolution studies have appeared in the West, taking advantage of the wide variety of materials that had been unavailable to previous researchers. While some arguably fall into the category of "popular history" and have received a mixed welcome at best from scholars (most notably, Jung Chang and Jon Halliday, *Mao: The Unknown Story* [2005], which became a best seller in several countries), a number of carefully re-

searched monographs and edited volumes have been well received by the academic community.

If the first wave of scholarship, relying heavily on refugee interviewing and Red Guard tabloids, emphasized societal divisions, the new wave, of which this book is the foremost example, has generally focused on elite politics, with participants at the grass roots serving primarily as agents reacting to initiatives introduced by the principals at the top of the political system. This elite-centered approach, particularly the emphasis on politics at Mao's court, reflects the availability of memoirs by some of the leading participants, collections of Central Documents, extensive chronologies of major events and about the activities of individual leaders, and interviews within China of political officials, their personal secretaries, and Red Guard leaders. We now know much more about these ten years than ever before, and MacFarquhar and Schoenhals do a masterful job of uncovering and mining this new material to offer the fullest, most authoritative account we are likely to have, in the absence of regime change within China.

While some of the anecdotal information and personal details about Mao and other party leaders such as Zhou Enlai and Lin Biao have surfaced in accounts published abroad by Chinese insiders such as Li Zhisui (*The Private Life of Chairman Mao: The Memoirs of Mao's Personal Physician* [1994]) and Gao Wenqian (*Zhou Enlai's Later Years* [2003]), MacFarquhar and Schoenhals have produced a scholarly account that is remarkably judicious in sifting through the conflicting sources and assessing what we definitely know, what we think we know, and what we do not know. In some cases their research reinforces the recent work of others. For example, the reputation of Premier Zhou Enlai, still sacrosanct within China as the key leader who ameliorated the impact of the Cultural Revolution, protected as best he could those close to him, and generally held the country together in spite of the excesses spawned by Mao's radical initiatives, takes a further beating here. Far from being a leader acting with autonomy, Zhou is depicted as almost completely subservient to Mao, and primarily responsible for implementing Mao's directives.

The care with which judgments are made is apparent throughout the book. For example, the accounts by Doctor Li and Mao's personal attendant, Zhang Yufeng, differ on Mao's responsibility in the removal of Deng Xiaoping from his political posts after the Tiananmen demonstrations in April 1976. The authors explain clearly why, despite Zhang's closer contact with the chairman, Li's account is more believable (pp. 429–430). The chapter on "The Defection and Death of Lin Biao" reads like a detective story, as the authors compare official accounts to various memoirs and previous Western analyses to produce more and less likely explanations for the events in question, while leaving no doubt as to the effects of the Lin Biao affair on the Chinese political system (pp. 324–336). Mao's behavior toward his radical supporters, depicted in China and abroad as the "Gang of Four," is treated as a "puzzle,"

and MacFarquhar and Schoenhals painstakingly pore through the available documents in an attempt to explain Mao's actions in the mid-1970s, carefully weighing official accounts against other sources (pp. 396–412). As the reader ponders their efforts to piece together Mao's intentions, one can easily extrapolate and understand how participants in the political struggle would have had even more difficulty understanding what Mao had in mind. Such examples could of course be multiplied.

In assessing Mao's motivation for launching the movement, the authors trace the evolution of Mao's thinking over the previous decade, including key domestic and foreign developments, with particular emphasis on Mao's highly negative evaluation of the changes in the Soviet Union under Nikita Khrushchev, followed by Leonid Brezhnev's ouster of his former boss. Mao, we are told, was acting on both ideological grounds (i.e., the fear of revisionism derailing the Chinese revolution) and out of fear that his own position as supreme leader was vulnerable. To defend "his" revolution required the purging of his rivals, and to prevent revisionism required the mobilization of the masses. Loyalty to Mao the person became more important than loyalty to his policies. His strategy, with its deliberate ambiguities, would prove to be brilliant as both political elites and ordinary masses competed to interpret his often opaque private and public directives. Since only Mao was qualified to identify revisionists and their policies, no one knew the real targets of the movement, or how far they could go in toppling his presumed enemies or pursuing radical initiatives. Adherents could only "work toward the Chairman" and hope their assessments were congruent with the ever-changing views of Mao. This of course allowed Mao to claim after the fact that he had been misinterpreted (pp. 48–49).

In playing to their strengths, MacFarquhar and Schoenhals have focused primarily on elite politics, particularly at the center, increasingly so after the major phase of the Cultural Revolution had ended by the Ninth Party Congress of April 1969. This is not a study of the movement at the grass-roots level and, despite some moving individual testimony to the great human costs, there is relatively little analysis of state-society

relations and Chinese political culture, or of the anger among ordinary citizens that Mao so astutely was able to harness for his purposes. Another recent book, albeit less tightly focused, attempts to use the newly available materials to provide a more "nuanced interpretation" of elite-mass interactions (Joseph W. Esherick, Paul G. Pickowicz, and Andrew G. Walder, eds., *The Chinese Cultural Revolution as History* [2006]), although some of the findings have already been contested by a "first wave" scholar (Jonathan Unger, *The China Journal* [January 2007]: 109–137). Thus, although MacFarquhar and Schoenhals have now set the bar for an understanding of elite-level politics during the Cultural Revolution, below that level many questions remain unanswered, unexplored, or contested.

One might also question the conclusion that the Cultural Revolution marked Mao's (and China's) "last best effort to define and perpetuate a distinct Chinese essence in the modern world," leading directly to the Deng Xiaoping-initiated "successful Western-style modernization that had proved so effective on Taiwan and elsewhere in East Asia" (p. 460). Arguably, the Maoist legacy should not be dismissed quite so readily. Current leaders still use Mao, when convenient, to prop up their own legitimacy and the legitimacy of the Communist Party and the Chinese Revolution. With serious study of Mao and the Cultural Revolution off limits for researchers—indeed, Mao has already been virtually expunged from history textbooks in Shanghai schools—and with the rampant corruption and inequalities that have been a prominent feature of "market Leninism," an appeal to the popularly perceived Maoist values of equality and selflessness during some future leadership struggle, if not directly coming from the bottom up where there appears to be continuing affection for Mao, cannot be ruled out. Despite the crucial absence of a "Mao-like" authority figure, the lack of strong democratic voices combined with the pent-up anger at the grassroots level—which Mao so effectively exploited back in 1966—makes it at least conceivable that the chairman's banner may again be hoisted for political aims.

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ODD ARNE WESTAD. *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 484. \$35.00.

Odd Arne Westad has presented us with a major revision in the historiography of the Cold War. His book has already generated debate in, for example, the pages of *Cold War History*. His central claim is that "the most important aspects of the Cold War were neither military nor strategic, nor Europe-centered, but connected to political and social developments in the Third World" (p. 396). This is a position with which many,

including the present reviewer, will have a great deal of sympathy. It is, however, a more complicated and problematic proposition than it might, at first sight, seem.

The author takes us on a tour through the hot spots of the Cold War. These are largely to be found in the underdeveloped regions of the world. Westad does a marvelous job in integrating a mass of material in many languages dealing with a vast range of conflicts around

the Third World. Here is the chief merit of the book and the reason why it is an important landmark in Cold War history: Nowhere else has the intricate story of how and why the superpowers and their allies intervened in Angola, Congo, Yemen, Vietnam, Somalia, Central America, and Iran been told so convincingly and with such command of the sources.

But Westad makes larger claims, and these will not all find ready acceptance. Perhaps most importantly, Westad asserts that his interpretation contradicts the notion that the Cold War was a "contest between two superpowers over military power and strategic control, mostly centered on Europe" (p. 396). It is not entirely clear why we are required to choose between these two interpretations, why they are mutually exclusive. Surely the Cold War was *simultaneously* a strategic confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States, both around the defense of Western Europe and around the nuclear confrontation, *and also* a series of conflicts in the Third World. Westad has done the profession a great service by placing consideration of the interconnections of these various arenas of conflict on the agenda. But it is extreme and unnecessary to assert that "on the contrary" the Cold War was all about the Third World and not in essence about the military-strategic conflict in the North.

The design of Westad's book does not allow us to decide the matter. As William Wohlforth has noted in the pages of *Cold War History*, "Westad's claim about the Third World's relative importance cannot be validated by looking only at the Third World. The only way to assess this is to examine the interconnection between the 'classic' Cold War and the Cold War in the Third World." This Westad does not do; instead he presents a plausible case that the Third World was *an* important arena of Cold War contention. This is not the same as saying that it was *the most* important arena of Cold War conflict.

To understand why Westad adopts this extreme position, we need to consider his views on ideology. Westad is to be applauded for his attention to what elites actually thought. He is no "realist," operating only with disembodied state "interests." His book starts with chapters on the ideologies of the United States and the Soviet Union, arguing that each superpower was committed to the export of a particular model of modernity. Further, he explores in detail the distinctly Chinese view of the world and their role in it, showing how the Sino-Soviet split worked its way out in many Third World countries. Better still, he gives elites in the Third World a central role in his account, elucidating the ways in which their worldviews and experiences either meshed with, or were in tension with, those of the superpower elites. The result is a subtle and intricate account of how various elites positioned themselves vis-à-vis one another in a complex dance of war and diplomacy. In this narrative the Cold War in the Third World takes moves from a minor, Manichean shadow play, distracting attention from the central conflict in the North, to an intricate, many-sided struggle to im-

pose one's goals against the resistance of others. Westad's erudition and attention to detail make this a superb account. Putting ideology at the heart of his analysis pays enormous dividends.

Yet, Westad's analysis of ideology does not always convince. Westad simultaneously gives ideology too much weight and fails to analyze it in any depth. His claim that "the United States and the Soviet Union were driven to intervene in the Third World by the ideologies inherent in their politics" (p. 4) depends on being able to demonstrate that the actual policies adopted by these elites were a direct result of the ideologies to which they subscribed. But the very real merits of his analysis undercut his fundamental claims. One of the noteworthy and laudable features of Westad's history is his exploration of the policy debates within the Soviet and American camps. Elites in both countries are shown to be often divided, unsure, counseled to act differently, and capable of major shifts in policy. They did not always speak with one voice or think with one mind.

The detailed analysis of policy debate subverts Westad's larger claim that superpower elites are fundamentally driven by their ideologies. For the Americans, it is an ideology that tells them that their duty is to export freedom—understood as markets and democracy—throughout the world. For the Soviets, their ideology tells them that they must work to hurry the victory of socialism—understood as central planning and a Leninist party-state—over capitalism. However, policies cannot be directly read off from ideologies defined at such a general level of abstraction. It is in the analysis of policy debate that the real explanations lie, not in a formal invocation of ideology understood as a set of abstract principles. To be sure, ideology is not irrelevant, but it does not have the immediate causal effects that Westad attributes to it. Moreover, Westad's view of ideology is strikingly formalistic. He attends to the formal statements, not to the operative culture. How elites think about the world is, as Westad argues, supremely important. What is less obvious is how to parse out what it is that they actually think. As many historians and political scientists have argued, it is implicit cultural understandings and deeply rooted metaphors that drive decision-making, not formal ideology.

Although Westad argues that the conflict was not in essence military, his tour of the Cold War hot spots in the Third World necessarily leads him to focus on events which involved armed conflict. To be sure, he repeatedly argues that underlying the Cold War motivations of the superpowers were projects of economic (and societal) modernization. Nevertheless, his treatment of economics and social transformation is sketchy at best. What we have in this book is, at heart, a diplomatic history, not an analysis of ideology and its impact on policy, nor an analysis of the political economy of Third World development. As a diplomatic historian Westad is at his best, presenting the reader with the doubts and deliberations within the Kremlin and the White House, and showing how the policies and cognitive frames of the superpowers interacted with the un-

derstandings and desires of local leaders in the Third World.

Westad sees the ideologies of the two superpowers as having had a widespread impact on economic development in the Third World, primarily through an emphasis on mega-projects and on a war against the peasantry. In both of these assertions, Westad goes beyond what the evidence can readily support. He has succumbed to a kind of peasant romanticism typified by an entire generation of theorists of the development of underdevelopment.

Against a view that privileges the ideologies of superpower elites, it seems much more reasonable to argue that government policies in various Third World countries had a substantial impact on the rate and pattern of economic growth, as well as on who lost and who benefited. Policies varied from one country to another, and often shifted dramatically over time, as governments with different ideological complexions and different social bases came and went. Nor were these policies always the result of Cold War imposition. Importantly, while growth was never easy, it was possible, and in many countries, happened. One of the things that stood in the way of growth was armed conflict, with all its destruction and disruption. And, as Westad so effectively points out, the frequent interventions by the superpowers often prolonged or exacerbated these conflicts, and, indeed, often triggered them in the first place. But not all conflicts were caused by the Cold War, even if they had to be fought in the context of the Cold War. Those countries that were spared conflict—much of Latin America, India—generally had better growth records than countries that were plagued by war. In all countries, but most obviously so in those countries that were spared long periods of war, the key economic policy choices were seldom tightly constrained by the exigencies of the Cold War. Westad's focus on the high drama of war and revolution in the Third World draws attention away from the mundane processes of development and state-building occurring elsewhere in the Third World.

There is a fundamental, though fruitful, ambiguity at the heart of Westad's project. Is this a book about the Third World or about the Cold War? At times it seems as if Westad believes that these are one and the same. Westad argues that, "especially as seen from the South—the Cold War was a continuation of colonialism . . . For the Third World, the continuum of which the Cold War forms a part did not start in 1945, or even 1917, but in 1878 . . . or perhaps in 1415, when the Portuguese conquered their first African colony" (p. 396).

What are we to make of this? Is Westad presenting us with an account of one phase in the history of the Third World, or is he presenting us with a history of the Cold War, focusing on operations in the arena of conflict that came to be known as the Third World? These are quite distinct historical projects.

There are, in fact, four possible projects. The first is a revision of Cold War history, in which he highlights the Third World hot spots of that conflict. The second is an effort to describe the Cold War in the Third World, not only in the places where fighting took place, but in its mundane aspects as well. The third and fourth projects move from the Cold War as the central topic to the development of the Third World as the subject. One variant involves the writing of a segment of Third World history, that which occurred during the period 1945–1990. In this project, the Cold War enters as one of several explanatory dynamics, but not necessarily the only or the most important one. The final project is a history of the impact of the Cold War on Third World development. The key question here is: what impact did the Cold War have on the processes of development in the Third World? To address this requires a counterfactual speculation; namely, what would have happened to Third World development had there been no Cold War?

Of course, many historians are uncomfortable with counterfactuals, especially ones as broad as this. But some such procedure is logically entailed if an author wishes to assert, as Westad does, that the Cold War had a deleterious impact on development in the Third World. Certainly, in the hot spots that Westad describes, the case seems clear. But what about countries like Argentina, Taiwan or India, which were not Cold War hot spots?

Is everything that happened in the Third World between 1945 and 1991 to be attributed to the Cold War? Was the debt crisis of 1982 a result of the Cold War? Was the general growth in Latin America prior to the debt crisis a result of the Cold War, and the general stagnation of those economies thereafter also a result of the Cold War? We need some way to parse out exactly what kinds of impacts the Cold War had on Third World societies and to separate these from processes that were occurring quite independently of the Cold War.

Westad has set the agenda and established the standard; now we must do the work.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

JOHN PHILLIP REID. *The Ancient Constitution and the Origins of Anglo-American Liberty*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2005. Pp. 188. \$32.00.

For thirty years John Phillip Reid has been making what Barbara Black has called “the case for the colonists.” In a series of deeply researched books and articles, Reid has explicated and defended the constitutional and legal arguments advanced by American patriots during the imperial crisis of the 1760s and 1770s. This book continues that task: “the British who opposed the American version of the constitution were ‘looking ahead,’ away from the ancient constitution, to government by consent, to a constitution of parliamentary command, in which government was entrusted with arbitrary power and civil rights were grants from the sovereign. The Americans were ‘looking backward,’ not to government by consent but to government by the rule of law, to a sovereign that did not grant rights but was limited by rights” (p. 52).

Reid develops this argument by focusing on the ideology of the “ancient constitution,” as expounded during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by various English politicians and common law lawyers—Edward Coke, Matthew Hale, John Selden, Robert Atkyns, Henry St. John Bolingbroke. Their goal was to preserve liberty through the rule of law, and the essence of that law was embedded deep in the English past: “the Constitution and Form of Government of the Saxon Heptarchy,” as the Earl of Abingdon put it in the 1770s (p. 9). Its main institutions, Reid explains, were “elective monarchy . . . representation of the freemen, annual elections, and, of course, the right to trial by jury” (p. 89), and its fundamental principles were “timeless.” “The Freemen of England have always from beyond all times of memory enjoyed the same Fundamental Rights and Privileges (I mean in substance) that they do at this day,” declared James Tyrrell in 1695 (p. 87). The first principles of limited government and customary rights remained intact even as political institutions, legal forms of action, and procedural practice changed.

Or so the ancient constitutionalists argued. As Reid is the first to admit, these men were not writing “scientific history.” Indeed, he suggests, they should not be seen as historians but as lawyers, advocates who used

evidence from the past to argue a case rather than to establish its true character. Because they blend history and advocacy, Reid calls them “forensic historians.” After defining forensic history and establishing the “authority of the past,” he explores the forensic techniques of the ancient constitutionalists, such as the marshalling of facts in support of one side of an argument and a sharp division of the past into heroes and villains. Then, in a series of short chapters, Reid examines their treatment of past eras and events: Gothicism and Saxonism, the Norman Conquest, and eighteenth-century reform. The analysis is exhaustive (and even exhausting) but also limited, for Reid does not provide us with a firm sense of the importance of these thinkers and their ideology over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Was ancient constitutionalism an ascendant ideology in Coke’s generation only to pale into relative insignificance in the age of Walpole? Such issues—central historical issues—remain largely unexamined, so we do not know the answers.

What we do know is that Reid takes sharp issue with those modern historians—in particular, J. G. A. Pocock and Isaac Kramnick—who have applauded the history written by Robert Brady and other contemporary critics of the ancient constitutionalists. That history exploded the constitutionalists’ rosy picture of the past and, by the mid-eighteenth century, had won the endorsement of the Whig government. “To bring the Government of England back to its first Principles,” Walpole’s *London Journal* declared in reply to Bolingbroke in 1733, “is to bring the People back to absolute Slavery: The Primitive Purity of our Constitution was, that the People had no Share in the Government, but were the Villains, Vassals, or Bondsmen of the Lords. . . . This was our Ancient Constitution” (p. 105). In scientific terms, the critics were correct. But, Reid protests, “those historians who recently have celebrated the triumph of Brady’s history” have ignored “Brady the advocate for constitutional absolutism” (p. 103).

Judging Brady and recent activist United States Supreme Court justices by the standard of “constitutionalism,” Reid finds them lacking and endorses the ideology of their opponents. “Both ancient constitutionalism and original intentism may be ‘bad’ history, but both, if used with the discipline of the common-law method, can be restraints on the will and pleasure of

arbitrary decision, whether royal, legislative, or (especially in the case of original intent) judicial" (pp. 122–123). Like many legal scholars, Reid writes forensic history and cannot resist applying his historical insights to the problems of the present.

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GAVIN WRIGHT. *Slavery and American Economic Development*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 162. \$25.00.

For more than thirty years, the economics of slavery in the antebellum South—and elsewhere—has elicited sharp debate. Rejecting traditional views of slavery as backward and inefficient, Robert W. Fogel and his followers have argued not only that slavery was profitable and efficient, but also that it enabled the southern economy to grow more rapidly than the northern economy during the two decades before the Civil War. But if the profitability of slavery (to slaveowners) now seems incontrovertible, most non-economic historians of slavery, and some economic historians as well, have been unwilling to discard the argument that slavery retarded southern economic development and impeded southern "modernization." Perhaps the most influential of these dissenters among economic historians has been Gavin Wright. The book under review, an "extensively revised" (p. ix) version of the Walter L. Fleming Lectures that Wright delivered at Louisiana State University in 1997, both builds upon and extends his earlier critique of the prevailing paradigm.

Wright develops three major arguments. First, he maintains that slavery was beneficial to slaveowners not because of its "advantages in production" but because of what he terms "property rights" in labor (p. 14). Although the terminology is cumbersome, the point is an important one. In contrast to Fogel, who argued that the economies of scale that accompanied large-scale gang labor made slavery more efficient than free labor, Wright notes that these economies of scale were not inherent in slavery and that "slavery's apparent production advantages only surfaced in particular times, places, and activities" (p. 83). Slavery's advantage stemmed from the "property rights" it provided to masters—"specifically, the right of a slaveowner to employ the slave in a location and at an activity of the owner's choosing, ignoring any preferences on the part of the slave" (pp. 20–21). In short, the advantage lay in slavery itself, not in organizational efficiencies that sometimes accompanied slavery.

Second, Wright notes that in the "kind of cold war" (p. 49) between the slave South and the free-labor North in the years preceding the Civil War, one's judgment of who "won" depends on the system of measurement used. In terms of "wealth per free capita" (p. 60), the South in 1860 was eighty percent richer than the North; "slave labor made possible an accumulation of wealth for the free population of the South that put them considerably ahead of their northern counter-

parts" (p. 57). But much of this wealth was fictional, based on the enormous value of the slaves themselves (which disappeared with emancipation): measuring on the basis of *non-slave* wealth per capita, the North in 1860 was sixty-four percent richer than the South. "Each side in the cold war," Wright concludes, "could declare itself the winner according to its own scoreboard" (p. 61). The argument is persuasive, although it applies more to the cold war between economic historians today than to that between the antebellum protagonists: in fact, the most perceptive proslavery propagandists conceded that the North was richer than the South, and few based their defense of slavery on its superior record of economic growth.

Third, Wright argues that over time slavery severely retarded southern economic development. The Old South was far from impoverished, and slaveowners profited handsomely from the peculiar institution, but slavery discouraged mechanization—in the North, "property rights in machines offered a free-state alternative to property rights in labor" (p. 121)—as well as education, urbanization, and the development of a modern industrial infrastructure, while immigrants "vot[ed] with their feet" (p. 58) for freedom. Disputing Fogel's assertion that had it been an independent country the antebellum South would have been the fourth richest in the world, Wright ranks it instead in fifteenth place, "appropriately grouped with the middling countries of that era such as Spain, Austria, Norway, or Portugal" (p. 124). What is more, he suggests that one can "locate the roots of postbellum regional backwardness firmly in the antebellum period" (pp. 123–124) rather than in devastation caused by the Civil War and emancipation. The postwar South was about half as wealthy as the North, a standing "basically consistent with prewar patterns" measured by "the value of nonslave wealth per capita" (p. 124). Wright makes a powerful case for slavery's negative economic impact, but I think that he ends on a weak note in suggesting that "the most enduring legacy of slavery . . . was the persistence of a bifurcated society in which economic elites did not identify with or internalize the well-being of the majority of the population" (p. 126): surely the South was hardly alone in having an economic elite whose interests differed from those of the majority, and the implicit assumption of the normality of class harmony strains credulity.

This little book will not end the debate over the economics of slavery, but it presents an unusually sensible, thought-provoking, and accessible challenge to the interpretation now in the ascendancy among economic historians. It deserves, and will no doubt receive, a wide readership.

PETER KOLCHIN
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NEIL GREGOR, NILS ROEMER, and MARK ROSEMAN, editors. *German History from the Margins*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2006. Pp. vi, 306. \$49.95.

"What does it mean to write history from the margins?" (p. 2). Although the contributors to this volume offer a range of answers to this question, posed by the editors, all seek to illuminate the ways in which "modern nations incorporate and respond to their minorities" (p. 20), and all challenge the existence of anything vaguely approaching a homogenous German nation.

In two essays, the focus is on Germans whose Jewishness defined their marginality. Till van Rahden examines the work of German Jewish intellectuals who directly challenged the idea of a homogenous nation, arguing instead that the nation should embody particularity and difference. German Jewish ethnicity was identified less in religious practice than in the notion of *Stamm* or tribe, a concept vague enough to encompass Orthodox, Reform, and Conservative religious practices as well as Jews who defined themselves by ethnic and even "racial" criteria. Jews were thus one German tribe among many, "a community of common descent rather than faith" (p. 33), full members of the nation who could nonetheless celebrate their difference. In adopting a language of tribe, German Jewish intellectuals manipulated a discourse that they had not invented. By embracing a scientific language of racial distinction, Yfaat Weiss demonstrates, German Jewish thinkers similarly seized on a dominant discourse that offered a compelling explanation of cultural difference.

The marginal groups that interest Helmut Walser Smith are Lithuanians, Masures, and Cassubians in East Prussia in the second half of the nineteenth century. In this case, religion created bridges that united those divided by language, ethnic self-identification, and culture. Thus, the pietistic Protestantism of the Masures tied them to East Prussians but also created connections to Polish Catholics and Lithuanians. East Prussia emerges as a "space" where "for a very long time . . . religion and language were sites of complex allegiances" (p. 75). Eric Kurlander examines the intersection of ethnic identity and liberalism in a comparative study of Alsace-Lorraine and Schleswig-Holstein. As mainstream German liberalism moved increasingly in the direction of a *völkisch* nationalism that insisted on homogeneity, liberal Danes in Schleswig-Holstein and ethnic Germans in Alsace continued to champion a liberal-democratic vision that included a defense of minority rights. Winson Chu demonstrates that the ethnic German population in interwar Poland was anything but homogenous; rather, it was made up of German-speakers from three former empires—the German, Russian, and Austro-Hungarian. The *Volksdeutsche* whose cause the Nazis championed were deeply divided between the former German citizens of western Poland and Germans who had long lived in the diaspora in the east. For Frank Bösch, Guelph Conservatives represent a marginal group at the center, a political group that saw its origins in the Kingdom of Hanover. For over a century, Guelph conservatives sustained an independent political existence, resisting Prussian hegemony in the Kaiserreich, demanding a split from the "red" metropolis, Berlin, in

the 1920s, accommodating National Socialism, and re-emerging as the Deutsche Partei after 1945, championing the importance of regional interests and the values of *Heimat*.

Katherine Kennedy's subject is the representation of minority groups—Catholics, Socialists, and Jews—in the textbooks used in elementary schools. In the Kaiserreich and Weimar, the social marginalization of these groups, Kennedy argues, found no parallel in textbooks, which ignored minority groups altogether, instead promoting a vision of a unified nation. If anti-semitic images were absent from elementary school textbooks in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they also played no part in the political rhetoric of those opposing *Schund- und Schmutzschriften* ("dirt and trash writings") and championing temperance. Gideon Reuveni concludes that Jews were not targeted in these campaigns because they were "consumer discourses" that were addressed at the masses—women, youth, the working class—who were particularly susceptible to drink and pulp fiction, temptations that Jews, members of the educated bourgeoisie, knew to resist.

Dagmar Herzog is also concerned less with the experience of German Jews than with the discourse of antisemitism. She explores the "sexual demonization of Jews" (p. 186) and the "idea of Jews as the main advocates of sexual liberation" (p. 188) as pervasive elements of Weimar antisemitism that reached new heights under the Nazis. As Herzog argues, however, the Nazi alternative was not a conservative approach to sexual relations but rather a "pro-sex vision" that encouraged Germans of the right sort to engage in pre- and extramarital sex. Formulated as an attack on Christian prudishness, the Nazi promotion of sexual activity was also explicitly antisemitic, and Nazis made sure to distance their endorsement of healthy sex from the "impure" perversity attributed to Jews. Jewish sexuality, as practiced by the three quarters of a million or more Jews who found themselves in Germany after 1945, resulted, as Atina Grossmann explains, in extraordinarily high birth rates. This "baby-boom" among Jewish displaced persons (DPs), Grossmann argues, signified an affirmation of the community the Nazis had unsuccessfully attempted to exterminate.

In her analysis of the discourse around "mixed-bloods," the children of white German mothers and African American soldiers, Heide Fehrenbach offers an insightful analysis into the ways in which West Germans redefined their understandings of race in the aftermath of the Third Reich. In the postwar discourse on race, Fehrenbach argues, the racialized identities of the Nazi state—the Slav, Mongol, Jew, Asiatic—"were displaced, and ultimately erased, by a preoccupation with blackness" (p. 235). *Mischlingskinder* came to embody the "problem of race." Illuminating another key aspect of West German attempts to come to terms with difference, Karen Schönwälder provides an analysis of the forces leading to the cessation of foreign labor recruitment in 1973. Rejecting accounts that have attributed

the government's action to the oil crisis, Schönwälder presents a much more complicated picture that includes concerns over the rising costs of supporting not only immigrant workers but their families and fears that diminishing rates of economic growth necessitated the reduction of "current overemployment." The Palestinian attack on Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich also raised fears that immigrants could present a threat to domestic security. In Schönwälder's analysis, the oil crisis was the occasion, not the cause, of the end to foreign labor recruitment.

In a concluding essay, Geoff Eley states what is implicit in the contributions gathered together in the volume: marginality "suggests both a cultural condition and a physical space, at the same time a form of identity or consciousness and a type of location or actual place" (p. 276). But he argues that once we have viewed Germany "from the margins," we should next demonstrate clearly "how working at the margins can change what we know of the center" (p. 278). Without this, Eley warns, the illumination of "new original, or neglected standpoints based in minority interests or peripheral locations" will allow the "exhausted . . . grand narratives" (p. 277) to remain in place.

Germany's colonies fall outside the margins from which German history is viewed in this book, and post-1945 Germany does not extend to East Germany because, the editors tell us, they do not want to introduce the "rather different questions raised by the imposition of the Soviet Communist model" (p. 8). How the center looked from the margins of empire and how difference and marginality were negotiated under "real existing socialism" would be important additions to the story the authors tell. Still, the book represents an engaging and compelling call for us to rethink the master narratives that have long dominated German history and to recognize the ways in which different local identities, ethnicities, and religious beliefs were never successfully collapsed into a unified vision of the nation.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

THOMAS DORMANDY. *The Worst of Evils: The Fight against Pain*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 547. \$35.00.

Both a universal human experience, and one that is felt uniquely by each individual as well as being differently managed and interpreted within different cultures and social settings, pain is receiving significant scholarly attention these days. From headaches, childbirth, and chronic pain to torture, and from professional intellectual to popular social perspectives, new research offers increasingly nuanced exploration of pain's meanings, uses, and remedies. Intended as a contribution to this scholarship, Thomas Dormandy's book is an encyclopedic summary of Western medical attempts to ease

patients' discomfort from the beginning of recorded time to the present.

It reads like a chronologically organized Western Civilization textbook, where successive eras identified by traditional consensus are viewed through the lens of pain management. Beginning in "The mists of history" with ancient use of analgesics including wine and opium, it proceeds through early Christianity and medieval Islamic maintenance of classical medicine to "Scientific stirrings" when early gas therapies gave promise of greater relief to come. "Painless surgery" created by the introduction of ether and chloroform gives way to "The beginning of the modern" when new drugs made possible local and chronic pain relief. Finally, "Yesteryears" recognizes both twentieth-century advances in pain management and the limits to further progress posed by chronic physical and mental illness.

This book is well written, literate, and chatty, reflecting the author's good classical education and enthusiasm for his subject. It is also anglocentric and tends toward ethnic stereotypes: for example, on several occasions referring to Britain's "still uncouth former colonies across the Atlantic" (p. 201) and commenting, with regard to the belated German recognition of Viennese use of ether, "What else would one expect from Bavarians?" (p. 232). The author's flippancy can also be jarring, for example footnoting "Victor Hugo (who else?) in *Les Misérables*" (p. 253).

This volume is long on detail but disappointingly short on analysis and argument. Now and then there is a whiff of interpretation: for example, in Dormandy's discussion of the introduction of laudanum, which he links to the fashion for hypersensitivity and decline in acceptance of pain as normal, and in his association of early use of surgical anesthesia with reformist politics in the Austrian Empire. However, he does not develop such arguments fully, and, in any case, they are few and far between. Furthermore, Dormandy does not engage with interpretations made by other scholars, instead concentrating on often Whiggish narrative description of the development or application of a substance or technique and saving his critical eye for what he views as errors of fact, such as Leonardo da Vinci's reputation for anatomical skill and knowledge (undeserved) or Henry Hill Hickman's fame for introducing gas anesthesia (exaggerated). Although this work is supported by an annotated bibliography (mainly of secondary literature), the author makes little apparent use of this scholarship; his footnotes either refer to primary sources or, more usually, add information or commentary to the text. Thus, the reader experiences the book as containing either too much (detail, wry commentary) or too little (cultural contextualization, reference to relevant historiography).

Dormandy's book will appeal most to physicians and general readers. It fits comfortably within a now old-fashioned literature where doctors' activities and writings are central to any discussion of ill health and care, and where the experiences of the well known or socially elite are proxy for those of everyman or woman. It does

not offer much to the scholar, and this is a missed opportunity, given the author's extensive research. In a book about that most democratic of experiences, pain, the focus tends to be on the healer, not the sufferer. Depending mainly on medical and literary sources, it all but ignores the large quantity of personal documents—including letters, diaries, and autobiographies—that contain information about suffering among a much more diverse humanity than is represented in its pages. In addition, despite forays into topics redolent of wide and multifaceted cultural meanings (for example, the public agonies of early Christian martyrs and medieval flagellants), it rarely strays beyond narrative description and does not historicize such developments. Furthermore, although the book takes the reader through more than two thousand years and a variety of societies, it observes little alteration in the experience of or approaches to pain. Indeed, Dormandy observes that “Human aspirations change, but human nature does not” (p. 54), implying that pain has been felt in the same way by all people in all times and places. Thus, in his book the “fight against pain” to which the title alludes is always the same battle undertaken by the same warriors by whom victory is as nearly achieved as science, technology, and mortality will allow.

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GEORGE WEISZ. *Divide and Conquer: A Comparative History of Medical Specialization*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xxx, 359. \$49.95.

In this ambitious and wide-ranging study, George Weisz tackles specialization in medicine as an international phenomenon. He selects the German, American, British, and French paths to specialization, developing a significant international comparison. The thesis advanced is that specialization was primarily research driven and involved national professional bodies developing systems of certification. France is held to be significantly different with state-administered procedures. The extent to which national professional organizations could exert authority varied significantly with Germany and Britain having a stronger medical representative body than the United States.

We are offered valuable insights as regards income, and the financial advantages of specialization. Weisz expertly unravels a range of specialties, distinguishing psychiatry from neurology. He bases his study mainly on analysis of contemporary medical periodicals, and medical directories.

Weisz avoided the archives of professional organizations like the British Medical Association (BMA) or the American Medical Association (AMA), state archives, and the papers of crucial office holders like Friedrich Althoff or Morris Fishbein. These types of records would have yielded crucial evidence on the interactions of profession and the state, although Weisz is convinced that specialization was a spontaneous result of knowledge production. He is dismissive of the

rise of the welfare state, although historians have argued that this increased the market for medical care, and thus opportunities for specialization. He argues that interventions by Ministerial Director Althoff were rebuffed by the medical chambers, and that the Prussian government withdrew from any attempt to impose a system of professional training. Yet Prussia saw accelerated processes of specialization (for hygiene, pulmonary diseases, and venereology), and state resources were crucial. Germany's advanced professionalization coincided with a more advanced welfare state. There are also difficulties of definition for Germany. Weisz includes and ignores Austria as is convenient, so the significant differences between Austria and Germany (in dental surgery, for example) are not addressed. The “German academic system” might be seen as covering Dorpat, Lemberg, and Czernowitz, rather than stopping at Vienna, with attention paid to federal and national states.

Weisz does not view specialization as driven especially by either political change or social context. Weimar Germany saw pressure to introduce a range of specialties deemed socially relevant, such as orthopedics and social medicine (briefly alluded to but inadequately referenced). Crucially, Germany maintained free access to specialists, and in Britain patient access to specialists in hospitals came only through medical gatekeepers (except for venereology). Specialists have been primarily hospital based in the UK, whereas either hospital based or in independently funded practices elsewhere. These differences might have been brought out if the patients and politics figured more prominently. Yet we can be grateful for insightful comments on the exclusion of Jews and women from particular specialties such as surgery.

Commendably, Weisz gives attention to dental surgery in terms of “stomatology versus dentistry,” although not recognizing (for the 1930 decree) that the term “Dentisten” referred to the apprenticed group, as opposed to the “Zahnarzt.” The pitfall of using the current situation as a reference point is that stomatology could be seen as undergoing a revival. The other point is that specialization has become universalized, so that general practice is itself a speciality (at least in the UK).

The issues of internationalization and the transfer of medical expertise are insufficiently addressed. We move from a position of free flow of specialists until the early twentieth century, to restrictions on movement, culminating in the illuminating crisis of forced emigration of specialists from Nazi Germany (and annexed Austria) to Britain and the United States. Again, this would have been illuminating, not least because the BMA fought the continentals whereas modernizers of British medical provision from the Royal Society and the Medical Research Council lobbied for their integration. Thus a third constituency—that of the laboratory-based scientific reformers—might have been introduced into the political process. The continental refugees (much assisted by the scientific modernizers) were caught between eventual recognition of continen-

tal degrees in January 1941, and the BMA's efforts to continue to impose regulation through its Aliens Committee. The British National Health Service (NHS) offered a financial basis for some continental specialists, as in psychiatry. Weisz's negative evaluation of the NHS's inadequacies are contentious. This is the difficulty of a path-to-present approach.

Overall, Weisz's study will rank as an immensely competent, landmark study of the topic, relevant to multiple national contexts. Yet what is missing throughout is an exploration of the sources of the politics of professionalization, and the working out of sociopolitical tensions in two centuries of cataclysmic social change.

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BRUCE BAUM. *The Rise and Fall of the Caucasian Race: A Political History of Racial Identity*. New York: New York University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 342. \$45.00.

The term "Caucasian" is commonly used in everyday American life and widely accepted as a synonym for the racial designation "white." Bruce Baum's sweeping history of the changing social and scientific usages of this putative racial category, however, provides ample evidence that the concept of a "Caucasian race" is in fact a remarkably arbitrary and peculiar phenomenon. This book makes an important contribution to the existing literature, which contains no comparable analysis of the development of this significant social construct.

Baum surveys important developments in popular and scientific racial thought from 1000–2005 A.D., focusing on the evolution of the general concept of race and the changing status of "white" people(s) within that. He traces the emergence of a socially influential conception of a European-centered Caucasian race to the work of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, whose 1795 work, *On the Natural Varieties of Mankind*, divided humanity into the five major "varieties" of Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay. "Caucasians," according to Blumenbach, were understood to include "the inhabitants of Europe (except the Lapps and the remaining descendants of the Finns) and those of Eastern Asia, as far as the river Obi, the Caspian Sea and the Ganges; and lastly, those of Northern Africa" (p. 76).

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the concept of a "Caucasian race" became a common feature of popular and scientific discourse in Europe and the United States. During that time, its meaning evolved to incorporate the much more rigidly determinist and hierarchical understandings of race that had developed in reaction to the French Revolution and expansion of race-based slavery in the United States. The popularity of the term began to diminish by mid-century, however, in conjunction with a new wave of racial thought that stressed perceived differences among European groups. In the United States, this focus on the so-called "races of Europe" began in the 1840s and so-

lidified in the 1880s–1890s, primarily in reaction to successive waves of class conflict and European immigration.

During 1935–1951, the term "Caucasian" became popular once again as differences among European groups were reclassified as "ethnic." At the same time, its meaning shifted to incorporate the new form of anti-hierarchical racial thought that had developed in reaction to the Holocaust. This understanding of "Caucasian" was most notably incorporated into the 1950 and 1951 UNESCO "Statements on Race," which revived early nineteenth-century categories of Mongolian, Negro, and Caucasian races. During 1952–2005, however, the credibility of the concept of biologically distinct races gradually eroded within both the natural and social sciences. Consequently, while the term "Caucasian" continues to be commonly used, it has become attached to a concept of race whose former meaning has been rejected by scientists and whose significance is much more highly contested within mainstream society.

Baum argues that his historical analysis of the evolution of race thinking demonstrates that while power and politics produce scientific knowledge, the modern idea of objective scientific truth remains valid. He attempts to square this circle by asserting that because sociopolitical conditions have grown more equalitarian since the 1950s (a dubious contention, particularly considered in global context), the reigning scientific understanding of race has become more objectively accurate (i.e., that there is no such thing as biological races). While the stated project of marrying a quasi-Foucauldian analysis of the history of the "Caucasian race" with a modernist understanding of science may be possible, it would require significantly more heavy lifting in terms of social theory and philosophy of science than is presented in this book. Further, the linkages between world-historic events and specific developments in popular and scientific race thinking would need to be made much tighter.

Given the historical sweep of this work, such a task would be extraordinarily difficult to accomplish. In this sense, the strengths and weaknesses of Baum's study are very much intertwined. The book does a laudable job of synthesizing existing work on race theory and history with summaries of the work of notable race thinkers in Europe and the United States. Given so much historical territory to cover, it is not surprising that the book reads more like a series of short summaries and suggestive pointers than a work that successfully integrates racial history, social theory, and scientific analysis. The promise and scope of such an ambition, however, is valuable in and of itself. Baum's work provides an important foundation on which to build, pointing toward critical challenges that scholars of racial history and theory should tackle in order to deepen our understanding of the past and present significance of race.

CAROL HORTON
Independent Scholar

NABIL MATAR. *Britain and Barbary, 1589–1689*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2005. Pp. xiii, 241. \$59.95.

This short book represents the third installment of the trilogy that Nabil Matar has written on the social and political relations between Tudor-Stuart Britain and the Muslim Mediterranean. Even more than his previous two volumes in the series, *Islam in Britain, 1558–1685* (1998) and *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (1999), this work concentrates on the connections and conflicts forged between the British and the Islamic societies of North Africa, in particular that of Morocco.

Matar notes in his introduction that the book brackets a century that for him represents “the rise and the fall of the Moor in the making of British identity” (p. x). Appropriately for his own background in literature and the theater, the dates of 1589 and 1689 here signify not political or military events but rather the years when two plays that Matar considers emblematic of this theme premiered. He adduces, however, a good many examples that fall well beyond this century, especially in the 1700s, and one is uncertain just what role such extraneous persons and events had in this “making of British identity.”

The first chapter, titled “The Moor on the Elizabethan Stage,” surveys Elizabethan dramatic works involving Turks or Moors, including plays by some of the English Renaissance’s lesser lights, such as George Peele and Thomas Heywood, but also and especially William Shakespeare’s *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice*. Matar attempts to use them to provide both insight into the sixteenth-century English world view and a context for setting British-Moroccan relations during this period. He does not supplement this material, or his conclusions, with any state papers or other diplomatic sources. In chapter two, which is titled “‘Imperialism,’ Captivity, and the Civil Wars,” and which shifts to the decades from 1620 to 1640, Matar provides a thorough-going review of the effects that Muslim corsair depredations had on British shipping and coastal villages, from the English and Bristol Channels to the Irish Sea and coast of Ireland. A particular theme of this chapter is the significance of Charles I and Buckingham’s failure to meet the challenge of these corsair attacks or to use fairly the funds raised privately to ransom those Britains enslaved in Morocco and Algiers, a failure that Matar says was fundamental to the loss of prestige and eventual collapse that Charles’s reign suffered. Chapter three, “Barbary and British Women,” shifts the topic to a gendered analysis of British-Moorish relations. It begins with a discussion of the activism shown by many Englishwomen from the 1620s through the 1640s in organizing and petitioning to coerce crown and parliament to show more interest and effort in ransoming their enslaved male relatives. It also explores the fate of those women who fell into Muslim corsair hands, beginning in those same decades but following the tales of other women as late as the mid-eighteenth

century. This chapter stresses that, although some women may have suffered in slavery, subject as they were to both rape and coerced conversion to Islam, others learned to master the system and “attained social status through captivity” (p. 103).

In chapter four, “Moors in British Captivity,” Matar examines the mirror image of this story, asserting that Europeans in general enslaved Muslims at every opportunity. He then concentrates on Muslim slaves in England. Matar claims that “the suffering of such Magharibi captives” was so severe that it was “recognized even by the Europeans themselves” (p. 117), and was at least as dire as that endured by European slaves in Barbary. This section argues from the assumption that the English had little justification for holding, or enslaving, their Moorish captives: “While some of the Moroccan captives may have been pirates,” Matar writes, “others were not and may well have been travelers in the Mediterranean . . . unlucky enough to find themselves attacked by . . . European pirates” (p. 120).

Chapter five, “From Tangier to Algiers,” explores the British occupation of Tangier, in Morocco, which Charles II received as a wedding present along with Catherine of Braganza, his Portuguese bride, in 1662, and which the English held on to for just twenty-one years. This chapter appears to mark the climax of a book whose first chapters stress British ambitions, overt and (mostly) covert, for an “imperial thrust into North Africa” (p. 40). Unfortunately, once Matar gets to the story of Tangier as it actually developed, one gets the impression that, whatever their expansionist plans elsewhere, the seventeenth-century English did not know what to do with their bastion (it could hardly be called a colony), did not really want it, and got rid of it as soon as they decently could. Far from representing the “‘imperial’ call for conquering Barbary” (p. 40) invoked in Matar’s first chapters, their experience in Tangier seems to have taught the British to stay well away from such heedless adventures, especially in Islamic lands.

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ANTONIO BARRERA-OSORIO. *Experiencing Nature: The Spanish American Empire and the Early Scientific Revolution*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 211. \$45.00.

Antonio Barrera-Osorio’s thesis is that the empirical practices later associated with the Scientific Revolution were institutionalized by the Spanish crown starting in the 1530s, when the avalanche of data emanating from the New World obliged merchants, naturalists, and royal officials to “devise their own methods to collect information about these lands,” the more so because descriptions of New World flora and fauna could not be found in classical texts. What Barrera-Osorio offers is a discussion of the Spanish case more or less parallel to Anthony Grafton’s general account of the empiricist challenge to Aristotelianism in his classic *New Worlds*,

Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery (1992).

Barrera-Osorio's account of this process is clear and cogent. Empirical observation and description became the core method of discovery, and the Spanish crown formalized the emerging method in two institutions: the Casa de la Contratación in Seville, where the Pilot Major came to preside over a systematic debriefing of pilots in order to record new geographical information on a master map, and the Council of Indies, which hatched a series of questionnaires resulting in a standard format of fifty chapters first sent to imperial officials overseas in 1577. The geographical results were both mathematized and regionalized. Together with expeditions (beginning with that of Francisco Hernández to New Spain), the questionnaires established a program for gathering information. And all of this activity, Barrera-Osorio asserts, evidenced "a complete lack of concern for Aristotelian final and formal causes," the crown's interests being purely practical. The implicit message is that the scholasticism of Spanish universities and the empirical efforts of the crown were two distinct, separate activities. This set of activities in the New World, the author concludes, "constituted the early Scientific Revolution" (p. 128).

That empiricism informed the spirit of Spanish scientific discoveries cannot be doubted. To view this trend as directly leading to the Scientific Revolution is something of a stretch, however, because it presumes that, even though sixteenth-century empiricism produced no such revolution in Spain, its spirit was diffused through books to England where, the author asserts, Sir Francis Bacon "would continue the tradition in the next century and launch an empirical program at the Royal Society of London tantalizingly similar to the one launched in Spain" (p. 2). The proof of this contention is not the subject of the present book, but it strikes me as doubtful. For one thing, Bacon died in 1626, fifteen years earlier than the informal group that later coalesced into Royal Society began to meet in the 1640s to discuss, among other topics, Bacon's ideas. Moreover, sixteenth-century scientific empiricism had multiple sources: for example, the empirical anatomy of Vesalius (who had well-known followers in Spain) or the rage for botanizing set off by modern editions of the *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides, to name just two. The need to collate Dioscorides's descriptions with local European plants became the model whereby New World specimens were integrated into the burgeoning botanical corpus. Spanish contributions overall to the expansion of natural knowledge in Europe was, at the very least, substantially mediated.

THOMAS F. GLICK
Boston University

EMMA CHRISTOPHER. *Slave Ship Sailors and Their Captive Cargoes, 1730–1807*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 241. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$21.99.

Two years after the Boston Tea Party set in motion the American Revolution with its world-shaking call for freedom, a similar urban commotion at the apex of the triangular slave trade, Liverpool, erupted in 1775 when three thousand sailors wearing red ribbons marched with cannon behind the red flag to heed the call of a sailor's friend, Elizabeth Schofield, "Now My boys, Fire away of the Door (meaning the Gaol Door) and let the Prisoners Free." The prison contained a few sailors who had struck with many others against the outrageous cut in wages on a slave ship from thirty shillings a month to twenty. The authorities responded by firing into this crowd, which was also threatening the houses of slave ship financiers and captains, killing several and wounding more.

It is with this little-known episode that Emma Christopher opens her remarkable book, which deals with the central contradiction of social and political history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: that is, the advance of human freedom on the one hand and on the other the augmentation of enslavement. That this contradiction seems to correspond to a division among continents (Europe versus Africa, with America divided) as well as to corresponding divisions among the races of mankind produces further complications and contradictions which she explores with rigor. "They were at once perpetrators and victims, heroes and villains" (p. 28). To protect against rebellion, slaver crews were fifty percent larger than those of other merchant vessels. Anomalies are uncovered: free blacks on the West African coast who helped suppress mutinies by European crews, or white sailors who assisted African slaves rebel, were rare. Was wage labor also free labor? Were wages also "wages of whiteness"? Slave ship sailors could have their wages docked in the amount of the value of slaves on board who were lost owing to the sailor's negligence.

Hard-bitten, long-suffering, drunks, bankrupts, orphans, recruited from the workhouse, or the crimp house where food, drink, and sex turned in a twinkling to debt, shackles, the dungeon, and then the slave ship, these men and boys, and their associates and dependants ashore, underwent a deliberate process of brutalization by cruelty, torture, hunger, danger, flogging, and hangings. And yet the "amazing grace" that could transform such experiences into advocacy of abolition was the result of struggles such as Thomas Clarkson's courageous investigations and the many, mainly nameless sailors who struck, mutinied, deserted, turned pirate, or lingered against the conditions of work. William Butterworth, a Bristol slaver sailor, became after his first voyage, as he wrote in 1822, "a young citizen of the world" who "looked on all mankind as my brethren."

Christopher has studied and absorbed the work of other scholars in these subjects: Marcus Rediker, Julius Scott, Ira Berlin, Robin Blackburn, David Eltis, Greg Denning, Peter Earle, Lisa Norling, Ruth Herndon, Ty Reese, David Roediger, and N. A. M. Rodger. Although that work has been contentious and voluminous, she has used it with care, judging temperately, faithful

to evidence, and open-minded. While hers is an important contribution to scholarship, she has not been well served by her publisher: the index is slim and omits ships' names, some archival abbreviations are unexplained, there is no bibliography, the style of footnoting is unnecessarily mixed, and spelling mistakes might have easily been rectified with thorough copy-editing. On the other hand, it is graced with three appendixes listing the black sailors on Liverpool slavers, Bristol slavers, and Rhode Island slavers, lists which are bound even in themselves to strengthen that view of the ship as a cosmopolitan work-place. However, hers is not in the main a book of numbers, but a book of stories and examples.

She has a chapter on the West African factories and ports with their translators, pilots, canoe men, porters, cooks, and washer-women. More than 330,000 sailors in the slave trade visited the slave coasts between 1600 and 1800, with an average stay of seven months. The techniques of dehumanization, which was a chief function of the middle passage—violent uprooting, ritual dishonoring, stripping of clothing, shaving of the head, living in excrement, the denial of washing, forced dancing and singing, forced feeding, mass murder, rape, and frequent lashings—were studied elements of social death producing a three months' voyage of pure violence in preparation for sale into New World plantations. The sailors were executors of this milieu. The sailors sailed ships, it is true; they also wielded the whip, and, if as C. L. R. James wrote (one of Christopher's chapter mottoes), "the crew are not human beings but things," this was to prepare them to the work of human thingification.

In her other chapter mottoes Christopher quotes W. E. B. Du Bois on the slave trade—"the most magnificent drama in the last thousand years of human history"—and William Shakespeare on oceanic transformation—"Full fathom five thy father lies . . . / Nothing of him that doth fade / But doth suffer a sea-change / Into something rich and strange"—and with these quotes Christopher lets us know that her story is at once the basis of modern history and is full of the unexpected, the unfaded, and, as we must add, the unresolved.

PETER LINEBAUGH
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ANNA BRICKHOUSE. *Transamerican Literary Relations and the Nineteenth-Century Public Sphere*. (Cambridge Studies in American Literature and Culture, number 145.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 329. \$70.00.

This book changes everything in the practice of comparative American Studies. First, it demonstrates that historically focused, illuminating scholarship can be written by a single author on works in anglophone, hispanophone, and francophone literatures in the Americas. Of course, such work requires an extraordinary, polyglot scholar able to do her own translations as well

as interpretations of literary, historical, political, and economic entanglements in the Americas between 1826 and 1856. Anna Brickhouse's "transamerican renaissance" is an intertextual tour-de-force, in which distinct nations—the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic—take shape in relation to their complex intercultural and postcolonial interrelations. Cuban exiles in New York and Philadelphia, Haitian émigrés in Paris and New Orleans, and U.S. travelers to Cuba and Mexico dramatize the richly transnational and cosmopolitan features of the Western Hemisphere. Brickhouse's argument replaces what she terms "the occlusive nature of nationalism vis-à-vis literary-historical understanding" (p. 256) with an enlightening comparative approach to the intersections of different cultural realities in the Americas from the Congress of Panama (1826) to 1856, when David Walker failed to occupy Nicaragua and three Latin American nations signed the Continental Treaty identifying the United States as "the primary threat to the wider Americas" (p. 8).

Brickhouse's historical references are important, but her comparative readings across the borders of the United States, Caribbean, and Latin America are what give her study historical substance. Her cultural history requires Americanists to read outside conventional geopolitical U.S. borders by demonstrating the significance of such Cuban writers as José María Heredia and Cirilo Villaverde; the still unidentified author(s) of the anti-imperialist novel of the Spanish Conquest, *Jicoténcal*, published in 1826 Philadelphia; the Haitian *Revue des Colonies* (published in Paris); and such Haitian drama as Pierre Faubert's *Ogé* and fiction such as Marie Fontenay de Grandfort's *L'autre monde*. Brickhouse not only recovers this rich history of forgotten nineteenth-century literature of the Americas, but she interprets these works in close relationship with canonical U.S. literature. The cultural imperialism of James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* (1826) and William H. Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (1843) are read in contrast with *Jicoténcal*'s vigorous anti-imperialism; the *Revue des Colonies* creatively translates Phillis Wheatley's poetry into French versions that realize the unfulfilled antislavery promise of her work; Nathaniel Hawthorne disguised his reliance on the Mexican Calderón de la Barca as a source for "Rappaccini's Daughter" and thereby exposed his profound racism and U.S. exceptionalism; and Faubert's and Grandfort's different Haitian approaches to race and slavery depend on explicit responses to Harriet Beecher Stowe's views in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). At key moments, Brickhouse provides brief, but pertinent rereadings of familiar U.S. texts, most of which are utterly transformed in the anglophone, francophone, and hispanophone network she reproduces. No scholar can ever again read Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun* (1860), Herman Melville's *Pierre* (1852) and *Benito Cereno* (1856), William Wells Brown's *Clotel* (1853), Frances Harper's *Iola Leroy* (1892), and Jesse Fauset's *Plum Bun* (1928), among many other important U.S. works,

and ignore the racial and transamerican significance of their "dark" characters.

Earlier scholarship distinguished between Latin American *mestizaje* and U.S. claims to racial segregation, virtually accepting the ideology of U.S. racial purity. Brickhouse assumes that U.S. arguments regarding Latin American "mongrelization" and racial hybridity hide a much more profound anxiety regarding racial and ethnic "mixing." North American ideological repression is weak, Brickhouse argues, and the Africanist, Hispanist, and indigenous features are much easier to recover than scholars have previously thought. Slavery and racism are unifying transamerican, international phenomena. Once a scholar with Brickhouse's knowledge begins to follow their tracks, slavery and racism lead us everywhere in the Western Hemisphere, albeit with different historical and social trajectories. Nevertheless, they are the unifying themes of nineteenth-century social, political, and cultural history in the hemisphere. It is simply astonishing that we have for so long ignored historical realities that Brickhouse's careful scholarship makes appear self-evident.

Brickhouse's transnational connections are the products of very hard work, including excellent scholarship in primary sources. Based on her doctoral dissertation, this book impresses me as work produced from a long career of reading, study, and teaching. Her profound historicist knowledge is complemented by her theoretical intelligence. Such contemporary theorists as Benedict Anderson, Jürgen Habermas, and Gloria Anzaldúa are used effectively to broaden the significance of nineteenth-century cultural history. Implicit in her interpretations of translations of Wheatley and Stowe into French is her understanding of Jacques Derrida's claim that all translation is creative "mistranslation." But in the final analysis, the most important theorists are the nineteenth-century writers themselves, whose different conceptions of their respective national and *émigré* situations required them to theorize what we mean by nation, transnationality, cosmopolitanism, and literary and cultural representation. Brickhouse's study transcends "literary history" to reshape what we mean by the history of the Americas. This book takes comparative American studies to a new level of transnational, polylingual interrelation that should transform future work in the many different specializations it addresses, especially nineteenth-century "American literature." Fortunately, the latter will never be the same for those who have studied Brickhouse's pioneering work.

JOHN CARLOS ROWE
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JURGEN HERBST. *School Choice and School Governance: A Historical Study of the United States and Germany*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2006. Pp. xiii, 207. \$65.00.

There was a time when comparative education was a vibrant scholarly field. Its many practitioners compared and analyzed the structures of educational systems in

different nation states for the insights that might be revealed. Jürgen Herbst's study might be classified as a book in this field. But instead of focusing on how the systems of education in the United States and Germany have been and are now organized Herbst concentrates on the history of school choice (*Schulwahl*). The structural characteristics of the German and American systems of education necessarily come into play in this discussion but only as a means to a very specific end.

Herbst argues that German and American parents had to accept a smaller role in their children's education after their respective countries created state systems of schooling. The development of these systems in the nineteenth century and the subsequent professionalization of teaching gradually diminished parental authority in the making of such important decisions as where their children would enroll in school and what they would learn. But the similarities end there. For a long time the practice of local control helped American parents mute the effects of centralized decision making and government domination in public education. The doctrine of church-state separation, however, limited their access to public money for private education. Until very recently, public support for non-public schools had to function within strict limits, making vouchers less effective as a form of choice in education.

In Germany, government involvement in education has a long history. Adopted in 1794, Prussia's General Land Law made schools and universities agents of the state. With the introduction of a "comprehensive regulatory scheme" in the second half of the nineteenth century, state schools became the principal means by which educators and politicians promoted social efficiency and a stable class system (p. 56). None of Germany's modern rulers—not the Nazis, the Communists, or those in charge after reunification—wanted to recast the role of the state in education. In fact, they saw education as essential to the achievement of the state's goals. Unlike their American counterparts, however, German parents have not had to choose between public and private education. Almost all German schools, even those that were clearly sectarian, have come under the aegis of the state.

Herbst devotes considerable attention to the various challenges posed in both countries to the firm control of schooling by rulers and educators. He cites Ernst Christian Trapp and William von Humboldt as examples of men who opposed the introduction of state authority in German education. He argues that the parent councils that appeared in the Weimar Republic promised more democracy in education than they delivered. In the United States the judiciary has had a lot to do with determining the degree to which parents could exercise choice in their children's schooling. For the most part, the courts have protected state-supported and controlled education. But, says Herbst, there have been some important exceptions. He cites the *Pierce* decision (1925), for example, because it overturned an Oregon law that required public school attendance by all children between eight and twelve. He attaches great sig-

nificance to *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris* (2002), in which the Supreme Court sanctioned the use of vouchers by poor parents even at religious schools when the alternative for their children was failing public institutions. "It illuminates the sensitive and problematical nature of school choice," Herbst maintains, "as it pivots on the fundamental issue of the relationship between church and state" (p. 159).

Herbst is at his best when sorting out the different responses of Germans and Americans to the rise of state educational systems. He is sympathetic to those parents in both nations who have asserted their right to exercise at least some measure of independence. He is undoubtedly correct when he says that such parents are likely to be frustrated if they hope to escape the influence of the state completely. It is when Herbst tries to explain the origins of school choice that his argument is least convincing. It may be true that the critics of state systems of education who came forward in the 1960s wanted something better than traditional philosophies and methods. But why did their dissatisfaction manifest itself at that time and why did it take the form that it did? It may also be true that the critics of state systems of education who came forward twenty years later wanted the marketplace to play a greater role in educational policy and parental decision making. But why did they come forward in the way and at the time they did? Questions like these need better answers than those provided here.

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STEPHEN A. TOTH. *Beyond Papillon: The French Overseas Penal Colonies, 1854–1952*. (France Overseas: Studies in Empire and Decolonization.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2006. Pp. xvii, 212. \$35.00.

The writing of modern European colonial histories has always dealt, explicitly or implicitly, with the expansionist, coercive nature of the imperial state. The specific institutions that brought coercive force to bear overseas, however, have only recently begun to receive scholarly attention. Stephen A. Toth adds to the growing literature on colonial police forces and prisons with this sophisticated, archivally grounded history of French penal colonies in French Guiana and New Caledonia from their creation in 1854 to their final closure in 1952. Moving from the European mainland to the tropics and back, Toth succeeds admirably in placing a familiar metropolitan narrative on prison reform in a new perspective while shedding new light on the contradictory nature of France's imperial project.

The penal colony emerged at roughly the same time as the penitentiary in France, in the middle of the nineteenth century. Authorities had long reserved the right to banish political prisoners overseas. As a practical matter, however, most common-law criminals found themselves condemned to serve as oarsmen on galleys; after the Mediterranean galley fleet was decommissioned in 1748, prisoners were sentenced to hard labor

in port cities. In the nineteenth century these shipyard *bagnes* stood out as relics of the Old Regime, as breeding grounds for deviant and criminal behavior, at a time when prison reformers began to convince public opinion that prisons should rehabilitate their inmates. The Navy took advantage of the reformers' critiques to abolish the *bagnes* in the aftermath of 1848. With the country's prisons full after the revolutionary upheaval, a commission of naval officers ordered that common-law convicts be transported overseas. The new penal colonies would turn prisoners into agents of France's colonial project. By dint of hard work in a pastoral paradise, the prisoner would pay his debt to society and increase the empire's domain. At the same time, Toth shows, the new measure physically removed thousands of dangerous criminals a safe distance from the corruption of metropolitan cities, should rehabilitation fail.

In the book's most successful chapters, Toth takes the reader into the French colonial penal colonies. He documents the ubiquity of the lash and the inhumane conditions prisoners endured. Seventy-five to a hundred inmates often inhabited quarters designed for fifty. The workday began at 6:00 a.m. and continued with only short breaks for eleven hours. Inmates cleared forests, dredged swamps, and worked the land under the tropical sun. During the day, prison guards applied twenty-five to fifty blows with a whip to maintain discipline; at night, they feared to patrol the barracks. No official statistics distinguish rapes, assaults, and murders.

Faced with this Hobbesian world, inmates developed a variety of resistance strategies. In New Caledonia, recalled a former convict, prisoners rubbed compounds with sand, phlegm, even human and animal feces into existing wounds to infect them. Others swallowed concoctions to bring on dysentery. Those suffering from tuberculosis often sold their sputum to healthy prisoners hoping for a hospital stay. Prisoners watched over one another and dealt ruthlessly with informers.

For all the brutality and squalor of the colonial *bagnes*, Toth sees elements of modernity in them. Although Toth does not engage Peter Zinoman on this point, he presents a more complex, contradictory picture of the colonial state than Zinoman did in *The Colonial Bastille: A History of Imprisonment in Vietnam, 1862–1940* (2001). Where Zinoman emphasized the chaotic and irrational nature of prison organization in colonial French Indochina, Toth takes the rules governing penal colonies more seriously. Camp commandants, Toth insists, had to contend with oversight from above. A procurer general made annual inspections and heard grievances from prisoners and prison personnel. Those inspections in turn informed reports that metropolitan officials at the Ministry of the Marine used to make personnel decisions. Below the commandant, assistant chiefs managed the everyday affairs and office staff of the *bagne*. They managed the growing number of files, prison records, physical and psychological findings. They placed all prisoners into one of three general categories based on their aptitude for work and reha-

bilitation. Bureaucratic rationalization, then, went hand in hand with sadistic brutality. Toth is at his best exploring the contradictions of these carceral institutions. Designed to rid metropolitan France of its irredeemable citizens, and thus a tacit admission of the futility of rehabilitation, the *bagne* nevertheless held out the hope that prisoners might be saved through hard work.

The price for bringing the colonies and metropole together in a single narrative is a lack of local context. Toth might have taken advantage of recent work on criminology and the police in Europe, to flesh out the contradictions in the reform movement. Unlike Zinoman, Toth all but ignores the relationship between French penal colonies and the societies that housed them. These minor reservations aside, this is a very satisfying piece of work, a welcome addition to new colonial history.

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RONALD WEBER. *News of Paris: American Journalists in the City of Light between the Wars*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 2006. Pp. 333. \$27.50.

In this work, Ronald Weber evokes a place and a time: Paris between World Wars I and II, when it became a haven for American expatriates, particularly those with literary or artistic aspirations. Prohibition made the United States a less-than-accommodating environment; the favorable exchange rate made Paris an inexpensive place to live. Many who came tended to be dismissive of American culture, as Harold Stearns who in the preface of his collection *Civilization in the United States* (1922) urged young people to abandon what he called "the emotional and aesthetic wasteland of American life" (p. 110). The sense that Paris was where it was happening lured such figures as Ernest Hemingway, Henry Miller, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and James Thurber. Whatever their ultimate ambitions, for many, the immediate objective was, as Al Laney put it, "To be on a newspaper published in Paris in times such as these, and to be young and in revolt was all that the heart could wish" (Al Laney, *The Paris Herald: The Incredible Newspaper* [1947], p. 11). Their duties were often mundane, their pay meager, but they got by. And they became part of a supportive social and professional network providing assistance and contacts to one another.

Using various memoirs and other contemporary accounts, Weber gives his readers a very real sense of the papers that served the ever-increasing number of Americans resident in Paris. The *Paris Herald* was established by James Gordon Bennett, Jr., the heir to the *New York Herald* later to become the *New York Herald Tribune*. Weber, in agreement with many observers, describes the *Paris Herald* as "a mediocre affair, content to carry on as an insular American paper largely detached from the rich life and creative vitality of interwar Paris" (p. 19). Nevertheless, it enjoyed relative pros-

perity and survives to this day as the *International Herald Tribune*. Its one-time competitor, the *Paris Tribune*, grew out of the *Chicago Tribune*'s Army Edition founded in 1917 when the United States entered World War I. Envisioned by its owner Colonel Robert McCormick as "the remaining link of communication, in both directions, between the old world and the new," the *Tribune* evolved into a paper that provided its readers with extended coverage of the arts and culture of the Left Bank (p. 81). Never profitable, it enjoyed McCormick's financial support and his lack of interference with its editorial policies. In fact, Weber notes William L. Shirer's observation that, "Had McCormick read its columns, or understood them, he either would have suffered a stroke of apoplexy or killed the paper immediately—perhaps both" (p. 82). The third paper directed to the American audience was the *Paris Times*, an independent paper founded in 1924 that followed the short-lived *Paris Evening Telegram* as an afternoon paper.

Each of these newspapers had a distinctive personality, fostered by talented and diverse staffs whose mischief sometimes got them into trouble. As a proof-reader for the *Tribune*, Elliot Paul substituted "Worst" for "Greatest" in the paper's masthead so that for several days it went to press as "The World's Worst Newspaper" without the change being noticed. Of greater impact was Spencer Bull's fabricated story with the headline "Prince of Wales Bashes Boy's Brains Out with Bludgeon." After protests from the British Embassy, the *Tribune* agreed to clear future stories about the royal family with the embassy and to reimburse for the issues of the paper purchased to get them off the newsstands. Another recurrent theme is the role of alcohol in the lives of the American journalists. Stearns maintained that, on any given day, "*Tribune* editors could assume a fixed proportion of the staff would be useless due to drink—half 'because it was not there, the other half because it was.' " Waverley Root disagreed, observing that the staff had to climb five flights of stairs to get to the office, "not something a drunk could do" (pp. 115–116).

In addition to the aspiring literary figures who served in their newsrooms, the American newspapers in Paris advanced the careers of many who became prominent journalists: Paul, Shirer, Ralph Barnes, Janet Flanner, Vincent Sheean, Dean Jennings, Ned Calmer, Martha Foley, Paul Scott Mowrer, and Eric Sevareid, among others. Despite that fact, Weber's account does not include much in the way of news of Paris. In part, that reflects the papers' focus on society news, but this reader would have welcomed more attention to the seminal events of the two decades and how they were covered by the American papers in Paris. That reservation aside, this book makes an important, and lively, contribution to the scholarship on the period.

BARBARA S. MAHONEY
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PATRICK O. COHRS. *The Unfinished Peace after World War I: America, Britain and the Stabilisation of Europe, 1919–1932*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 693. \$95.00.

Patrick O. Cohrs offers a major reinterpretation of post–World War I international history. Rejecting much of recent historiography, he seeks to demonstrate Anglo-American success in transforming European politics during the 1920s. In the aftermath of the Ruhr crisis of 1923, he argues, British and American policy makers compelled French and other European leaders to join in creating a new peace system that integrated Weimar Germany and thereby helped resolve the Franco-German and Polish-German questions. At the London and Locarno conferences of 1924 and 1925, which approved the Dawes plan for reparations and produced the Rhine security pact, they established a new European concert within a transatlantic framework. This Euro-Atlantic order or *Pax Anglo-Americana*, he contends, was the “‘real’ peace settlement” (pp. 154–184, 259–279) after World War I. Replacing the untenable Versailles Treaty of 1919, it united Britain’s policy of appeasement in continental Europe with America’s Progressive vision of an “open door” international economic order. Under Anglo-American hegemony, this “unfinished transatlantic peace order” (pp. 281–571) operated fairly well in the late 1920s, Cohrs argues. Its rules for peaceful change—or appeasement—could have preserved and enhanced European stability in the 1930s but the Great Depression destroyed this prospect. Adolf Hitler rejected both this Euro-Atlantic order and the earlier Versailles peace settlement.

This book has some commendable qualities. Much of the best scholarship on post–World War I international history focuses on either European or transatlantic relations. To his credit, Cohrs combines both in his study of the Euro-Atlantic order. He places Locarno diplomacy of 1925–1929—the new European concert—within a transatlantic framework. His extensive research in British, American, German, French, and League of Nations primary sources and his long list of secondary sources are also quite impressive.

Yet this book is deeply flawed. Its pro-British interpretation, albeit in the new guise of transatlantic and regional European international history, is not persuasive. Rejecting “realist” and “idealist” perspectives, which Cohrs identifies with pre–World War I *realpolitik* and with Wilsonianism (pp. 4–11), he offers a third approach. He believes the only viable way to stabilize continental Europe after the Great War was to appease Germany, which neither the restoration of old balance-of-power politics with alliances nor the pursuit of new diplomacy with Woodrow Wilson’s League of Nations could have accomplished. He applauds the British government’s so-called moderate policy toward postwar Germany, beginning with David Lloyd George in 1919 and continuing with Ramsey MacDonald and Stanley Baldwin in the 1920s. John Maynard Keynes went even

further to promote this revisionist orientation. Douglas J. Newton criticized Britain’s own hard-line stance toward Germany, when British interests were at stake, in *British Policy and the Weimar Republic, 1918–1919* (1997). Although Cohrs includes this book in his bibliography, he ignores its critique and sees Britain’s pursuit of its imperial interests and its hegemony in continental Europe as benign or constructive: as the role of an “honest broker” (pp. 325–344). In contrast, he regards Germany’s endurance of the Rhineland occupation and its loss of territory to Poland as deplorable features of the Versailles peace settlement. He views these conditions as excessively harsh and criticizes French and Polish efforts to maintain this status quo. Durable peace required French and Polish concessions to appease Germany, he asserts. In 1924–1925, British policy makers, with American collaboration, succeeded in launching a new era of peaceful change. They began the essential process of integrating Weimar Germany into a Euro-Atlantic order. This new peace system eventually failed during the Great Depression, not because it removed the means of enforcement and left Germany’s neighbors vulnerable but rather because Britain and America had neglected to press for more concessions to Germany during the Locarno era of 1925–1929.

Cohrs presumes that Weimar Germany could not have been simultaneously contained and integrated into a new international order. In his view, Germany’s integration into Western Europe was the key to peace even in Eastern Europe. A firm British commitment to France’s (and certainly also to Poland’s) security against possible German aggression was incompatible with further peaceful change that Germany expected as its reward for joining the Western European concert. “In the 1920s,” he writes, “the pursuit of balance-of-power containment would have precluded the advances of London and Locarno. And it would have precluded stabilising a republican Germany committed to a nascent Euro-Atlantic ‘community,’ undercutting the domestic support of [Gustav] Stresemann or any other German leader who sought accommodation with the victors of the Great War” (p. 575). In *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars* (2001), a comparative study based on recent historical scholarship, G. John Ikenberry observed that both containment and integration characterized the long-lasting peace settlements after 1815 and 1945, but not after 1919. Ignoring this insight, Cohrs claims that appeasement—not enforcement too—was the only viable way to stable peace in Europe after World War I. His contention is not persuasive.

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DIXIE R. BARTHOLOMEW-FEIS. *The OSS and Ho Chi Minh: Unexpected Allies in the War against Japan*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2006. Pp. x, 435. \$34.95.

Dixee R. Bartholomew-Feis has written a new version of the now familiar, but endlessly intriguing, story of the 1945 friendship between the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and Ho Chi Minh's Viet Minh. She has added a good deal of new documentary detail from the National Archives and reminiscences of OSS and Deer Team members, as well as from some of the Vietnamese who were trained by them in the summer before the Japanese surrender. Her account of what turned out to be a wartime fling dissects the U.S. motivation for this collaboration with clarity and nuance. She enlivens the story by exploring the clashes of opinion and political rivalries that often made the allies slow to act in the China theater. Yet the author is not able to shed any new light on the Vietnamese personalities and forces on the Asian end of this partnership. Although this is not her main goal, this reservation must impinge on our evaluation of the results of the OSS aid to the Viet Minh.

Archimedes L. A. Patti's *Why Vietnam? Prelude to America's Albatross* (1980) has been the main source on the OSS-Viet Minh relationship since it appeared. But Patti's acerbic style and open admiration of Ho did not make him a favorite of the foreign policy establishment or his former colleagues from the intelligence bureaucracy. Official Washington dismissed him as self-aggrandizing and unreliable. Yet after reading the careful document-based narrative of Bartholomew-Feis, this reader is hard pressed to find much in the way of factual discrepancies between the two narratives, so far as the OSS role is concerned. Bartholomew-Feis strains for objectivity by using a broad range of first-hand accounts and informants. For example, she allows Captain Milton Miles, the U.S. naval officer who formed an intelligence partnership with Chiang Kai-shek's infamous chief of internal security, Tai Li, to speak in his own voice and defend his cooperation with the sleazy side of the Guomindang. She also questions Patti's judgment, saying that after his first encounters with Ho Chi Minh, he "reached a conclusion that would cause him to behave in the late summer of 1945 in ways that would seem questionable in retrospect" (p. 177). But given the pressing U.S. demand for intelligence following the Japanese coup de main against the Vichy French administration of Indochina in March 1945, the author in the end cannot really fault Patti's decision to work with the communist nationalists in the Viet Minh. In his own defense, she quotes Patti's complaint that China theater headquarters "wanted everything and they wanted it right away" (p. 177).

What is striking about this story is that virtually all of the young officers who encountered Ho Chi Minh in these months thought him warm, intelligent, and eager to cooperate with the United States. Almost all found themselves sympathizing with the Viet Minh, after encounters with French officials who expected a return to their former colonial role, as well as Vietnamese deference. Bartholomew-Feis seems convinced in the end by the Americans' first-hand enthusiasm and does not indulge in speculation about the sincerity or duplicity of

the Viet Minh leadership. Instead, she allows David Marr's appraisal of the complex political situation in August 1945 to stand: "Although in Hanoi Ho and [Vo Nguyen] Giap were making every effort to impress the Americans, they were 'as much a prisoner of the thousands of revolutionary committees emerging around the country as the directing authority'" (p. 257).

The relationship fell apart in Saigon, the capital of French Cochinchina and the area south of the sixteenth parallel where the Japanese surrender was accepted by British forces. It was here that one of the OSS agents came to harm: Lt. Col. Peter Dewey, killed at a Vietnamese checkpoint in Saigon. The author notes the complexity of southern politics and the relative weakness of the Viet Minh in southern Vietnam, far from the northern liberated areas. Part of this complexity is the confusing role of the defeated Japanese. Bartholomew-Feis runs through a number of views on the level of Japanese complicity in handing over weapons supplies, as well as estimates of those who joined the Viet Minh ranks. Most authors assume that these numbers were higher in the south, where in fact many anti-French activists maintained good relations with the Japanese.

One issue that the author does not touch on, but which might explain some of the confusion in Saigon, concerns the existence of competing regional committees of the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP). Vietnamese military and political histories explain that these two committees were not unified until October 1945, and that the committee represented by Tran Van Giau, the Vanguard Committee, had not formally placed itself under the umbrella of the Viet Minh front until that time. In Saigon the nationalist Vietnamese appear to have been eager to fight the French, and responded in kind to French provocations, leading to a downward spiral of violence. However, even with a more disciplined Viet Minh structure in the South, it seems likely that events would have followed a violent path, given both the British and French determination to return Cochinchina to its colonial status.

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CHARLES GATI. *Failed Illusions: Moscow, Washington, Budapest, and the 1956 Hungarian Revolt*. (Cold War International History Project Series.) Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center, and Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 264. \$24.95.

Charles Gati's reassessment of the 1956 "Hungarian Revolt" argues that less would have been more. Hungary's aim was to reform, not to abolish the existing system. Had Imre Nagy been able to steer between radical insurgents and Moscow's limited tolerance, had the United States settled for anything less than liberation, Hungary, which "unlike Poland had little or no strategic significance" (p. 5), might have received "limited pluralism" and "semi-independence." Instead of failing the "revolt" could have half succeeded. All the more so,

since the Soviets were “not trigger-happy” (p. 4) and both Yugoslavia and, later, Poland were able to steer away from Soviet hegemony. Gati acknowledges that the ultimate responsibility for crushing the revolution rested with Moscow, but most of his fire is directed at “cynical” and impotent American policies and Nagy. In this rich, powerfully argued, and readable book Gati confronts tough questions.

He presents a balanced assessment of Nagy’s complex personality. Regarding Nagy’s performance in the first stage of the revolution, Gati argues that he was a “party apparatchik, who believed that a counter-revolution was taking place and it must be stopped” (p. 150). Had he understood the need to steer between “the insurgents’ desires and the Kremlin’s fears” (p. 217), a reformist outcome may well have been achieved. Importantly Gati shows that Nagy lost a singular chance to keep events on a peaceful, gradualist track with a disappointing speech on October 23. Yet, the sixteen points demanded extensive change, much of which remained unacceptable for Moscow until 1989. Revolutions and struggles of independence tend to spiral out of the control of moderate leaders.

Gati lambastes U.S. policy. Washington reneged on liberation, but allowed Radio Free Europe (RFE) to encourage the Hungarians to fight for full freedom, thereby helping jeopardize any chance for success. In a powerful argument Gati confronts U.S. hubris, exposing the emptiness of roll back and the cynical, misguided broadcasting of RFE. But judging by his statements President Dwight D. Eisenhower was not skeptical about changing the status quo. Washington offered to negotiate satellite neutrality in 1955, which Moscow rejected. On October 27 Harold Stassen convinced the president to recommend that the Soviets grant Austrian-type neutrality to the satellites. The National Security Council Planning Board contemplated mutual troop withdrawal to secure neutrality in Eastern Europe. Whether “Americans” believed in full victory is hard to determine, but John Foster Dulles knew that the Hungarians stood no chance—which makes the RFE broadcasts seem even more cynical. But there is no evidence to prove that these were aired on explicit instructions. Finally, the Malin notes show that the presidium was not concerned with the U.S.

Gati attributes only symbolic importance to Hungary in the Soviet empire. After Austria’s neutralization its strategic importance was elevated. Hungary was Soviet military space; its uranium deposit was one of the largest in the world. The economic cost of the empire was “prohibitive”—not for the USSR but for Hungary, which had transferred at least ten billion dollars in today’s value to the Soviet Union. Gati argues that the lynching at Köztársaság tér and the abolition of one-party rule forced the Kremlin to overturn its decision to negotiate and to invade. But Nikita Khrushchev and Nikolai Bulganin made three references respectively, which suggest that the bombing of Egypt, which began on the day of the fateful decision, may have been decisive. The Kremlin was trigger-happy: the first inter-

vention came only hours after fighting broke out in Budapest.

Gati uses Yugoslavia and Poland to demonstrate the chance for loosening imperial ties. But Joseph Stalin broke with Josip Broz Tito, not the other way round. Moscow let go when it wanted. The Polish desk at RFE and Władysław Gomułka were wiser than their Hungarian counterparts. It would be interesting to know why. Gomułka, unlike Nagy, did not face an armed uprising and a Soviet invasion. The Hungarians presented a set of clearly articulated demands, including free elections and Soviet troop withdrawal, while the Poles did not. Khrushchev may still have intervened had a more dangerous situation not developed in Budapest on October 23. Poland’s example may not be instructive as to potential outcome in Budapest.

Gati argues that the October 30 declaration confirmed Moscow’s “willingness to treat Hungary . . . the way it was treating such neutral countries as Austria, Finland and Yugoslavia” (p. 186). It pledged troop withdrawal, but as the Czechoslovak case shows what mattered was membership in the Warsaw Pact. Further on he discusses a possible Polish outcome, a far cry from an Austrian or Finnish one. Moscow made no attempt to engage the United States on Eastern Europe. Gati makes much of Polish semi-independence and internal reform, which Warsaw “won” in 1956. But as early as 1964 McGeorge Bundy claimed that Hungary had gone further on the road to de-Stalinization than any other satellite including Poland.

All this does not disqualify Gati’s thesis that the outcome was not a foregone conclusion. His book is a multilayered treatment of complex questions in the history of the United States, the USSR, Hungary, the Cold War, and international relations in general, and it will set the direction of discussion for a long time to come.

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RUSSELL CRANDALL. *Gunboat Diplomacy: U.S. Intervention in the Dominican Republic, Grenada, and Panama*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2006. Pp. x, 255. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$26.95.

Nationalistic scholars, such as Samuel Flagg Bemis, traditionally dominated interpretations of inter-American relations. In *The Latin American Policy of the United States* (1943), Bemis famously called the repeated U.S. military interventions in the Caribbean between 1903 and 1933 “short-lived benevolent imperialism” or “imperialism against imperialism” that “was not really bad.” In the recent past, scholars of inter-American relations have dismissed such interpretations, judging them arrogant, chauvinistic, and wrong. Historians have analyzed the motives and impact of both the pre-World War II military interventions in the Caribbean and the Cold War covert and overt interventions in Guatemala (1954), Cuba (1959–1965), Brazil (1962–1964), British Guiana (1961–1968), Chile (1970–

1973), and Central America (1980s). They have concluded that the U.S. interventions degraded the political, military, and socioeconomic structures of these Western Hemisphere societies and that, especially in the Cold War period, the interventions undermined constitutional procedures and democratic processes.

In this examination of the U.S. invasions of the Dominican Republic (1965), Grenada (1983), and Panama (1989), Russell Crandall takes us back to the Bemis years with a neo-conservative twist. Crandall, who previously served on the National Security Council in the George W. Bush administration, sees in his three case studies the proper antecedents to the U.S. invasion of Iraq (2003). Indeed, this book is more of an advocacy piece than a scholarly work. The author did not conduct archival research in either the United States or in the three invaded countries. He includes a series of photographs—U.S. soldiers saving children, playing with children, feeding children—calculated to justify the interventions. In his review of early U.S. interventions in the Caribbean, he suggests that the U.S. occupations of countries like the Dominican Republic and Haiti actually alleviated misery and instability (p. 14). Perhaps if the author had consulted studies by Bruce Calder (1984), Lester Langley (1983) and Hans Schmidt (1971, 1995), he would not have been so sanguine about the positive effects of past occupations.

Crandall argues that the United States invaded for legitimate national security reasons. In the cases of the Dominican Republic and Grenada, U.S. officials feared the expansion of the international Communist movement. Dictator Manuel Antonio Noriega threatened the operation of the Panama Canal. Crandall concedes that, in retrospect, U.S. officials were overly anxious. What is important to him, however, is that U.S. officials sincerely feared for the safety of the United States and that they acted based on contemporary intelligence (p. 90). In any case, in Crandall's view, scholars and citizens should focus on what happened after the interventions. The United States restored democracy in the three countries, U.S. troops withdrew, and all three countries have continued to conduct free elections. The United States has facilitated the spread of liberal democracy throughout the world (p. 231). Crandall, who is relentlessly present-minded, presumably predicts progress and democracy for Iraq under U.S. occupation, even though the rationales for intervention—weapons of mass destruction, support for terrorism—proved false.

Crandall's thesis can be readily challenged on every front. U.S. interventions in Latin America did not flow solely from perceived threats. The Cold War interventions in British Guiana and Brazil took place even though U.S. intelligence analysts discounted national security concerns. Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan of British Guiana and President João Goulart of Brazil sinned because they declined to follow the U.S. lead in international arenas. Throughout the twentieth century, U.S. policy makers have practiced hegemonic supremacy and professed an air of moral and racial superiority toward Latin Americans. To paraphrase Henry Kis-

singer, "Latin Americans do not have the right to make a mistake." President Lyndon B. Johnson and his advisors summarily dismissed President Juan Bosch as being unfit to govern the Dominican Republic.

The United States also did not oversee democratic elections. In the case of the Dominican Republic, Crandall uses the hedged language of "relatively" free elections. Crandall had available to him the recently declassified documents in Volume 32 of the *Foreign Relations, 1964–1968* series (2005). Crandall acknowledges, as the documents reveal, that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) provided substantial financial support to the U.S. candidate, Joaquín Balaguer. What Crandall does not tell the reader is that the documents further demonstrate that in mid-1965 President Johnson explicitly informed the CIA that the U.S.-backed candidate would win the election and that the president expected the CIA to arrange the result.

Finally, like neo-conservatives, Crandall equates democracy with elections. Democracy means not only elections but also the rule of law, respect for minority rights, and a civil society. Crandall acknowledges that Panama is no utopia with poverty, corruption, and drug trafficking. He might also disclose that the Dominican Republic, with its authoritarianism and deep socioeconomic inequalities, usually ranks on the lists of "failed states" compiled by foreign policy analysts. U.S. military invasions and occupations rarely produce salubrious results.

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LUIS ALBERTO MONIZ BANDEIRA. *Argentina, Brasil y Estados Unidos de la Triple Alianza al Mercosur: Conflicto e integración en América del Sur*. Translated by MIGUEL GRINBERG. Foreword by SAMUEL P. GIMARÃES. Buenos Aires: Grupo Editorial Norma. 2004. Pp. 581.

This is a long and detailed historical synthesis of relations between Argentina and Brazil from the 1860s through 2002, with ongoing attention to United States strategic, political, and economic interests as they touch on each of the problems considered. The project is ambitious chronologically and in the range of themes it covers. But its objective is murky. Beyond a thorough overview of tripartite ties, it is not clear that the author has an analytical objective. A brief prologue by the historian Samuel P. Guimarães celebrates Luis Alberto Moniz Bandeira's anti-imperialist perspective. But beyond this link, the prologue is oddly detached from the remainder of the book. Moniz Bandeira's own brief introduction touches on everything from his work as a scholar over the past thirty years to Manifest Destiny, the independence of Brazil, and the Bill Clinton presidency. Like Guimarães, he excoriates what he calls the messianic tendency in U.S. foreign policy but gives the reader no insight into what problems or analytical themes drive the work.

There is a stunning neglect of the best Eng-

lish-language international history published over the past thirty years. This explains a dramatic and repeated oversimplification of the history of American foreign relations. That Moniz Bandeira pays scant attention to the Argentine historical literature may also explain the author's tendency to emphasize Brazilian historical problems, policies, and perspectives, often at the expense of a reasoned analysis of the Argentine side in bilateral ties and historiography. While the author cites research in a number of archives including the British Foreign Office, the Argentine Foreign Ministry Archive, and the Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library, there is no evidence that this research unearthed any important new documentation.

There are a range of topics Moniz Bandeira covers very well without generating significant new insights. These include Argentine influence in Paraguay in the late nineteenth century, the naval rivalry among Argentina, Chile, and Brazil during the early twentieth century, the nationalization of the oil sector in Argentina, the Chaco War, and the reaction of the John F. Kennedy administration to the fall of Argentine president Arturo Frondizi. There are some new insights based on original research. But these are few and far between. Moreover they all relate to Brazilian (not Argentine or U.S. international histories). They include the financial role of Nathan Mayer Rothschild in the negotiation of naval sales to Brazil after 1910, and Brazilian-Argentine military rivalries during World War II.

Perhaps most disappointing is where these various weaknesses lead. Moniz Bandeira touches only marginally on what other scholars have determined in the past two decades to be key themes in tripartite relations. One example is the nuclear relationship among Brazil, Argentina, and the United States after 1960, which the author simply ignores. Another is the cooperation and competition between the Brazilian and Argentine dictatorships after 1975, and the roles of the United States in fostering state terror in both countries and in supporting Operation Condor.

For readers familiar with Argentine-Brazilian relations and U.S. interests in South America, able to understand both what is included in this book and what is missing, this is a useful review of many key themes. For those unfamiliar with these international histories, Moniz Bandeira's book is not the place to start.

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HAROLD JAMES. *The Roman Predicament: How the Rules of International Order Create the Politics of Empire*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2006. Pp. vii, 166. \$24.95.

There have been rather too many books recently seeking lessons and analogies from imperial history in order to comprehend the contemporary global order and assess its viability. Since I am one of the tribe of authors, however, I can hardly complain. This book is in any case far better than most because Harold James brings to it

a rare combination of insight into both the history of global finance and trade and the history of modern Europe. His thesis is that it is far too early to speak of the victory of liberal globalization: history suggests that globalization generates powerful countercurrents, which usually triumphed in the past and are surging today.

The book is confined to the Roman Empire and to the modern European transoceanic empires. This is the norm for such works on empire and the present world order and even that is already a very broad canvas. Nevertheless, just looking at the Western tradition of empire leaves much out, not least as regards the very interesting questions James poses.

It is, for example, instructive to contrast the impact on empire of Chinese polytheistic and Confucian values, on the one hand, and of monotheistic Christian, Muslim, and Marxist-Leninist ideologies on the other. Also, old debates about the contrast between societies based on behavior rather than belief provide some insight into contemporary arguments about whether global order can be sustained by a universalized consumer culture. All this has some bearing on James's discussion of multiculturalism and of the need to create a consensus on common values if globalization is to be sustained. He welcomes the presence of Christian, Jewish, and Muslim leaders at the funeral of John Paul II, for example, and cites the comment of the *Financial Times* that nothing like it had been seen since the funeral of Edward VII.

This does not give me much comfort: Christians, Jews, and Muslims are a good start, but where are the Buddhists, Hindus, and Confucians who will make such an impact on tomorrow's world? In any case, the monarchs who attended Edward's funeral did indeed share common values, but that did not stop them from going to war with each other four years later.

Still, the insights packed into James's book are thought-provoking. For example, he has a fascinating analysis of Edward Gibbon and Adam Smith's ideas, showing both how their discussion of Rome was linked to worries about Britain's imperial power, and how this discussion has much to say about contemporary dilemmas. Rapid shifts in wealth and relative status and the enormous riches mined from globalization (often by social or ethnic outsiders) generated as much indignation then against "nabobs" as it does now against corporate CEOs and financial whiz-kids. However, in Gibbon's day and indeed well beyond, British dominant values were explicitly egalitarian and undemocratic: moreover, for all the rapid growth in the wealth of industrializing Britain, by far the richest and most powerful members of its society remained the land-owning aristocracy. The official values of our world are American-style democracy and populism: but we live in a world that in many ways is more unequal than it was in 1500. That must make James's commitment to identifying common values to underpin globalization difficult.

As tends to be the case with reviewers, I was most

interested by James's arguments when they were derived from areas of expertise that I lack: for example, I found his discussion of contemporary financial and commercial issues fascinating. His comments on the fragility of the contemporary global financial system and the inner logic of growing calls for protectionism are all the more chilling because of his deep knowledge of the factors underlying the Crash of 1929 and the 1930s Depression. James's discussion of Rome is also of obvious contemporary salience. Real and perceived threats to security turned the relatively "free" polity of Augustus into the repressive and would-be monolithic fortress-state of Diocletian and his successors.

For me personally, James's discussion of the European Union (EU) as a quasi-imperial force for stability across a swathe of Europe's eastern and southern borderlands is more familiar, which of course does not reduce his argument's validity. In 1900 "First-World" Europe meant the northwestern corner of the continent, and not even all of that. Since 1945 the EU has played a big part in bringing Europe's South and "Far West" (Iberia and Ireland) into the First World. The issue nowadays is whether it can repeat the success with east-central Europe. But Ukraine and Turkey are likely to remain beyond its stabilizing influence, as will Russia. Once again, as James implies, one must note successes inconceivable fifty years ago but still face the fact that the biggest tasks lie ahead.

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MARK HALPERIN. *Out of the Cloister: Literati Perspectives on Buddhism in Sung China, 960–1279*. (Harvard East Asia Monographs, number 272.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. vi, 364. \$49.95.

Over the past decade or so, the traditional characterization of post-Tang Buddhism as devoid of serious intellectual or historical interest has undergone serious reevaluation. The present study represents the latest scholarly contribution to this important work of reappraisal. It is also, to my mind, one of the most illuminating. Previous studies have tended to focus primarily on the Buddhist concerns to be found in the writings of major—but not necessarily representative—Sung-dynasty literati figures such as Su Shih (1037–1101). Mark Halperin, while still primarily concerned with the literati perspectives, chooses rather to explore not only a far wider range of players, some well-known, many not, and, but also a rather different body of primary sources. Instead of the usual essays, poems, scripture prefaces, or stupa inscriptions, Halperin looks primarily at temple commemorations, an extensive body of literati-composed material that has been largely overlooked by historians of religion. He argues, often with great eloquence and always with critical acumen, that not only did temples (both large and small) occupy a gray area between public and private, but that, unlike stupa

inscriptions for example, temple commemorations were not expected to conform to highly-defined generic conventions. It is for this reason that they are particularly useful for shedding light on both the extent and, even more importantly, the diversity of Sung-dynasty literati engagement (material as well as doctrinal, public as well as private) with Buddhism.

It is largely this diversity, as Halperin argues in chapter one, that distinguishes Sung Buddhism from that of the Tang. Thus, for every devout Sung literati layman who composed a temple commemoration as an expression of personal piety, there was at least one, and usually more, concerned with articulating, and often probing, the role of the temple, and by extension, of Buddhism itself, in the complex lay world of politics and society. Although these concerns were often and inevitably overlapping, Halperin devotes separate chapters to detailed discussions of what he sees as being the most significant. Chapter two takes on literati responses to the changes within Sung-dynasty Buddhism itself: the growing sectarianism and the ascendancy of a (theoretically at least) iconoclastic Ch'an Buddhism, and the more intimate involvement, both formal and informal, of literati-officials in monastic institutions. By discussing the doctrinal and the institutional together, Halperin is able to effectively demonstrate the spectrum of literati responses to the Buddhism of their day: from those who welcomed Ch'an radicalism to those who championed the stability of the monastery as a means of countering the Ch'an centripetal impulse. In chapter three, the author turns to a discussion of the complex partnership between the imperial court and Buddhist institutions, as exemplified in the use of temples and monasteries as sites for the celebration of memorials for the war dead, imperial birthdays and death anniversaries, as well as repositories of imperial calligraphy and even imperial portraiture. Halperin paints a detailed and persuasive picture of the close symbiosis between church and state, a relationship that resulted in various levels of mutual change and transformation, from the doctrinal to the architectural.

In chapter four, Halperin turns from the imperial to the social, and investigates the various ways in which literati writers made use of temple commemorations to critically explore a wide range of social concerns, especially as seen in the light of traditional Buddhist morality and ethics. Yet again, what is most striking is the diversity of opinion that emerges in these texts. For some literati, contemporary Buddhism provided a rich source of "deplorable displays" of moral decadence, especially compared to the ideals outlined in the classical texts; for other literati, the temples they visited and the clergy with whom they engaged in discussion, afforded "edifying exempla" from which society at large would do well to learn. As Halperin points out, the relationship between Buddhist temples and lay society was derived in part from the close parallel (at least ideally) between the careers of literati and clergy: both based their authority on the mastery of sacred texts, both "left home" for extended periods of time if not permanently,

both worked within institutional contexts, and both “took their missions in part as the relief of the suffering, benighted masses around them” (p. 201). In chapter five, Halperin discusses the more personal or introspective voices that emerge from some of these temple commemorations. Again, what is striking is the multivocality: for example, for some literati the Buddhist monastery, with its tradition of constant reconstruction, represented an oasis of continuity in a world of unpredictable socio-political change; for others, a reminder of the “futility and isolation” of their official identities and careers.

Halperin’s conclusion—a resounding confirmation that Sung literati indeed “took the Buddhist presence very seriously” (p. 236)—is less significant than the extraordinarily rich and “multifarious tableaux” that he provides in this well-researched and well-written study.

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LEO K. SHIN. *The Making of the Chinese State: Ethnicity and Expansion on the Ming Borderlands*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xxi, 246. \$80.00.

Leo K. Shin’s book examines interactions between China’s imperial center and the southwestern frontier province of Guangxi during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). The book has much to offer to current debates on Chinese ethnicity and identity and also contributes to the growing literatures on frontier policy. Shin’s approach is shaped by the conviction that “in order to capture more fully the complexity of the human past, we must approach the formation of identities not as an aside but as an essential component in historical inquiries” (p. xiii). In one respect, the book is less about the Chinese state than about the formation of a Chinese identity, which as Shin demonstrates, evolved continually through ongoing relationships with others.

Part of what makes his book so successful may be Shin’s willingness and ability to deeply enter his sources, thereby inviting his reader to explore possibilities beyond the dominant model of “acculturation” in frontier history that tends to treat “Han” and “non-Han” as primordial categories. The author demonstrates his familiarity with the literature on ethnicity and frontier studies through the level of sophistication that he brings to the analysis of his sources. Uncluttered with overt debates with his colleagues, his approach allows ample space for his sources to speak and creates an environment in which his reader can begin to “imagine alternative narratives” that address the question of “how China became Chinese” (p. xiii).

Chapter two, “Nature of the Borderland,” offers an excellent example of Shin’s ability to mine his sources for contemporary attitudes toward the frontier. Rather than describe Guangxi’s geography, its flora, fauna, roads, and population according to twenty-first-century criteria, he captures the beliefs, concerns, and experience of the frontier through Ming travelers who describe the area through contemporary idioms of cli-

mate, illness, and the circulation of *qi* (p. 27). As a result, the reader begins to understand not only something of Guangxi’s topography but, more importantly, how the region was viewed by those who visited the province, and how it was understood and spoken of by those who would not venture to go there. In this context we learn about the wife of an official who refused to accompany her husband to such a remote and seemingly dangerous post, and the story of another official who died of illness even before reaching his destination. Shin recognizes the importance of such narratives as both reflecting and shaping popular opinion about the southwestern frontier.

Chapter three, on the “Politics of Chieftaincy” is the clearest and most compelling account I have read of the *tusi*, or native chieftain system. The overall picture that emerges is a tableau in which the institution of the *tusi* appears as a kind of “alliance” (p. 73) between the imperial center and the hereditary native chiefs that it recognized. Shin’s description grows out a detailed study of archival records that demonstrate how the very intricate “system” worked in actuality and how negotiations (and sometimes armed conflict) between the court and the *tusi* functioned over time. Cooperation was, in fact, at times so close that in some areas Chinese officials were appointed by the court to serve under *tusi* within “native” domains.

The chapters on “Mapping of Settlement” and “Culture of Demarcation” both argue, in different ways, that “the centralizing state during the Ming period managed to reinforce—rather than to erase—the perceived distinctions between *min* and *man yi*” (tax-paying subject and barbarian) (p. 135). Shin demonstrates that Ming taxonomies of frontier peoples became more complex and refined, and that settlements were more carefully mapped. He also remarks in these chapters on the growing importance of firsthand observations that have their place alongside textual studies—some of them clearly fanciful—that also “reinforce a system of differences” (p. 139). This is one instance where more direct dialogue with other scholars who have observed similar phenomenon in other parts of late imperial China, but perhaps interpreted it differently, would have been welcome.

The final chapter, “Margins in History,” explores the implications of Shin’s work on Ming Guangxi for the republican and modern periods of Chinese history. He demonstrates effectively that topics relevant to Chinese identity and ethnicity in the context of the modern nation state have long deep roots in earlier imperial history. At the same time his work shows that specific questions, attitudes, and ethnonyms ascribed to groups in the present are constructed and contingent rather than immutable.

I highly recommend this book as an elegant and sophisticated, yet highly readable, treatment of frontier interactions during the Ming dynasty. The excellent maps, careful selection of illustrations, and inclusion of Chinese characters in the index and bibliography wit-

ness to the attention to detail that the author brings to the entire work.

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HELEN DUNSTAN, *State or Merchant? Political Economy and Political Process in 1740s China*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 273.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 523. \$54.95.

In the past year the Harvard University Asia Center has published two major works on Qing political economy, each of them many years in the making. The two—the present work and Man-houng Lin's *China Upside Down: Currency, Society, and Ideologies, 1808–1856* (2006)—deal with eras roughly a century apart and with different sectors of the economy, Dunstan with grain and Lin with currency. Both authors, however, see the central choice facing imperial authorities as the same: whether to use bureaucratic means to effect desired economic ends, or to rely on the private market for such purposes. Both term the former approach “interventionism,” but while Lin calls its opposite “accommodationism,” Dunstan more pointedly terms it “liberal” (pp. 8, 429) or “proto-liberal” (p. 414). She is hardly disengaged from this debate; there are, indeed, a spirited defense in this book of “state welfare activism” (p. 444) and a palpable anger at efforts to replace this by “regressive” and “intolerant” policies (pp. 451–452).

The book focuses on the Qing's system of grain storage known most commonly as the “ever-normal granaries.” Displaying an institutional commitment to grain price stabilization over space and time probably unequalled anywhere in the world by that time (the closest comparison, thoughtfully analyzed by Dunstan, is with Bourbon France), the Qing ordered its thousands of county-level officials to buy cheap grain after each year's harvest and resell this in the spring, at or slightly below the higher prices commanded at that time. This rotating portion of local reserves ostensibly comprised about thirty percent of target figures for granary stocks assigned to each county. These targets were significantly raised over the course of the late Kangxi (1662–1722) and Yongzheng (1723–1735) eras, and the succeeding Qianlong emperor raised them yet again during the first years of his own long reign (1736–1795). Qianlong then had a change of heart, and, after a protracted and contentious debate, in 1748 he ordered these targets dramatically slashed, on the argument that excessive state purchases for annual restocking was the chief cause of secular grain price inflation on the commercial market.

The Qing granary *volte-face* of 1748 has been studied by previous scholars, including Gao Wangling (who memorably termed it an “unfinished experiment”), Pierre-Étienne Will, R. Bin Wong, and myself, but none in quite the depth exhibited here. This book draws on an enormous amount of archival research; scores of bureaucratic communications are subjected to close read-

ing, and dozens of local instances of dearth are examined to explore the range of official reactions. One of Dunstan's most satisfying achievements is her teasing out from all these documents fragments of a coherent economic logic shared by many Qing officials about how the market operated (pp. 140–146). Like many of us who have looked closely at the material, she reaches the conclusion that these men, collectively, made up a coterie of administrators of impressive intelligence and economic sophistication.

What is most original in this book are the suggestions that the reductions in granary stocks were made in response to petitions from officials acting on behalf of mercantile interests desiring to eliminate state competition to the private trade, and that the Qianlong emperor allowed himself to be persuaded because he secretly wished to divert the funds normally used for annual granary restocking to finance his military adventures on the western frontiers. As the author concedes, both of these suggestions proceed only from circumstantial evidence. In the latter case, Dunstan makes her argument despite the fact that there was no statement by any party that diverting granary funds for military purposes was their intent, and that the funds saved by lowering state grain purchases were not, as it turned out, applied to military uses (p. 387). There is thus a strange disconnect in this book between the extreme care used in textual and quantitative analyses underpinning most of its discussions, and the bold inferences upon which its two most original arguments rely. This is not to say that Dunstan is incorrect in these two arguments—I think she is reasonably likely to be right—but that they remain, for the moment at least, simply intriguing hypotheses.

It has been customary to date the decline in Qing dynastic fortunes from the senescence of the Qianlong emperor, beginning in the 1770s. Recently, some scholars have been suggesting that the multi-faceted retreat from state activism around mid-century, epitomized by Qianlong's scaling back of the granaries, might already have determined the empire's inability to compete in the more predatory international environment of the nineteenth century. Dunstan goes yet further. She offers perhaps the most damning portrait of Qianlong in any English-language scholarship—as a capricious autocrat totally unwilling to engage with the sophisticated policy analyses of his officials—and suggests that the ascension to the throne of such a man might in itself have sealed the Qing's fate.

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C. PATTERSON GIERSCH, *Asian Borderlands: The Transformation of Qing China's Yunnan Frontier*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 308. \$49.95.

Early modern states fought to extend their power over societies on their borders, it is well known, but the process has been mostly examined at the center or at least

from its perspective. How the peripheral societies responded to encroachment, and contributed to state consolidation, remains somewhat mysterious. Exploring these issues through a historical study of the borderlands between China and Southeast Asia, C. Patterson Giersch has written a fascinating and original book.

Recent works by James Millward, Nicola Di Cosmo, and Peter Perdue shed new light on China's late imperial age by treating the Inner Asia "periphery" as a place with its own history—by no means a backwater, but a center in its own right. In much the same spirit, Giersch pioneers the study of the borderlands spanning the upper Mekong, Salween, and Irrawaddy valleys. Rejecting a parallel with Frederick Jackson Turner's view of the American West as a frontier where civilization collided with savagery (although some Qing imperial officials, whose ideas are the focus of chapter three, tended to such a view), he sees the southwestern frontier as a complex zone of interaction for many peoples, whether Han Chinese intruders or indigenes. It was a "middle ground" (p. 3) of mutual adaptation, a place of economic and cultural exchange lacking clear political borders. Far from the nearest Qing provincial city (Kunming, capital of Yunnan) and from the rival political centers of Burma and Siam, Tai aristocrats and other indigenes and Chinese migrants found considerable freedom of action. Giersch's use of some Tai written materials, and a quantity of Qing documents, which he reads against the grain, enables him to demonstrate their agency.

Disputing the idea that "Chinese culture washed over the frontier like a giant wave" (p. 11), Giersch offers rich evidence on the ambiguous identifications and selective cultural borrowings of the borderlands (see especially chapters five and seven). He clearly grasps the often missed distinction between acculturation and assimilation: local rulers and their subjects borrowed selective cultural traits but rarely assimilated in the sense of identifying with the cultural lenders, and characteristically preserved relations with two or more outside powers. Thus a Wa headman might have a Chinese surname and a monastic Tai education; the son of a Chinese father and a "barbarian" might identify with Chinese heritage but still maintain close contact with maternal kin; and a Tai noble holding a Chinese title and using imperial etiquette and Confucian ritual might conduct ritual and diplomacy with other Tai polities in Theravada temples, with agreements sealed by a sacred drink of water. Despite the borrowings, the trend was not toward cultural uniformity. Borderland micro-societies preserved their differences, each eclectically combining indigenous and imperial institutions, even architecture, in its own way. Some Chinese practices, for example foot-binding and arranged marriages, made no headway even among people who adopted Chinese dress. Local hierarchies of prestige, varying in time and place but more often Tai than Chinese, tended to dictate acculturation patterns.

Qing policy is closely examined in chapters two and four. It was not motivated by financial considerations,

and in the event this frontier did not pay its way. Military campaigns did dislodge several Tai princes from border towns in the 1730s, but others were too costly: "the well was deep," wrote one Qing commander, "and the rope was short" (p. 60). Officials tried in vain to make sense of the fluidity of frontier peoples. The ideology of imperial expansion allowed for several kinds of barbarians, conceiving of a territory beyond China proper in which indigenous chiefs, awarded Qing titles, could rule over barbarian subjects on behalf of Beijing. But in practice the princes drew their local authority from Tai noble inheritance, resembling rats "whose heads swiveled back and forth" (p. 119) as they successively heeded Qing or Burmese or Siamese authorities; Qing regional commanders resorted to negotiation and indigenous ritual in seeking their cooperation. In what Giersch styles the "northern crescent" Qing authority did in time rule through local elites with the help of a military presence; while in the "southern crescent" at Sipsongpanna the tropical climate and its malaria killed off Chinese troops and forced heavier reliance on Tai princes. The various Tai princedoms came under pressure after 1800, by which time Southeast Asia's twenty-two states had been reduced to only three (Burma, Siam, and Vietnam). Meanwhile the extension of a road system across Yunnan to the borderland—a striking example of the periphery affecting the center—facilitated the arrival of Chinese migrants. Officials tended to boost the new settlers at the expense of indigenes, anticipating the pattern at most Chinese frontiers in the late twentieth century. Yet Giersch stresses that indigenous societies were not destroyed, because local communities adapted to circumstances. Their survival was helped by the nineteenth century decline of the Qing as Burma and then Siam increased their ability to influence the region. The Qing never incorporated all of China's frontiers into its administration, as some earlier scholars have inferred, and continued to rely on indigenous institutions, maintaining persistent frontier zones in the Southwest until the advent of the People's Republic.

Chapter six pays close attention to the regional economy. The period from 1700 to the 1850s saw the development of a luxury trade in tea, and increasingly cotton and opium, with an elaborate system of caravans. Han Chinese migrants and soldiers stimulated the local economy, but local markets also afforded opportunities to a variety of indigenous ethnic groups for product specialization, usury, and extra-official road tolls. The Panthay Rebellion and its suppression (1856–1873) brought demographic disaster and an end to the trade boom. Why revival failed, even in the twentieth century, is unexplained, for seaborne trade, which may have supplanted the old land caravans in the late nineteenth century, lies outside this study.

A hasty reader might see, in Giersch's concern with diversity, marginality, and shifting identification, a bow to current scholarly fashion, but such a view would ignore the importance of borderlands in understanding historical processes. These dynamic and long-lived so-

cieties of the middle ground are not only fascinating in themselves but can be more revealing (though quite hard to read) of larger processes than the examination of the center in its own terms: in its Southeast Asian borderlands Qing power is exposed as ineffective in the face of non-Chinese ideologies and as compromised by local actors seeking their own goals. Giersch's skillful interweaving of economic, political, and ideological/cultural features in a broadly chronological treatment successfully transcends the familiar narrative of declining empires and rising states and makes this regional study a solid and original contribution to the early modern history of Qing China and its southern neighbors. May other borderland studies follow!

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FUNG CHI MING. *Reluctant Heroes: Rickshaw Pullers in Hong Kong and Canton, 1874–1954*. (Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Studies Series.) Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 216. \$49.50.

In 1927, the Chinese Communist Party, reeling from violent attacks inflicted on it by Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters in the Nationalist Party, staged a series of insurrections throughout central and south China. During a two-day uprising in Canton (Guangzhou) in December armed Communists and their supporters seized government offices and declared a “soviet.” In short order the uprising was brutally put down. Troops sent in to clear the city of insurgents knew that some of the city’s rickshaw pullers had supported the insurrection. They stopped at rickshaw stands and examined the necks of pullers for stains left by red scarves worn as makeshift revolutionary insignia. Like Parisians fingered as *communards* in 1871 because they had hands blackened by what was assumed to be gunpowder, rickshaw pullers with reddened necks were summarily executed.

Fung Chi Ming’s study of the rickshaw pullers of Canton and Hong Kong takes as a central problem the question of why rickshaw men, who by the thousands pulled passengers around the cities of China in small two-wheeled carts, turned up so often at political events of the period. After all, most of the men were from the countryside, with little education and not much experience in politics. They worked long hours on the streets pulling rented rickshaws. Although they might quarrel with rickshaw garage owners about rents, they did not labor in the kind of regimented factory or labor gang setting that can foster proletarian consciousness. In a search for answers Fung meticulously documents every instance of “rickshaw activism” (p. 177) from the arrival of the rickshaw in south China in 1874 to the early 1950s when the vehicle was banned in Canton by the new Communist government and replaced with pedicabs.

Fung shows that rickshaw men were a contentious lot with concerns that ranged from rents and housing to police brutality, competition from buses and trams, and the patriotic defense of China. Rickshaw men lived in

miserable tenements, labored for a pittance, and felt the hard edge of the state in the daily orders, scolding, fines, and blows received from policemen. They had plenty of opportunities to witness the racism of foreigners, the idealism of students and other activists, and the arbitrary nature of political power. Rickshaw men lacked a single institutional home in factory, office, shipping pier, or shop. But this lack of a clear institutional identity also made them more open than most city residents to the broader challenges and miseries of urban life. Speak to them about the arrogance of power or the unfairness of great wealth or the humiliations of imperialism and rickshaw pullers could surely supply an anecdote if not an ideology. After all, it was they more than anyone else in Hong Kong who had the “keep to the left” shout of cops tasked with enforcing English traffic rules in a Chinese city ringing in their ears.

In short, rickshaw men participated in politics and protest because they happened to be there in public with a ready store of grievances. Most photographs of Chinese cityscapes from the period show rickshaw men somewhere in view either trotting down a street or grouped with comrades waiting for fares. They had an often underappreciated political asset: round-the-clock availability. The circumstances of their lives pushed them down and this gave some of them the spring and motivation to push back—and hard—if chance afforded. As Fung also clearly explains, rickshaw men did have certain attributes that tied them down rather than freed them up. Many rickshaw men in Hong Kong and Canton were migrants who spoke the Chiuchow dialect, a language not intelligible to native Cantonese speakers. Language barriers between rickshaw men and other urban residents (and within the rickshaw puller population itself) limited gestures and strategies that might have reinforced the larger solidarity envisioned in a “soviet” or in other reformist rather than revolutionary projects.

Among the many strengths of this volume is not only its incisive political history of working class politics but also the book’s rich ethnographic detail about the lives of the laboring poor in Canton and Hong Kong. One learns that Chiuchow men formed one faction within the Canton rickshaw pullers union in the 1920s and that Chiuchow pullers could be identified by hats that were “rounded and flat at the top.” As a result, one could readily distinguish them from rival Hoklo men whose headgear was “cone-shaped, with sharp points at the top.” By the end of this well-written and carefully researched book, such social facts seem as important for understanding the texture, colors, and logic of urban life as the red scarves a few rickshaw men put on for two days in December 1927.

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ZWIA LIPKIN. *Useless to the State: “Social Problems” and Social Engineering in Nationalist Nanjing, 1927–1937*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 259.) Cam-

bridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 420. \$49.95.

When the Nationalist government was inaugurated in Nanjing in 1927, it committed to boosting the image of the new capital by removing various “eyesores”—namely refugees, shantytowns, rickshaws, prostitutes, and beggars—from the city. Zwia Lipkin recounts in detail how the authorities tackled these social problems and how little was achieved by 1937.

To build Nanjing into a modern city comparable to London, Paris, or New York, many “spiritual” and “material” construction programs were introduced, and by 1937, the capital had been greatly transformed. Such development, however, turned Nanjing into a favorite destination for refugees. Despite its policy of expulsion, the government failed to stop refugees from settling permanently in Nanjing, and it started building public housing for the poor. By 1937, relocations of shanty households to designated places outside the city were enforced. In those shanties in less “conspicuous” areas in Nanjing, the government initiated projects to improve living conditions with some success.

In the eyes of Nanjing’s modern elite, the rickshaw was a shameful sign of backwardness. Realizing the impossibility of eliminating the trade, the government was determined to “civilize” it by regulating its operation and the pullers’ appearance and behavior; it also helped “humanize” the system by regulating the rickshaw rents, by fending off bus competition, and, with limited success, by organizing the pullers into cooperatives.

Prostitution was also seen as a sign of backwardness and a threat to social hygiene. Prostitutes were ordered to leave the trade and to be reformed, in rehabilitation centers, into “useful” citizens. The ban on prostitution, which was hastily implemented in 1928, failed because of continuous influx of refugees into Nanjing; a chronic lack of funds, which jeopardized the plans of building rehabilitation facilities; and poor cooperation between the municipal government and the local police.

By 1928, traditional favorable attitudes toward beggary had been replaced with negative perceptions of mendicants as a dangerous class and hence a social threat. The image-conscious government began moving beggars into asylums. This policy failed as more and more rural refugees flooded into Nanjing during the 1930s. The government eventually resorted to deportation and forced sheltering. By 1937, more asylums with improved facilities and reform-through-work plans were built, which helped boost the image of Nanjing in the eyes of foreigners.

Overall Lipkin argues her points convincingly. Some issues, however, deserve further elaboration or clarification. By placing the term “social problems” in quotation marks, for example, does Lipkin intend to cast doubt on the appellation? The epilogue chapter is devoted almost entirely to post-1949 Beijing. What happened to Nanjing after 1938 and through the socialist era? The argument that the impetus for the Nationalists’ determination to eliminate “social problems” came

largely from their strong desire to maintain the image of Nanjing as a model city, particularly in the eyes of Westerners, echoes, to a degree, John King Fairbank’s controversial “China’s response to the West” paradigm. It is true that no previous government in China had tackled social problems in ways that the Nationalists did. It is, however, doubtful that the worry about foreigners’ perception, or China’s competitiveness in the Darwinian race for survival, rather than any genuine sympathy from a conscientious administration, was the reason for these policies. It is questionable if the concept of the “usefulness” of a person in terms of production was an idea associated with modernity imported from the West, because the economic contributions of a man to collective living were also considered important in Confucianism. Nor is it convincing to say that the image of beggars as “cunning and bossy people who took advantage of human compassion to make a fortune” (p. 109) was a “new” one that did not exist before the coming of the British to Shanghai. Did the Chinese need the West to tell them about that? It might be true that from the 1930s on, mendicants were increasingly seen in the eyes of the government as “people who are useless to the state.” But did the premodern state see beggars differently? Despite the government’s goodwill, nearly all the policies to redress the various problems discussed in this book resulted in failure, partial or total. Was this a reflection of the intrinsic weakness of the Nationalist state? The terms “Nationalists,” “state,” “public,” and “citizens” are used somewhat casually. For instance, when describing calls to rescind the prostitution ban, Lipkin refers to “groups of merchants,” “people,” “citizens,” and “many people” interchangeably, despite their implicit differences.

On the choice of Nanjing as China’s new capital, Lipkin states that the Nationalists’ determination to make it into a showpiece of modernity resonated with Chinese tradition in which the location of a capital could determine the fate of the empire. The link between the two, however, was arbitrary, because the principles of traditional capital-city planning such as feng shui and royal symbolism were apparently absent in Nationalist Nanjing.

In the chapter on refugees, immigrants and refugees are discussed under the category of “destitute people.” These two groups were not necessarily the same. It is, therefore, hard to understand why many of the newcomers were young men but not families of both sexes, which was supposed to be the case for refugees.

Some of the visual evidence provided does not tally with descriptions in the text. For instance, the public houses in figure 3.1 are hardly in Western style as described; the shanty children in figure 3.4 look much better than they are portrayed in the text. Of the government’s public housing projects, we are told that they were badly received by the poor because of their inconvenient location and unaffordable rent (p. 94). But we are also told that the supply of these houses for the poor “fell short of the demand” (p. 96). What caused such a change in demand? Of prostitution, although

Lipkin states that “it is most likely that the majority of the population in Nanjing had nothing against sex workers,” we are also told that “growing popular anti-prostitution sentiments appeared in increasing numbers in local newspapers” (p. 172). Which is true?

How was the dispute between the pro-rickshaw and the pro-bus groups finally ended? Or, was it ever ended in this period? Why did the government not conduct any statistical survey on the city’s beggars, as it had done of prostitutes, rickshawmen, and refugees? Without the aid of comprehensive data, I wonder how the government was able to assess the scale of the problem and to judge the effectiveness of its relief programs.

The contributions of the Nationalists, in terms of importing “Western ideas regarding state and society,” creating “a myth of a unified China and a Chinese nation that was stronger than reality,” and introducing “the idea of ‘social problems’” (p. 230), are exaggerated. Had not the late Qing reformists and the Republicans been working on similar modernization projects since the 1900s?

Despite all these weaknesses, this is a fine piece of historical scholarship by a young historian who displays a good command of contemporary sources on the subject.

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ELLEN GARDNER NAKAMURA. *Practical Pursuits: Takano Chōei, Takahashi Keisaku, and Western Medicine in Nineteenth-Century Japan*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 236. \$40.00.

Takahashi Keisaku was a wealthy farmer and town physician in nineteenth-century Nakanojō, in central Kōzuke province. When not doting over colonies of silkworms, Keisaku bode his time with a steady stream of patients, who complained of an assortment of gruesome ailments. His diary spans thirty-six years (from 1838 to 1874) and offers a rare window onto the everyday practice of a talented rural physician. House calls proved the bedside manner of the day: Keisaku traveled to examine patients with gastrointestinal disorders, syphilis, scabies, eye disease, urinary problems, cracked nipples, worms, hemorrhoids, and just about everything else imaginable. A rural physician in early-nineteenth-century Japan hardly knew what to expect when he hung a shingle from his door. Presumably, it was not that different from rural medicine today.

However, in some respects, it was quite different, as Ellen Gardner Nakamura portrays it in this book, a skillfully researched and thoughtfully written social history of Japanese medicine. Physicians such as Keisaku were not simply masters of hemorrhoid removal. Rather, because of the geographic spaces and social networks in which they navigated, rural physicians experimented with *rangaku*, or “Western learning,” and they came to represent an inquisitive generation that strategically adopted and adapted imported medical

technologies and techniques into the commercial and social context of their day. Nakamura describes how Keisaku, when not removing sickles from the feet of grimacing farmers, participated in the “medicalization of childbirth and the gradual monopolization by men of a traditionally female occupation.” She writes that the medicalization of childbirth corresponded to the spread of Western medicine: it accompanied a “growing interest in human anatomy and the development of obstetric instruments,” such as a “hook” used to remove the placenta, and these techniques and technologies represented a discernible departure from less surgical and less anatomizing Chinese techniques, which nonetheless remained part of the rural physician’s eclectic toolkit (pp. 144–145). Rural physicians proved quite cosmopolitan when healing the pre-industrial Japanese body, and in doing so they translated Western medical theory into practice well before the Meiji Restoration of 1868.

An introduction, four chapters, and two appendixes—“Treatise on two things for the relief of famine” (*Kyūkō nibutsukō*; 1836) and “Methods of avoiding epidemic disease” (*Hieki yōhō*; 1836)—comprise the book. The introduction provides a helpful primer on the intricacies and major schools of Chinese medicine and traces the rise of *rangaku*, originally “Dutch learning,” as part of a broader craze for imported Dutch exotica. Famously, in 1771, when Sugita Genpaku and Maeno Ryōtaku witnessed a dissection and then compared the experience to anatomical diagrams of the human body in Johann Adam Kulmus’s *Tafel anatomia* (1731), they found the European renditions more empirically convincing and the appeal of Western learning quickly spread throughout Japan.

Similar to Keisaku, another physician lured by Western medicine was Takano Chōei, who had studied with Philipp Franz von Siebold at the Narutaki School in Nagasaki. In Nagasaki, Chōei witnessed Siebold conduct several complicated surgical procedures, including cancerous tumor removal. His fascination with Western learning flowered with the treatise “Fundamentals of Western medicine” (*Seisetsu igen sūyō*; 1832), but it also led to his five-year imprisonment in Edo, after he wrote a piece critical of the Tokugawa shogun’s “shell and re-pel” edict aimed at foiling Western imperialism. Here is where Chōei’s story becomes the grist of legends: after rising to “prison leader” he escaped from the Kodenmachō prison on a moonless night in 1844 and became a fugitive. Though dramatic, Chōei’s escape from prison serves as the introduction of Nakamura’s treatment of this fascinating figure. She proves far more interested in his medical practice and social networks, and what they tell us about nineteenth-century Japan’s engagement with Western science.

Nakamura explores Chōei’s life in Kōzuke prior to his arrest. There, medical networks melded with economic and social developments: the region became a crossroads for goods and good ideas. It is not surprising that this medical geography attracted physicians: thermal springs purportedly had healing properties, while

in the rugged mountains, hunters gathered bear gall-bladder and other sought-after medicines. Chōei lectured to enthusiastic crowds in 1833 on his treatise "Fundamentals of Western medicine." He also drew on *honzōgaku*, or "natural studies," to craft ideas on famine relief, particularly during the horrific Tenpō famine (1836).

Nakamura narrates this story and much more. This is a good book, carefully constructed from both a rigorous engagement with Japanese diaries and other sources. Nakamura paints a colorful picture of the life of these Kōzuke physicians as they navigated their home ground, both before and after the Meiji Restoration. This reader's most substantive complaint is that Nakamura ultimately shies away from a decisive explanation of the manner in which these rural physicians actually drove, rather than simply responded to, social change in nineteenth-century Japan. So what if they recommended buckwheat noodles in times of famine: this reader hungered for a more beefy extrapolation on their roles in crafting a pluralistic medical philosophy and forging a new generation of world-renowned physicians and scientists. This is the beauty of social history, but, in the concluding pages, it was nearly lost in this otherwise quite satisfying book.

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ROBERT K. BRIGHAM. *ARVN: Life and Death in the South Vietnamese Army*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2006. Pp. xiv, 178. \$29.95.

Since the fall of Saigon in the spring of 1975, a multitude of reasons have been advanced to explain the U.S. defeat in the Vietnam War. Among the explanations most frequently cited is the role allegedly played by the South Vietnamese armed forces, known as the Army of the Republic of Vietnam, or ARVN. According to the familiar litany, the South Vietnamese army, poorly trained, poorly led, and poorly motivated, was no match for its highly disciplined adversaries, the North Vietnamese Army (NVA) and its ally in the South, the People's Liberation Armed Forces, popularly known as the Viet Cong.

Robert K. Brigham exposes this piece of accepted wisdom to the harsh glow of scholarly analysis. In a wide-ranging study enriched by hundreds of interviews with South Vietnamese soldiers and their families, the author examines the training, the leadership, and the morale of the South Vietnamese armed forces, as well as the social environment in which they operated during two decades of intense internal conflict. In the process, he concludes that while there was undoubtedly more than a grain of truth in ARVN's public image, there were a number of extenuating circumstances that must be taken into account before rendering a final judgment about its performance during the Vietnam War.

The Armed Forces of the Republic of Vietnam were created in 1955, shortly after the Geneva Conference had divided the country provisionally into two separate

regroupment zones, with Ho Chi Minh's communist government in the North and a noncommunist regime in the South. At first, the new government in Saigon wanted to create a small volunteer army based on special forces and ranger units designed to undertake local operations against guerrilla forces. But when its U.S. ally demanded the formation of a conventional army capable of blocking a potential invasion from the North, the government of President Ngo Dinh Diem was forced to reassess its plans and institute the conscription of all males from the ages of twenty to twenty-five. As the war intensified, the size of the South Vietnamese armed forces grew rapidly at U.S. insistence, reaching a level of over 800,000 troops by 1971. By then, all males from sixteen to fifty years of age were subject to the draft. The length of service was also extended, with many recruits compelled to serve up to seven years of active duty.

One unfortunate consequence of this dramatic increase was that in the final years of the war, the countryside—comprising over eighty percent of the total population of the country—was virtually drained of its male labor force. Such an approach ran directly counter to traditional practice, since past governments had always left a sufficient male population in the villages to carry out the multiple duties of bringing in the rice harvest. It is no wonder that ARVN suffered from an unusually high desertion rate—up to seventeen percent of its total composition—in the later years of the conflict. By contrast, Brigham points out, communist leaders adopted a strategy to guarantee that a sufficient labor force was always available in areas under their control.

Once enrolled in the armed services, the new ARVN recruit was poorly fed and poorly housed. Pay was low and medical care was primitive or virtually nonexistent. All too often his military training provided little preparation for the challenges of combat ahead. The command system was flawed, and commissioned officers were frequently corrupt or lacked initiative. Unlike his adversary, who was intensively indoctrinated in the importance of the "just cause" (*chinh nghĩa*) to defend the national honor, the South Vietnamese soldier received little political training beyond rote exhortations to fight the communists. It is little wonder that ARVN units never developed an *esprit de corps*, a sense of a "band of brothers" taking pride in a job well done.

According to the author, by the late 1960s the situation had somewhat improved, as ARVN units were often able to hold their own in combat with Viet Cong irregulars. By then, however, it was too late, since they had been relegated to a secondary role behind U.S. forces and were frequently forced to take part in operations far from their native villages. When U.S. troops finally departed in early 1973, ARVN still lacked the combat potential and the self-confidence to fill the gap.

For the discerning reader, there is a subtext here, which the author might wish to develop further at some later date. No army can ultimately be more effective or dedicated than the government it has been designed to

defend. The Saigon regime, composed of an urban-based elite lacking deep roots in the Vietnamese countryside and always dependent for its survival on its powerful U.S. patron, was never able to develop the aura of legitimate authority necessary to earn broad popular acceptance and emotional commitment. The South Vietnamese armed forces were not adequate to the task because the Saigon government itself lacked staying power. As the United States struggles in the new century to transform failed states into functioning democracies, this is a lesson that is well worth pondering.

WILLIAM J. DUIKER
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BORIA MAJUMDAR and KAUSIK BANDYOPADHYAY. *A Social History of Indian Football: Striving to Score*. (Sport in Global Society.) New York: Routledge. 2006. Pp. 194. \$65.00.

North American readers might be surprised to learn that Indians play soccer and that two young scholars consider it a valuable use of their time and resources to bother writing a book about it. Even the esteemed David Washbrook admits in his foreword that "the subject may not be an obvious one." However, Washbrook and the two authors do set out a good rationale: that soccer allows the historical exploration of social, cultural, and political aspects of Indian society. The history of the sport contours with some other historical changes, the most obvious being colonialism, nationalism, decolonization, internal postcolonial conflicts, and now global capitalism. Boria Majumdar and Kausik Bandyopadhyay offer a detailed study of various moments in the history of the sport in the context of such wider thematic paradigms. So, for instance, they tell us about how modern sports were introduced by British colonialists, taken up by Indians, then used as a means to "beat the masters." And they at least try to do justice to the complexities in using a colonial method to promote indigenous nationalism. They also have some grasp of Indian culture and show how the structure and clubs reflect some of the fissures and trends in the social demographic. By the last decades of the twentieth century, the sport was dominated by the interethnic rivalry in Bengal between "indigenous" West Bengalis and immigrant East Bengalis (from what is now Bangladesh). More recent concerns are the increasing involvement of women in the sport and how success on the world stage might be achieved.

While a pleasant distraction, essentially this is all the reader gets. I do commend the idea that a certain sport does not have to be explicitly successful in a country for it to have sociological meaning. However, there is not much here to extend our understanding of India or of the theoretical perspectives we might use to understand India. There is no engagement, for instance, with post-colonial theory, which after all was highly influenced by the subaltern studies approach of South Asianists. There is no real presentation of the localized culture,

despite an early promise to develop vernacular source material. The authors tend to rely on newspaper reports. They do not fully develop a line of interpretation for important moments, and there certainly is no sign of an overarching framework. A lot of what is presented here borrows heavily from previous histories of Indian sport without properly dealing with the broader spectrum of that literature.

All these things contribute to the book's major weakness: a failure to turn interesting descriptive material into good scholarship. In fact, some of the writing seems more like poor journalism than high quality academic research. The book's subtitle and some of the chapter titles (i.e., "The Gendered Kick: Women's Soccer in Twentieth Century India") would make even the most novice sub-editor blush. Elsewhere, the reader is treated to such gems as the following reflection on the 1980 riot at Eden Gardens: "The immediate context that sparked off widespread violence was an ugly tackle by Dilip Palit, a tough East Bengal defender, upon Bidesh Basu, a mercurial Mohun Bagan forward, and the latter's spontaneous retaliation by kicking the former, ten minutes into the second half. The referee gave marching orders to both for their offences. However, the supporters, enraged by the incident, became involved in a free-for-all while the police remained mere spectators. Thirteen fans kissed the dust while several others were seriously injured" (p. 102).

This fails to develop any real information or analysis and is written in a dreadful prose style. The adjectives used make the authors sound like wannabe sports writers. What is a "free for all"? Does "kissed the dust" mean died? Not even the basic facts are correct: sixteen fans died on that sad day. And in actual fact the police did do something: they charged the crowd with their wooden *lathis*, thus causing the stampede and crushing that led to the deaths. All of which prompts serious reservations about the rigor of the research in the rest of the book.

My final comments are reserved for the publication process. The book was first published as a special issue of the journal *Soccer & Society* (vol. 6, nos. 2 & 3, 2005). The chapters presented in the book version were originally journal articles in the same issue, *all* of which were written by Majumdar and Bandyopadhyay. Were this not troubling enough for academic standards and procedures, it turns out that Majumdar is the Executive Academic Editor of the journal while Bandyopadhyay is one of three other editors. Reprinting a book of papers from a small-circulation journal whose peer-review standards appear to be somewhat lax does not seem like good financial or academic practice.

In sum, this is an interesting book if you want to know more about Indian soccer, but nothing in it will challenge the way you think about South Asia.

PAUL DIMEO
University of Stirling

OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

HELEN MACDONALD. *Human Remains: Dissection and Its Histories*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 220. \$35.00.

Helen MacDonald's book is part of a growing literature on the history of "the uses of the dead to the living," that Benthamite euphemism for anatomical dissection. But unlike previous studies, MacDonald situates the subjects of scientific scrutiny at the center of her narrative, turning what were called "things" (p. 40) by those who wielded the lancet into people with histories and stories of their own to tell. Their narratives are above all else colonial as the case studies in this book are drawn from the British territory known as Van Diemen's Land or Tasmania. By focusing on the peripheral space of empire, MacDonald is attempting not merely to add to the history of the acquisition and study of human remains by including another site for these activities. Rather, she is also trying to rethink the ways in which scholars have approached the topic by insisting that the history of convicts and aboriginal peoples, and the interplay between colonial and metropolitan medical men and anthropologists, was central to the emergence of the study of the human body in the nineteenth century.

This book addresses the ways in which bodies were obtained for the purposes of dissection and pays particular attention to the place of the female corpse. But it also ties this history to craniology, anthropometry, and bone-collecting, particularly the ways in which racial scientists, under the rubric of the newly emerging anthropology, attempted to use the bones of indigenous Tasmanians to help advance their theories of evolution and racial difference. While bones were often all that remained after a dissection, many of the skulls and skeletons sought after by collectors were obtained through the disinterment of already decomposed corpses that were no longer useful to anatomists. Their acquisition was therefore part of a larger history of the traffic in human remains that links body-snatching to both anatomy and anthropology.

I greatly admire MacDonald's effort to recapture the personal histories of those subjected to the knife and other scientific instruments, as it forces us to acknowledge the very real people sacrificed in the name of scientific progress. But the book does not make it clear exactly how knowing these people as individuals changes our understanding of dissection in general. While the story that MacDonald tells at length about how the convict Mary McLauchlan ended up on the dissecting table is tragic and an engaging piece of storytelling, it does not lead to any new revelations about the production of anatomical knowledge. MacDonald claims that exploring "the relationships within which this woman lived, died and became a subject for dissection reveals something fresh about how British medical men were seeking to establish themselves in a new place" (p. 85). I found, however, that it merely reinforced the point already made by other historians that

it was the most vulnerable members of society, in this case convicts and indigenous people rather than paupers, who were most likely to become "things for the surgeons" (p. 9).

Similarly, while the book's great innovation is to insist that the colonial story is central rather than peripheral to the narrative of the production of knowledge about the body, a bold and important claim, MacDonald does not pull back from her case studies to make larger arguments about colonial bodies or to engage with this rich historiography. There are intriguing suggestions here that not all settlers in Tasmania felt that it was appropriate, for instance, to display the skeleton of the last indigenous Tasmanian. In a letter to the editor on this subject, one irate member of the public, MacDonald maintains, queried, "Why not . . . place in the same gallery the skeleton of the first White man who murdered a Black one?" (p. 163). Similarly, the case of McLauchlan suggests that debates over rights to the dead were part of larger concerns about the ownership of the colonial convict body, particularly when that body was female and forced into unpaid domestic service. By focusing on these wider and clearly contentious debates about the relationship between a variety of different kinds of bodies in colonial society, MacDonald could have made a stronger argument, not only about the ways in which the colonial context enriches our understanding of the traffic in human remains, but also about how debates over, and practices around, the uses of the dead body were part of larger colonial discourses.

MacDonald's book tells a vivid and interesting story, bringing nineteenth-century Tasmania to life. It makes an important contribution to the history of the "uses of the dead to the living," and raises crucial questions about race, gender, and the body. While I would have liked her to engage more explicitly with the historiographies of the body and the colonial encounter, and thus deepen her analysis, MacDonald has enriched our understanding of what the book's subtitle calls "dissection and its histories."

NADJA DURBACH
University of Utah

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

JOHN J. BUKOWCZYK et al. *Permeable Border: The Great Lakes Region as Transnational Region, 1650–1990*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 298. \$34.95.

This book was a worthy winner of the 2006 Albert B. Corey Prize, awarded biennially by the American and Canadian Historical Associations for the best book dealing with Canadian-American relations. Its ambitions are substantial, albeit not quite as vast as the immense scope suggested by its title. A particular concern is migration, especially from Ontario to the United States; the perspective tends to be from Michigan, with the St. Clair and Detroit Rivers as the section of the

"permeable border" of greatest interest, and the main period is the nineteenth century.

The book includes four essays, which are framed by an introduction and conclusion by John J. Bukowczyk. He also provides the longest individual essay, a stimulating overview of the economic history of the region to 1890 from a political economy perspective, based on comprehensive reading of secondary sources. Nora Faires focuses on emigration from Ontario to the Upper Midwest in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, drawing, for example, on collective biographies to track a substantial set of Ontario migrants. David R. Smith uses a wide range of sources, including congressional and government records, especially for the later nineteenth century, to address Canadian and American policies that regulated cross-border trade while leaving the movement of people and capital unregulated. This contrasts with the present, on which the book usefully speculates, when trade agreements have sought unimpeded flows of goods even as immigration regulations and security concerns have more tightly regulated the movements of people. Finally, the historical geographer Randy William Widdis combines a succinct critical analysis of the conceptual literature on borderlands with a brief presentation of selected patterns in cross-border migration in the early twentieth century based on border-entry records.

After 1850 more rapid American development and higher living standards attracted sustained net movement from all areas of Canada. Already in 1870, almost one-sixth of all Canadian-born people lived in the United States. Through life histories that vividly demonstrate the multiplicity of steps in many migrants' trajectories, Faires catches the complexity of actual processes and strategies that produced this outcome. People crossed and recrossed the border in artisan, professional, and bourgeois circuits; as seasonal migrants, in lumbering; to buy farm land, as families sought to continue an agricultural vocation; as part of the general trend of movement from rural to urban settings; as entrepreneurs in search of opportunities; and even as commuters whose journey to work happened to cross the border. In the Great Lakes states, the Canadian-born were most significant in Michigan, where from 1850 to 1910 they constituted one-quarter or more of the foreign-born population. In Detroit from 1870 to 1910, they were one-fifth or more of the foreign-born. The only other city in the region that ever came close to this share was Buffalo. Indeed, the prominence of these two cities suggests that some movement might be imagined less as a regional than a local process.

One problem in a regional study is to obtain appropriate systematic data. Using state-level data, for example, is complicated because only two of the eight American states that touch the Great Lakes are wholly in the basin; and although all of the Canadian side falls within Ontario, not all the province is within the basin. Nor were cross-border movements consistently or completely documented, as Smith's analysis of discrepancies in Canadian and American counts of people dem-

onstrates. And although waters in a basin flow to a common outlet, people and goods within the Great Lakes region never did. The possibilities for other flows were only enhanced by nineteenth-century developments in transportation; by no means all the people, goods, and capital moving along, across, and through the basin flowed in specifically intraregional processes. These essays cannot comprehensively address all such issues, but they provide an excellent orientation through explicit consideration of their particular evidence and of a vast body of secondary literature. Collectively, they demonstrate the value and some of the ways of taking up the challenge of international and comparative regional study.

DOUGLAS MCCALLA
University of Guelph

SETH MALLIOS. *The Deadly Politics of Giving: Exchange and Violence at Ajacan, Roanoke, and Jamestown*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 150. Cloth \$44.75, paper \$21.50.

Seth Mallios has accomplished the difficult task of introducing a new framework for understanding the closely related, and heavily studied histories of Indian-colonial encounters at Ajacan, site of the small Jesuit mission on the James River (1570–1572), Roanoke Island (1584–1590), and early Jamestown (1607–1612). His argument is quite straightforward: Indians expected Europeans to trade with them in ways dictated by Native custom and protocol. When colonists met such expectations, relations between the parties tended to be peaceful; when they did not, hostility ensued, with the Indians often employing symbolic forms of violence that called attention to the Europeans' offenses. The causes, forms, and functions of Indian violence, in other words, made sense within a Native politico-cultural context.

Mallios will surprise few students of this period with his claim that Indians approached the earliest colonists as trade partners and tolerated their many provocations only to the extent that the newcomers fulfilled this role. Yet his interpretation of Indian forms of violence against colonists who disappointed them is decidedly novel. In the most striking of his examples, he suggests (convincingly to this reviewer's eyes) that the James River Indians who dispatched the Spanish Jesuit Mission at Ajacan in 1571 first offered the missionaries a false gift (promising to construct a church for them), then killed the missionaries with their own tools, to mock the Jesuits' refusal to trade such items. The Indians' purpose was to send a forceful message to the Jesuits' people about the need to abide by Native rules, and to reinforce within the Indian community the ongoing vitality of reciprocal values. The Algonquian-speaking tribes of coastal Carolina and Virginia's Tidewater employed similarly choreographed strikes to bring the colonists into line throughout their early exchanges with the English at Roanoke and Jamestown, usually following more temperate means, such as theft,

abandonment, and bluster. The longstanding historiographical question of why the Powhatans resisted wiping out Jamestown in favor of limited violence, despite their holding the balance of power and a long list of grievances against the English, can be answered in no small degree through Mallios's work.

Colonists' violation of Indian reciprocal customs was the most frequent cause of Indian violence against them. At each of the three colonies Mallios studies, Indians sustained Europeans with foodstuffs, a kind of gift giving that Natives likened to family members' care of one another. The Indians expected, in return, to receive the colonists' scrap copper, glass beads, and especially their metal tools and weapons. Sometimes, colonists reciprocated with little to no goods; the Jesuits at Ajacan, for instance, refused to trade their scanty supplies with nearby Indians based on the argument that they already provided them with religious instruction. In the cases of the English at Roanoke and Jamestown, the Natives took offense, not at the lack of trade but at the colonists' withholding of firearms, swords, and other valuable, potent goods; only enemies, not friends, insulted each other so. Colonists also provoked their Indian neighbors by trading with rival tribes, undermining the authority of the Tidewater's paramount chief, Wahunsonacock (or Powhatan), to control the distribution of foreign luxury goods to his tributary communities, and driving hard bargains with Native sachems even though Indian custom dictated reciprocal gift exchanges between elites. When Indians responded by refusing to feed such unappreciative neighbors, the English resorted to extorting Indian food at gunpoint. Such treatment ultimately taught the Indians that attempts to absorb Europeans into their systems of tribute and exchange were futile; as the story of colonial Virginia so powerfully illustrates, war between the peoples degenerated from politics by other means into something akin to unrestrained terror.

Mallios makes a valuable contribution in a mere 123 pages of text, but he could have presented his findings more effectively in an article rather than a book. He unnecessarily devotes a substantial amount of space to a review of widely familiar social scientific theories about exchange and society (such as the classic statements by Marcel Mauss), and to a discussion of his overly technical and schematic methodology of categorizing each and every incident of Indian-European exchange in the documentary record. Such extra bulk, much of it cluttered with anthropological jargon, will discourage historians from assigning this otherwise important book in their classes. Nevertheless, scholars of the early contact period in North America will want to closely consider Mallios's ideas about the central role of gift-exchange in native-newcomer affairs. This book takes us yet another step closer to making sense of what we once assumed were unintelligible, unknowable, Native behaviors.

DAVID J. SILVERMAN
George Washington University

DONNA MERWICK. *The Shame and the Sorrow: Dutch-Amerindian Encounters in New Netherland*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 332. \$49.95.

Donna Merwick intended her most recent book to be not only "properly researched and presented" history, but also "a step forward in the journey that history writing is always undertaking" (p. 332). Like her previous book, *Death of a Notary: Conquest and Change in Colonial New York* (1999), which experimented with tense and documents-that-might-have-been, this one pushes the boundaries of academic history. Historians appear in her scenes along with historical characters, and they occasionally interact. At one point she describes Peter Stuyvesant, the long-dead final governor of New Netherland, listening in and "nodding in agreement" as a group of modern historians discuss theories of colonialism (p. 260). Merwick's pulling the governor into the present, while disorienting, is also illuminating. Putting Stuyvesant in the same room with a bunch of living historians, however artificial the construct might be, reasserts his reality, his enduring presence.

Merwick's book is certainly interesting, often beautifully written, but it is also a strong contribution to historical scholarship. William Starna has argued that Dutch-Indian history was the "intellectual underling" of Dutch New World studies ("Assessing American Indian-Dutch Studies: Missed and Missing Opportunities," *New York History* 84:1 [2003]: 4–31). Few books followed up on Allen Trelease's 1960 *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century*, and those few drew mostly from secondary sources. Merwick's book does fill this gap, drawing from rich primary sources in both Dutch and English to sketch the neglected history of Indian-Dutch interaction. But Merwick's reach is much wider than Dutch-Amerindian history. Her narrative ranges freely across the Atlantic, demonstrating how Dutch intellectual and political movements influenced colonial enterprises, and, in turn, how violence between Dutch and Indians in the colony influenced discussions about national character back home. Dutch trade ventures in other parts of the globe—Batavia (Jakarta), Formosa (Taiwan), and Banda Niera (Indonesia)—also appear in Merwick's narrative as parallel examples of the Dutch approach to native populations. The book could be read as profitably by a Europeanist as an Americanist. It is world history.

Merwick begins her story by establishing the Dutch preoccupation with trade. In each potential colony, the Dutch searched for "an island," a place from which trade could conveniently operate. They were interested in establishing trade centers, not settlements, content to stay "alongshore" rather than to push into the interior. Eager to differentiate themselves from the Spanish, who had enslaved natives and seized their land, the Dutch made a point of recognizing native sovereignty in America. These approaches reflected an emerging

Dutch national identity that stressed tolerance, pluralism, and antimilitarism.

Despite these ideals, violence entered the Dutch-Indian relationship rather quickly. Following the pattern of their English neighbors, the Dutch began demanding protection money, or "*brandschatting*," from local natives in 1639. In 1640, when natives refused to pay, Dutch soldiers attacked, launching a series of raids and skirmishes which Merwick likens to the "*kleine krieg*" the Dutch knew from their years resisting the Spanish. Among the most devastating—and most painful to Dutch recollection—was the 1643 massacre of eighty Indians at Pavonia, a native settlement across the river from New Amsterdam. This attack was a clear violation of Dutch condemnations of preemptive war and a "disgrace to our nation" (p. 169).

These words were penned by Cornelis Melijn, a former colonist who returned to Holland to publish a book criticizing the West India Company's management of affairs in New Netherland. Merwick's account of the impact of Melijn's book reveals the increasing gulf between the identity the Dutch claimed for themselves and the actions their global representatives carried out in their far-flung trade empire. His words joined those of writers recounting the 1636 Dutch massacre of two or three hundred natives on Lamay, off of Formosa, and their near extermination of the native population of Banda for refusal to yield to Dutch trading demands. All challenged the "emerging ethical goals of the new republic" (p. 171) and led to a growing sense of guilt and dismay among the Dutch, including New Netherland's last governor, Stuyvesant, whom Merwick uses as a focus for the last troubled years of Dutch rule.

The "shame and the sorrow" of Merwick's title reflects the failure of Dutch ideals in New Netherland, and the surprisingly rapid replacement of them with actions and attitudes the Dutch professed to despise. Merwick's study vividly demonstrates that, contrary to popular belief, colonial ventures based on trade, rather than settlement, were not immune from the violence that plagued native relationships with the English and Spanish.

JENNY HALE PULSIPHER
Brigham Young University

DANIEL P. BARR, editor. *The Boundaries between Us: Natives and Newcomers along the Frontiers of the Old Northwest Territory, 1750–1850*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2006. Pp. xix, 261. \$52.00.

In this sleek work, eleven original essays explore contacts, internal dynamics, and interactions among Europeans, Indians, and Americans in the greater Old Northwest from about 1750 to 1850. Diverse methodologies address spatial relationships, including spatial perceptions. The essays stress sociocultural and ideological intricacies generated via fluctuating political entities and abruptly fluid realities. Sharply contrasting world views, aspirations, and capabilities, underscored

by receding British power, operated to scour Indian power and culture from the region. These essays update understandings and blaze new paths.

Editor Daniel P. Barr's concise introduction includes sweeping overviews and some historiography and methodology. It also encapsulates each essay. Andrew Cayton, Peter Onuf, Richard White, and others receive homage, and most essayists handle historiography skillfully, offering useful updates and revisions and glimpses of "New Indian" literature. Most essayists respect the era's murky and, at times, spongy and contradictory evidence and refrain from trying to pry too much from it; sensibly, most couch conclusions tentatively. Although some essayists bruise Quakers for obtuseness and decry British bullheadedness, most eschew presentism and try to fathom with empathy activities and understanding on the era's terms, placing healthy emphasis on Indian agency, evolving porous boundaries, and imperfect knowledge. Perhaps essayists Lisa Brooks and Frazer Dorian McGlinchey display the most sophisticated spatial insights.

The essays illuminate the actors' cultural baggage and the frequent need to rearrange and even jettison some baggage. They clarify roles of captivity and release, honor and shame, threats and enticements, and resistance and accommodation, as well as multiple and shifting contingencies and often jarring unintended consequences of seemingly inconsequential acts. Throughout, misconceptions, flawed communication, imperfect understandings, clashing visions, irrationalities, and often wobbly decision making surface. Essayists nuance ever-shifting dynamics involving binding policy and rogue elements, political bases and splintered factions, institutions and solitary members, and core constituencies and fringe actors, providing proof of the era's dynamic complexities and uncertainties that influenced human activities in the Old Northwest. Clearly, the region was a vast petri dish of contested possibilities.

The work sports solid organization, both chronologically and geographically. The first four essays address Indian-newcomer frictions, intracolonial and intra-tribal dynamics, and evolving imperial struggles prior to 1776, highlighting the Appalachian region and eastern parts of the Old Northwest during a time when all parties confronted stark new worlds. Highly complex and ultimately insoluble tasks confronting Britain receive sophisticated treatment. The remaining seven essays stress nonmilitary intricacies among various parties from the revolution to the late 1840s, with increasingly isolated Indians facing mounting American pressures as British support evaporated.

The eleven essays address immense ranges of subjects: captives, war, and delicate multi-party diplomacy; Western Delaware use of both precise terror and artful diplomacy to attain limited goals; revisionist shrinking of Pontiac's role in the events of 1763, and examinations of collective identity, ethnogenesis, and intertribal diplomacy to generate pan-tribal cohesion and launch war; surging British goodwill toward Indians after 1763

accompanying Britain's daunting effort to insure order and justice in the vast, turbulent, and vulnerable trans-Appalachian region, an undertaking sabotaged by dwindling resources, dichotomous duties, vacillating policies, economic and social dislocations, and ever-rambunctious colonists; Joseph Brant and Hendrick Aupaumut's competing world views and responses to American expansion, neither of which succeeded; New Englanders' fanciful assumptions, vaunting expectations, and willful blindness concerning Marietta, Ohio, and their impact on perceptions of landscape; Little Turtle, Jean Baptiste Richardville, and William Wells's multiple and sometimes conflicting roles amid evolving and porous Indian and American identities; Indian skills in negotiating American laws in homicide cases, including appellate processes, achieving at least modicum of fairness and stability; roles of traders in Indiana deliberately saddling Indians with debts, milking federal funds in the process, and greasing the skids for Indian removal; benefits of internal improvements unleashing numerous pressures against Indians, especially in Indiana; Keokuk's rehabilitation via an appreciation of his delicate maneuvering and posturing at critical junctures following Black Hawk's catastrophe, accomplishments enabling him and the Sacs to remain true to traditional ways and extract impressive concessions from the U.S. government. Essays comparing two or more prominent individuals work especially well. Copious and informative notes on historiography and other subjects grace most essays, and the work boasts an impressive bibliography and a functional index.

The work is lean and generally brisk, reflecting tight editing, and brims with information and understandings. Rats and bees, for example, presaged white settlement; whites captured few Indians; and in 1790–1791 U.S. forces incurred proportionately their largest and most lopsided defeats. The work puts new flesh on many of the era's key players. Understandings of land and control of land are central, and diverse regions and regional boundaries figure prominently. Simmering tensions and brutal conflict among the native populations and among the European powers complicate the movement of people, boundary formation, understandings of boundaries, and efforts to imbue boundaries with lasting significance. The work stresses physical, political, socioeconomic, and sociopsychological boundaries. Some boundaries are traditional, including rivers and treaty lines, while others are less traditional and include amorphous and fluid understandings, mental maps, and memories—mental boundaries that are both less fixed than rivers or lines drawn on maps but that triggered explosive emotions.

Somewhere, however, the work should have discussed theories and natures of boundaries, boundary formation, boundary functions, and inherent injustices and instabilities often associated with boundaries, especially cultural boundaries that are both nebulous and contested. Nowhere is the concept of boundary examined systematically. Nine of the eleven contributors are historians; strangely, no geographer appears. A geog-

rapher might have added insight concerning boundaries, diffusion, nodes, hierarchies, and other spatial relationships, including spatial perception formation and shifting perceptions.

Influences between Euro-Americans and Indians began well before physical contacts, each other's very existence triggering new awareness. Discussion of precontact awareness and significance might have enhanced the work. The American Bottom and other western portions of the Old Northwest are scantied, as are trans-Mississippi ties.

Some mistakes surface: Did Francis Parkman claim that only Forts Detroit and Pitt held out in 1763 (p. 44)? Is an event from the 1790s "colonial" (p. 100)? Does the Missouri River flow 100 miles *north* of St. Louis (p. 164)? Was Nomaque tried in 1825 (p. 170)? Did William and Samuel Whiteside command regiments, not companies (p. 176)? Was Thomas Jefferson President in 1800 (p. 200)? Some missteps: including Milo Milton Quaife's magisterial *Chicago and the Old Northwest, 1763–1835* among "selected works that have appeared" since 1990, given its original publication in 1913 (p. xviii); referring to "thousands of uncounted others driven from their homes," and then claiming such refugees "could not run" (p. 37); garbling a reference (p. 175, n. 6). The sole skimpy map is inadequate, especially given the emphasis on regions, boundaries, and movements; the bibliography contains few newspapers, nearly all eastern; occasional imprecise wording detracts; and repeated misuse of "between" for "among" grates.

This work presents part of a story that is essentially universal and timeless: the movement of diverse peoples across contested space. Despite some weaknesses, it provides crisp, timely, and exciting insights into the greater Old Northwest.

JAMES E. DAVIS
Illinois College

KATHLEEN DuVAL. *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006. Pp. 320. \$45.00.

Kathleen DuVal's first book is an engagingly written, clearly argued effort to convince American historians of the need to come to terms with "the Native Ground." At one level, doing so simply means dealing with a place that early Americanists routinely neglect: the Arkansas Valley, which in DuVal's terms encompasses the area between modern-day Arkansas and Missouri's eastern border at the Mississippi River and northeastern New Mexico and southeastern Colorado. Exemplary recent work by Alan Taylor (DuVal's mentor) and Colin Calloway notwithstanding, early Americanists do overlook this area. DuVal's book—and the fact that it appears in the prestigious "Early American Studies" list from the University of Pennsylvania's McNeil Center—is a welcome corrective to that sort of myopia.

In fact, however, focusing attention on this particular

slice of ground is the least of DuVal's contributions. Whether scholars are interested in the Arkansas Valley or not, all specialists in early American and Native American history should read this book because of what it has to say about Native Ground in general. On Native Ground, "colonialism met neither accommodation nor resistance but incorporation" (p. 5). Here, Indians defined everything from patterns of land use to international borders, while Europeans—on the ragged edge of empire and dependent on Native connections—"settled for simply carving out rights within native notions" (p. 10). In DuVal's reading, in fact, the most pronounced threat to this Native Ground prior to the 1820s came not from European empires but rather from other Indians intent on setting up their own versions of a Native Ground. And what of the Middle Ground, that other ground that has so dominated the historiography? "[O]nly relatively weak people desired the kind of compromises inherent in a middle ground" (p. 5). This is, then, a book about Indian power and the ways Indians used it in an ever-changing world. It offers both a timely rebuttal to the assumption that compromise is what people seek when they enter into cross-cultural relations and a persuasive reading of the varied strategies Natives used to hold (and even expand) their ground.

DuVal begins with a fine overview of the habits pre-Columbian societies bequeathed to the Arkansas Valley's people: defining borders, seeking power via extensive connections, intertwining diplomacy and exchange, and using inclusion to deal with diversity. She then turns to a very effective discussion of Native responses to Hernando de Soto, Francisco Coronado, and Juan de Oñate's expeditions, in the process clearly demonstrating just exactly what it meant for Europeans to be on Native Ground. Unfortunately, after that chapter, the western two-thirds of "the Heart of the Continent" essentially disappears from DuVal's book, which comes to focus on an area within a few hundred miles of the Mississippi, and particularly on the Osages and Quapaws. This narrowing of focus represents the book's signal shortcoming. Still, DuVal's subsequent treatment of Osage and Quapaw history provides a fine illustration of the Native Ground in action. She devotes a chapter apiece to strategies (Quapaw negotiation and incorporation vs. Osage trade and military expansion) for maintaining Native Grounds prior to the mid-eighteenth century. The next two chapters consider Osage and Quapaws responses to late eighteenth-century challenges from each other, from other Indians, and from an array of Europeans and Euro-Americans who required instruction about the realities of life on Native Ground. The book ends with two chapters that discuss the arrival of eastern immigrants who brought "A New Order" (chapter seven's title) in the early nineteenth century. This familiar story has an interesting twist: the easterners who defeated the Osages and began their dispossession were Cherokees seeking to create their own Native Ground. Their initial success was, however, wiped away by a flood of race-conscious Euro-Ameri-

cans whose arrival ends both the Native Ground and DuVal's book.

Throughout this narrative, Europeans emerge as the exotic other who are "incorporated" into "native-dominated" worlds (p. 10), while some Indians appear as non-native colonizers. Other Natives "enlisted Europeans into their service" (p. 101) and "proved far more successful than either France or Spain at building a mid-continental empire" (p. 103). Contrary to our assumptions, DuVal argues, Europeans "were peripheral to a Native American core" (p. 246); they mattered, "[b]ut mattering and dominating are not the same" (p. 246). In making these arguments, DuVal is careful to distinguish the Native Ground from the Middle Ground, but at times—particularly when the book turns to the period after 1763—the differences are not as pronounced as DuVal suggests. Or, put another way, it is possible that the Quapaws, Osages, and their Native neighbors were forced off the Native Ground prior to the nineteenth century. Whatever the case, however, DuVal is to be commended for providing us with a provocative and powerful introduction to the Native Ground. This is a valuable book.

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BRENDAN MCCONVILLE. *The King's Three Faces: The Rise and Fall of Royal America, 1688–1776*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 2006. Pp. xii, 322. \$39.95.

Brendan McConville's political history of eighteenth-century America inspires a string of adjectives: provocative, original, clever, iconoclastic, and querulous. In no uncertain terms, McConville argues that other historians working in this period have got it all wrong. The problem, he believes, is that they have viewed the decades before independence as a long run-up to revolution and, as a result, have failed to hear what ordinary people actually had to say about their political identity within the British Empire. "Thus the provincial world," McConville declares, "has been filled with protorepublicans, readers of Country pamphlets, rising assemblies, plain-folk Protestants, budding contract theorists, protocapitalists, proliberals, modernizers—in short, future Americans" (p. 4). In his bracing root-and-branch attack on current orthodoxies few major scholars receive high marks. They have erred most egregiously by not appreciating just how much ordinary colonists loved their king.

McConville's argument turns on an astute observation about how the celebration of kingship after the Glorious Revolution diverged in England and America. Of course, English people were happy the Stuarts had fled, taking their authoritarian notions with them. The Hanoverians brought stability to the nation, and at a time when everyone seemed fearful of Catholic plots, George I preserved the Protestant succession. As historian Linda Colley has observed, however, the early

Hanoverians possessed only modest charisma. Spending much of their time in Germany, they led secretive lives and did almost nothing to promote a popular cult of the monarchy. It was not until the late 1780s that an ailing George III revealed his own vulnerability, and thus his humanity to an adoring public.

Perhaps because they lived so far away from the center of empire, Americans did not know much about the personalities who held the crown. During most of the eighteenth century, in fact, the colonists described British monarchs in abstract terms that possessed only a tenuous relation to the royal figures who inhabited the English court. The king imagined in America was a loving, benevolent father. He worried about properly protecting his distant subjects from aggressive French Catholics who were busy scheming to conquer British North America. Indeed, by 1760 the colonists had woven the stolid Hanoverians into a tapestry of ideas about the empire and their place within it. This was the stuff of colonial nationalism. Leading gentry families throughout America fell all over themselves competing for crumbs of royal favor. For many this was a doomed pursuit. As McConville explains, the colonial population was expanding too rapidly during this period ever to sustain a proper provincial court life. There was never enough patronage to go round. Reformers in England and America realized that the entire system required major reform, but no one in London could be persuaded that the empire was really under stress.

Since America's king was an abstract figure, people of very different political persuasions had no trouble invoking the monarch in support of their cause. Members of rival groups claimed with utter sincerity that once the crown had studied the facts, he would spring to their defense. But for all the tokens of affection that he received from his American subjects, the king showed remarkable indifference to their grievances. When the colonists learned of the Stamp Act, they almost reflexively appealed to the loving father for relief. Not surprisingly, George III threw his political weight behind parliamentary sovereignty, and after enduring insult and indifference, the colonists finally realized that this particular monarch was no friend. At that moment spurned love triggered popular rage, and the American people who had so long protested their loyalty to the monarch gave birth to a new republic.

McConville deserves praise for rethinking the narratives of colonial political culture. He brings to the task a fresh interdisciplinary perspective. He has a highly developed eye for the interpretive possibilities of artifacts, and in one impressive section, he shows how the consumer revolution of the mid-eighteenth century brought into the households of ordinary people ceramics and prints bearing the stylized image of an American king. These everyday objects were woven into a cult of popular monarchy. McConville also forces us to reconsider what we think we know about ritual celebrations organized throughout British America in observance of royal birthdays and coronations.

However ingenious McConville's thesis may be, we

may hesitate before casting aside all the works which he claims have roiled the interpretive waters. His battle against teleology occasionally takes on a tendentious quality. While ordinary colonists surely loved the king, they also believed that the famed balanced constitution explained why they were the freest and most prosperous people in the world. When parliament threatened their rights, they cried out to the king for protection; when George III reminded them of Charles I, they remembered lessons taught by John Locke. Like McConville's king the people had several different faces.

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BRUCE ACKERMAN. *The Failure of the Founding Fathers: Jefferson, Marshall, and the Rise of Presidential Democracy*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. 384. \$29.95.

According to Bruce Ackerman, the Founding Fathers made a number of critical errors in their writing of the U.S. Constitution. These included, among others, that they did not foresee the problems of having the vice president count the Electoral College votes or the possible difficulty of a "lame duck" congressional session. However, the most serious shortcomings of the Founders were their failures to anticipate the development of a plebiscitarian presidency and modern political parties.

Ackerman's ambitious work argues that it was the conflict between a victorious Thomas Jefferson, as a plebiscitarian president in 1801, and the Supreme Court, led by Federalist John Marshall, that resulted in a new workable synthesis between the Court and a popularly elected president. Jefferson's election marked a "constitutional transformation in American history," Ackerman claims, that represents "the birth-agony of the plebiscitarian presidency" when "for the first time in American history, a president ascended to the office on the basis of a mandate from the People for sweeping transformation" (p. 5).

The book is divided into two parts. Part one, "The People's President," focuses on the election of 1800 and the ultimate victory of Jefferson and the Republicans. Much of this part of the story is familiar: the real threat of violence, the bitter polarization with each side distorting the dangers of electing their opponents, the role of Federalist James Bayard in breaking the deadlock in the House of Representatives, the statesmanship of President John Adams in removing the crisis with France as an issue, and the "dumb luck" of Jefferson, who skillfully orchestrated his own victory in the House. Ackerman's praise of Aaron Burr's "statesmanship" and as an "unsung hero," however seems problematic, since Burr's failure to seal the deal with the Federalists most likely was a failure of nerve rather than an act of "statesmanship."

Part two, "The People and the Court," deals with the conflict between the victorious Republicans and the Federalist-dominated Supreme Court led by Marshall,

and includes the Republicans' repeal of the Federalist Judiciary Act of 1801, the impeachment of Justice Samuel Chase, and the impeachment and conviction of District Judge John Pickering. Ackerman maintains that while *Marbury v. Madison* (1803) was, as has been long argued, a significant milestone in the history of the Supreme Court, a lesser known case, *Stuart v. Laird* (1803) in which the Court refused to challenge the Republican repeal of the Judiciary Act, was also of considerable historic significance. *Marbury*, he asserts, was "part of a complex pattern of judicial accommodation to unanticipated forms of popular sovereignty," while the combination of *Marbury* and *Stuart* gave "promise of a distinctive judicial function." For in the future "it would be the great task of the Supreme Court to weave recurring popular mandates, claimed by victorious presidents and their political parties, into the preexisting constitutional traditions of the American people" (p. 242). In other words, Jefferson's victory in 1800 and the ensuing confrontation with the Supreme Court created a powerful precedent that worked in the future toward the maintenance of an equilibrium between the two branches of the federal government.

To further illustrate his point, Ackerman compares Jefferson's election and administration with that of Franklin Delano Roosevelt following his 1932 election and both presidents' subsequent conflict with the Court. This comparison, however, tends to distort rather than illuminate the uniqueness of the political context of the early republic, for while there might have been some similarities between the two presidents, these were far overshadowed by the fundamental differences.

A key to Ackerman's analysis is his characterization of Jefferson's "transformation of the presidency into a plebiscitarian office" which Jefferson had captured by "organiz[ing] a political party to serve as a springboard into the executive mansion" (p. 143). This party, he insists, marked the beginning of "[r]ecognizably democratic political parties" (p. 5). The assertion that Jefferson was a plebiscitarian president at the head of a popular "movement-party" (p. 21), however, raises more questions than it answers. While Ackerman pays lip service to the uniqueness of the "parties" of 1800 with their anti-party biases, he never explains how and when the Republicans morphed into a more modern version of a political party.

Ackerman's book is interesting and thought-provoking, but his use of the terms like "plebiscitarian" and "movement-party" seems to misrepresent the very nature of early republic politics. What did Jefferson's victory represent? It could hardly be called an outpouring of democratic sentiment with voters in only five states directly voting to choose electors by general ticket or district in 1800, in contrast to eight states in 1796. There is no question that Jefferson and his Republican colleagues fervently believed that they had rescued the republic by their victory and that it was a major transformational moment in the nation's history. But to impose terms with a much more modern connotation,

as Ackerman does, distorts rather than clarifies what the Republicans believed to be their "revolution of 1800."

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SAUL CORNELL. *A Well Regulated Militia: The Founding Fathers and the Origins of Gun Control in America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 270. \$30.00.

In May 1954, Chief Justice Earl Warren announced the Supreme Court's unanimous decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, following extensive argument the previous autumn respecting the original meaning of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Warren explained that the discussion had "cast some light" but that this illumination, such as it was, was "not enough to resolve the problem with which we are faced." Original meaning was neither ascertainable nor dispositive, Warren explained, not for the last time during his career. He then decided the most significant constitutional question of the twentieth century on grounds of justice and public policy, touching off a firestorm of critique focused on activism, subjective values, and legislating from the bench that continues unabated. Ultimately, the reaction against *Brown* ripened into the "originalism" of Justices William Rehnquist, Antonin Scalia, and Clarence Thomas, holding out original understanding as a supposed recipe for judicial neutrality, premised on historically ascertainable objective meaning.

For some enthusiasts and detractors, the meaning of the Second Amendment right to arms (perhaps as reconfigured by the Fourteenth Amendment during Reconstruction) presents a similarly pressing question of constitutional interpretation, a question whose resolution (like that of Equal Protection before it) has been too long deferred. And as the debate over the Second Amendment and gun control has heated up in recent decades, partisans of all stripes have invoked originalism—now the dominant constitutional philosophy—to legitimize their answers to questions focused on the permissibility of gun regulation or prohibition. Much writing by advocates and by pedigreed academics has probed the original meaning of the Second Amendment, with monographs of relatively fresh vintage exploring the problem from the standpoint of cultural theory and constitutional values (David C. Williams, *The Mythic Meanings of the Second Amendment* [2003]), constitutional doctrine and theory (H. Richard Uviller and William G. Merkel, *The Militia and the Right to Arms, Or, How the Second Amendment Fell Silent* [2003]), seventeenth-century English roots (Joyce Lee Malcolm, *To Keep and Bear Arms: The Origins of an Anglo-American Right* [1996]), and alleged nineteenth-century transformations (Stephen P. Halbrook, *Freedmen, The Fourteenth Amendment, and the Right to Bear Arms, 1866–1876* [1998]). Saul Cornell's new book synthesizes his decade-long research and writing in the field and

develops a sophisticated and insightful new perspective that shuns monocausal explanation in favor of nuance and appreciation of complexity. In the process, Cornell has crafted what may well be the most balanced and informed account of the Second Amendment's shifting popular and judicial interpretations over the two plus centuries since its ratification.

In other venues, Cornell has not been shy about his views on the politics of gun control, but this is not a teleological or instrumental history. Indeed, only in the short concluding chapter does Cornell address the current political and jurisprudential setting at all. Most of his fast-paced book is narrative rather than argumentative in style, and a reader might well come away with the impression that Cornell wrote not so much for the sake of joining a debate as for the challenge and joy of exploring and explaining his subject. His overarching theme is that there have been during various periods of American history at least four major interpretative spins to the right to arms, each of which has been embraced in different contexts and eras by elite jurists and by populists alike. During the founding period, a civic reading, stressing an individual right conterminous with the duty to serve in the lawfully established militia, appeared self-evident and sensible to Federalists and moderate Anti-Federalists alike, and informed James Madison's drafting of the amendment during the First Congress. Cornell draws heavily on his expertise respecting radical Anti-Federal thought in the 1780s and 1790s to trace the origins of a second strain of gun rights rhetoric, presenting itself as the far more localistic, antistatist, and at times individualistic claim to arms among the Carlisle rioters, Shaysites, and Whiskey rebels.

Also in play even before the Constitution and then the Bill of Rights were ratified was a third variant of Second Amendment thought, a state focused interpretation that viewed control of the militia as the ultimate check on federal tyranny, and in some cases blended into the compact theory of the constitution that in extreme form saw secession and revolution as legitimate responses to national usurpation of state authority. But as Cornell explains things, the fourth version of the Second Amendment right—the familiar modern view celebrating a personal right to hold weapons for individual self defense against aggressors (including perhaps government agents)—did not emerge until the Jacksonian era, did not acquire mainstream support until Reconstruction, and did not threaten to supplant a judicial consensus in favor of the civic model until our own time.

Cornell is careful to distinguish between the right to self-defense long asserted on a subconstitutional level in gun-related cases and the Second Amendment-based claim to constitutional immunity against gun regulation that has come into its own in the late twentieth century. This analytic precision yields rich rewards in recapturing popular as well as elite approaches to many semi-famous and some previously obscure gun-related controversies that Cornell elucidates in fascinating detail. His account of Reconstruction, in particular, weaves to-

gether new, old, forgotten, and original scholarship concerning the "Negro Militia," the Ku Klux Klan, and the contested Fourteenth Amendment to present a fuller picture and more theoretically cogent explanation of the contested and transformed right to arms than I have seen before.

Cornell's history of gun rights and gun control in the United States is accessible and lively, but the engaging style belies an impressive seriousness of purpose and approach. The rich annotations make clear that Cornell has read and accounted for vast swaths of the expansive body of evidence, scholarship, and polemic in the field. It is hard to imagine that anyone else has read more about the history of gun rights in America; the notes themselves are of no inconsiderable value and interest. The passionate nature of the subject makes it unlikely that any one book—even one as well qualified as this—will dominate the field. Other scholars will offer other (I suspect less informed and less balanced) spins. In the meantime, Cornell's conflicted, constantly turning, frequently ironic tale will make sane constitutionalists inside and outside academia and the judiciary despair of discovering one definitive, immutable meaning to the right to arms. It might even cause some fair-minded readers to abandon any pretence that either in 1789–1791 or 1866–1868 a constitutional majority of Americans embraced a wholly privatistic notion of the constitutional right to arms. But Warren's style of pragmatism has long since ceased to command a consensus on the Supreme Court, and should the High Court chose finally to expound on the right to arms, hopes that an informed, nuanced, subtle, and well-rounded history might contribute to a humanized and humbled originalist approach to Second Amendment interpretation might prove unduly sanguine. It is sadly just as likely that bad history written by a less able scholar than Cornell will provide a pretext for value-laden, results-oriented, activist legislation from the bench.

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RONALD KAHN and KEN I. KERSCH, editors. *The Supreme Court and American Political Development*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2006. Pp. x, 494. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$19.95.

Historians' openness to interdisciplinary theories and methods is longstanding. Drawing on Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek's work on state-building, the contributors to Ronald Kahn and Ken I. Kersch's edited collection offer new analyses and narratives connecting American political development and the Supreme Court. The "new institutionalism" that historians associate with Orren and Skowronek influences the conception of American political development articulated in the editor's introduction and carried through in the case studies that follow. Still, although each essay argues well the virtues of adhering to historical time, citations to historical literature are exceptional. Indeed,

Kahn and Kersch target political science and legal policy studies that explain Supreme Court decisionmaking as the reflection of the judge's behavioral attitudes or party identification.

The essays thus go beyond behavioralist and policy interpretations, explaining and evaluating judicial decision making within a careful and insightful construction of changing historical contexts. Kahn and Kersch's introduction outlines the central debate over the separation between law and politics. The editors distinguish legalists, who contend that law and judicial decisions reflect an autonomous process immune to external interest-group pressures, from behaviorists and policy experts, who contend that judges act merely in accord with preexisting attitudes and policy preferences rooted in personal background and/or party identification. During the 1960s scholars of comparative politics such as Theda Skocpol challenged the behaviorists' policy assumptions, arguing that attention to historical contingency was essential in order to understand how institutions operated. The focus of American political development "is decidedly less presentist and more historical . . . it is less interested in decisions made by individuals (at least as they are said to reflect the individual's autonomous preferences) than on how the institutions structure their choices" (p. 8) over time.

Mark Tushnet considers interactions between the Court and the political parties dominating Congress and the president in the 1930s, and respectively, the Warren Court and Rehnquist Court eras. Howard Gillman studies closely the influence of Kennedy-Johnson administrations on the Warren Court's liberal judicial activism during the 1960s. The other case studies examine more directly the changing treatment of constitutional rights claims from the mid-nineteenth century to the millennium era. Mark A. Graber finds legal autonomy, strategic policy concerns, and personal attitudes interacting to influence the Supreme Court's Jacksonian Democrat and Republican appointees' conflicting decisions in state and federal legal tender cases (1863, 1870–1871), and regarding congressional withdrawal of jurisdiction on behalf of radical Reconstruction in *Ex Parte McCardle* (1868).

A similar interaction among institutional autonomy, policy expectations, and attitudes is at work in Wayne D. Moore's examination of the interest-group and ideological factors shaping the battle over the Fourteenth Amendment's passage compared to the Court's controversial decision in the *Slaughter-House Cases* (1873); Pamela Brandwein's recovery of the forgotten "state neglect" doctrine in cases requiring racially equal access to property and physical security but not "public accommodations" such as theaters, in the Court's invalidation of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 in the *Civil Rights Cases* (1883); Julie Novkov's penetrating analysis of the southern antimiscegenation laws affirmed in *Pace v. Alabama* (1883); Carol Nackenoff's excellent study of reform groups' contrary motivations and outcomes in struggles over Native Americans' citizenship and tribal rights between the 1880s and the Progressive era and

the 1920s–1930s; Kersch's revisionist argument that the Court's switch from opposing to supporting the rights of organized labor resulted in a return to *Lochner* jurisprudence in order to uphold blacks' civil rights; Thomas M. Keck's study of the Court's partial rejection of conservative activists' attack on affirmative action; and Kahn's study of the constitutionalization of gay rights in *Romer v. Evans* (1996) and *Lawrence v. Texas* (2003) compared to women's right to privacy in abortion cases.

Historians undoubtedly can benefit from reading these essays. Nevertheless, this reviewer was left wondering why the authors did not engage the relevant historical literature to a greater extent. The University Press of Kansas deserves commendation for making this book affordable as a paperback.

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ERIC WERTHEIMER. *Underwriting: The Poetics of Insurance in America, 1722–1872*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 187. \$50.00.

Eric Wertheimer explores how capitalism, via understandings of insurance, was written into American literature in the period from 1722 through 1872. Grounded in literary theory, his book challenges readers to rethink the relation between art and commerce in America before the Civil War.

Wertheimer begins with a provocative question: can the world be underwritten? To get at this question, Wertheimer does not explore the history of the insurance industry or business practice. Rather, he examines how several major writers of the period—Benjamin Franklin, Phillis Wheatley, Noah Webster, Herman Melville, and Ralph Waldo Emerson—wrote insurance and commerce into their literature. Focusing on each writer in succession, Wertheimer connects each to insurance, risk, and loss, with the book becoming a series of intellectual meditations that are roughly chronological and place-based.

Wertheimer argues that insurance is a "writing business" that "colonized" economic life. He further asserts that the insurance business "may be viewed as essential to a material, ideological, and aesthetic reckoning with the emergence of American literature" (pp. xii–xiii). Connecting these forms of writing, Wertheimer seeks to reconcile property, text, and cultural discourse. Inventive, as well as sometimes insightful and tendentious, Wertheimer reveals both the importance of insurance to capitalism (and insurance is certainly understudied) and the ways that the language of loss and risk were embedded in the literature and writing of eighteenth and nineteenth-century America.

In his chapter on Franklin, Wertheimer argues that Franklin's disciplined *Autobiography* and *Poor Richard's Almanack* have embedded in them tropes of loss and uncertainty that help us to understand both his scientific experimentation and economic activities. Likewise, in founding a mutual insurance company, the Phil-

adelphia Contributionship, Franklin sought to ameliorate loss and render the world more stable. In so doing, he underscored the logic of capitalism that was so much a part of this colonial era. He also acknowledges in both his writing and action that "anything might be underwritten" and transformed into a commodity (p. 59).

Subsequent chapters on Wheatley, Webster, Melville, and Emerson similarly connect the writing process to commercialism in various guises. Webster, for example, created an early form of workmen's and unemployment insurance, which was an early effort to underwrite loss for social benefit. Yet, he did so within the framework of a money-based capitalism that recognized the sanctity of economic contracts. Melville, meanwhile, struggled to make sense of technology-driven capitalism in his work. At once more skeptical than Webster or Franklin, Melville's work, including *The Confidence-Man*, "Bartleby the Scrivener," and especially "The Lightning-Rod Man," reveals the uncertainty and untrustworthiness of contracts and experience. For Melville, "America was becoming a place averse to acknowledging tragedy, that grim ceremony being cheerfully usurped from art by the profitability of insurance" (p. 117).

By the time Emerson's home burned in 1872, insurance had triumphed completely, at once enslaving and teaching about modernity and the corporate individualism that had become commonplace in American life. This process of pooling risk and rendering the world in terms of monetary value had become normative, and was being woven not just into the fabric of commercial life but also into literary and artistic life. Yet, the triumph of insurance was not without its instability. Indeed, in a particular acute observation made early in the book, Wertheimer observes that insurance itself suggests a vulnerability of capitalism because its attempt to "socialize capital" by pooling risk indicates the business community's recognition that there might be instability underneath a society where everything has become a commodity (p. 11).

At times insightful, the arguments in Wertheimer's study nonetheless are compromised by a lack of historical specificity. The author pays little serious attention to matters so important to history as a disciplinary practice: change over time, context, and concrete historical detail. Although this book primarily has a literary orientation, it nonetheless should have taken more seriously the world of, as well as scholarship on, capitalism and commerce. For example, although Wertheimer seems aware that life, fire, marine, and accident insurance have profoundly different historical vectors, he lumps them together under the single rubric of underwriting. Likewise, the development of the insurance business is not well historicized; it is as if these distinct businesses—and capitalism itself—emerged fully mature at birth.

Indeed, attention to the historical specificity of insurance practice would have led for a more nuanced book. Wertheimer would have discovered, for example,

that in the 1850s many fire insurers and their clients had as much skepticism about underwriting contracts as Melville expressed. And, during much of the nineteenth century, fire insurance in America was a dicey business, one in which profitability was less assured than the landscape.

If this book does not expand our understanding of American commercial activity, we should nonetheless recognize what Wertheimer does well. He offers a close and provocative reading, as well as a contribution to the study of American literature. He provides insight into the writing of American literature and several of its key figures, making a suggestive argument about their connections to nineteenth-century America's growing commercial orientation.

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ROBERT J. MILLER. *Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis and Clark, and Manifest Destiny*. Foreword by ELIZABETH FURSE. (Native America: Yesterday and Today.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2006. Pp. xix, 214. \$49.95.

Robert J. Miller's book examines the legal history of the "doctrine of discovery," the Lewis and Clark expedition, and U.S. claims to the Pacific Northwest. After a short introduction that defines the doctrine of discovery, he develops his argument in three stages. First, he outlines the history of discovery as articulated in medieval and early modern Europe and in colonial America and the early national United States. Next, he focuses on Thomas Jefferson, marshalling voluminous documentary evidence to detail Jefferson's views of U.S. government authority over Indians and Indian territory; he discusses the contradiction between Jefferson's idealistic vision of Indians and his actions, which promoted aggressive acquisition of Indian lands and removal or outright extermination of Indians. Finally, the author analyzes the Lewis and Clark expedition as a manifestation of discovery and systematically describes how discovery was applied to the Oregon country between 1803 and 1855. At the end of the book, Miller briefly sketches out the subsequent application of the discovery doctrine in U.S. Indian law through 2005 and explains the ramifications of the book's findings.

Miller concludes that Jefferson was an aggressive expansionist who used the doctrine of discovery to justify westward expansion and the seizure of Indian territory. He argues that the doctrine prompted Jefferson to dispatch Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to solidify U.S. ownership of the Northwest, that the explorers' journey played an important role in U.S. expansion through application of the principle of discovery, and that the expedition demonstrates how Jefferson was responsible for putting the idea of Manifest Destiny into motion. The author further asserts that Manifest Destiny emerged naturally out of the concept of discovery. More broadly, Miller says that his book proves "the pervasive presence of Discovery in the past 400 years of

Euro-American interactions with the indigenous people of North America" (p. 174).

Miller emphasizes that his book is most innovative in examining historical texts in a legal light. While his legal insights add a new perspective, however, some historians might find the style of his writing too legal in orientation—not because it is too technically legal (indeed, important legal concepts are explained carefully) but rather because much of the book is framed like a legal brief rather than as historical analysis. His methodical presentation of evidence to prove his argument about the doctrine of discovery may strike some historians as repetitive. Others may be unconvinced by his apparent assumption that a historical figure's reference to only one element of Miller's multifaceted definition of discovery necessarily constituted endorsement of the entire doctrine. Often the evidence he presents is not actually a clear and explicit articulation of discovery power. For example, one might reasonably question whether the Indian commerce clause "unambiguously granted the Doctrine of Discovery powers to Congress" (p. 44). Furthermore, some historians may disagree with the author's presumption of continuity in the meaning of discovery. Most notably, Miller's definition of the doctrine presumes that when Europeans discovered and settled land in the Americas, Indians lost title to that land and were left with only a right of occupancy (p. 4). Yet, as Stuart Banner amply demonstrates in *How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier* (2005), during the colonial period discovery did not confer title, and Indians were viewed as retaining ownership of their lands. Only later were the terms of discovery redefined to deny Indian land ownership.

Nonetheless, even if some of Miller's evidence is unconvincing, ultimately he is persuasive in making his case that a central legal ideology played a crucial role in justifying American assertions of jurisdiction over western territory and Native people. Miller convincingly demonstrates that Jefferson understood and applied elements of the doctrine of discovery in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He takes a fresh approach in placing the discovery doctrine at the center of analysis of the Lewis and Clark expedition, and he provides an interesting discussion of the explorers' use of rituals and symbols that echoed earlier European practices. Using discovery as a primary context for understanding the course of U.S. claims to the Oregon territory also adds a new perspective on the history of that region. This book complements other recent publications that make connections between the Lewis and Clark expedition and the history of U.S. imperialism, such as the spring 2004 special issue of the *Wicazo Sa Review*, which focused on the meaning of the expedition to Indians. In sum, Miller's legal insights provide a useful contribution to scholarship on Jefferson, Lewis and Clark, the Louisiana Purchase, the Pacific Northwest, American expansionism, and U.S. Indian policy.

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THOMAS N. INGERSOLL. *To Intermix with Our White Brothers: Indian Mixed Bloods in the United States from Earliest Times to the Indian Removal*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2005. Pp. xxi, 450. \$39.95.

In the history of the United States, great anxiety over racial mixture has been a persistent theme in the documentary record, encompassing a range of human experiences, from stories about individuals who crossed the color line to policies of state espoused by empire builders and political elites. Given the omnipresence of the issue, it is surprising that so few historians have attempted to discover the roots of its significance. Thomas N. Ingersoll's book helps to fill in this gap.

Ingersoll begins with a comparison of Spanish, British, and French racial attitudes and the reluctance of colonial policy makers to advocate intermarriage as a strategy for expansion. He portrays Europeans, especially elites, as racial purists who saw Indians and people of mixed Indian and white descent as ineluctably inferior. In their eyes, intermarriage would lead to mongrelization and degeneracy. In contrast, Ingersoll argues, Indians accepted intermarriage and racial mixture, a claim he supports by pointing to Indians' widespread adoption of white, as well as black, captives taken in war. Turning next to the early national period, Ingersoll examines how white prejudice in the United States conceptualized the "half-breed" as dangerous and mentally unfit to belong in either white or Indian society. Here, to demonstrate Indian willingness to accommodate and "intermix with our white brothers," Ingersoll uses many individual case studies and pays particular attention to Indian participation in school education. In the third and final section of the book, Ingersoll focuses on the Indian removals of the antebellum period, comparing how Indian communities accepted mixed bloods as leaders while U.S. policymakers shunned and belittled them.

The geographic scope of the book often goes beyond the Indian mixed bloods in the United States of the book's title to include some examples of intermarriage in the fur trade at Hudson's Bay as well as discussion of Canadian policies toward miscegenation. However, because the earlier chapters mainly serve to provide the historical context for the Indian removal debates circa 1830, not surprisingly, it is the experiences of those tribes who faced removal most directly that contribute the largest amount of material to the book: the Five Tribes of the Southeast, especially the Cherokees and Choctaws, and the Native peoples of the Midwest.

Certainly, there is much truth to Ingersoll's interpretation. However, his starkly polarized argument does not always reconcile with his evidence. His juxtaposition of two extreme positions—complete white animosity toward Indian intermarriage and complete Indian acceptance of it—presents some awkwardness when, frequently, he has to point out that there were many exceptions. Moreover, his deep research into the topic and the thousands of people of mixed descent he men-

tions over the course of the book make Indian-white intermarriage seem commonplace, even integral, to the history of the United States. If so many Indians and whites intermarried or, through other circumstances, had children by each other, then what purpose and effect did antimiscegenation protestations actually have? By interweaving stories that show a reality of intermarriage with quotes from political leaders decrying racial hybridization, Ingersoll exposes a gap between social practices and ideological posturing that deserves further explanation.

Although it is his wealth of examples that sometimes undermines his argument, it is through these examples, in the depth and breadth of research data that Ingersoll has collected, that the book's importance and value are realized. Other scholars pursuing related research topics will undoubtedly come to depend on this as a crucial resource.

NANCY SHOEMAKER
University of Connecticut

MARLA R. MILLER. *The Needle's Eye: Women and Work in the Age of Revolution*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 302. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$24.95.

Moving from the celebrated upholsterer and legendary flag maker Betsy Ross to Mattel's Colonial Barbie, complete with eighteenth-century garb and quilt work, Marla R. Miller asks readers to reconsider the place of women's needlework in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. After evoking such mythologized and fabricated figures, this careful, richly detailed study unravels and reconstructs the working lives of unknown and unsung real women who plied the needle in the midst of multiple revolutions. In examining how women artisans experienced the clothing trades against the backdrop of early consumer and industrial transformations, Miller discovers "the extraordinary tenacity, and elasticity, of cultural constructions surrounding women and work, which have responded to economic exigency as circumstances demanded" (p. 6). As a focus for understanding women's work, the clothing trades present a good choice, employing more women in early New England than any other line of work outside of domestic service, and embracing a variety of occupational titles and activities.

Miller organizes her study into three parts. Her debt to and appreciation of the work of Laurel Thatcher Ulrich are clear. In the first section, Miller concentrates on clothing consumption and production, displaying an impressive ease and familiarity with terminology and techniques that will make this study a useful reference for anyone interested in changing fashions, material culture, and consumer experiences in the period.

The second section, devoted to the range of needlework from sewing and tailoring performed by women artisans to the ornamental skills and productions of elite women, highlights six women from in or near Had-

ley, Massachusetts, a rural Connecticut Valley community. Part of what makes these biographical and economic portraits so rich is the evidence. One woman, Elizabeth Porter Phelps, kept a memorandum book from the age of sixteen until her death at seventy; in it she recorded the myriad activities on her farm, from dipping candles to quilting, including references to the needlework of thirty women. A second remarkable source comes from a nineteenth-century newspaper editor, Sylvester Judd, who compiled fifty-six volumes of material on local history.

Carefully mining these sources—each presenting its own difficulties—and others, Miller reconstructs a complex world of women's work and relationships. She finds intersecting and overlapping spheres of household and community expressive of dense webs of connections shaping women's needlework within a changing marketplace. Particularly impressive is her reading of account books, documents that can pose narrative challenges. Out of countless transactions, Miller weaves together detailed portraits of women's needlework, their positions in communities, and their changing situations over time. Shifts in marital status, place of residence, and family responsibilities affected women's ability to pursue and to generate income from their artisanal labor. In her painstaking recovery of these women's needlework—for example, the postmarital tailoring engaged in by Tryphena Newton Cooke—Miller reveals the ways account books can obscure women's activities or lead historians to misrepresent them. Although Cooke disappeared from the accounts of a woman who hired her while she was unmarried, her husband's records make it clear that Tryphena continued to sew for the same client just as much after her marriage. The reader also comes to appreciate the poignant ruminations of the unmarried Rebecca Dickinson, a craftswoman who pursued gown making from the 1750s through the 1780s with considerable success and who was respected for her skills, yet who experienced continued regret about her marital state.

While the geographically narrow focus might raise some questions as to the broader applicability of Miller's analysis, the author does her best to suggest the connections that link the needlewomen she studies to urban, Atlantic, and industrial cultural and economic spheres. Well grounded in place and in the spaces in which women moved and worked, this book represents a solid addition to our understanding of women's laboring lives and interactions against the backdrop of revolutionary changes.

In the final part of the study, Miller takes a step back from her close reading of the sources to situate the importance of her research in the context of larger historical transformations. With a nod to Jeanne Boydston's analysis of the pastoralization of women's work, Miller closes with an engaging overview of the reasons why and ways in which mythologies of the good wife have hidden women's needlework from historical vision. In the decades after the 1876 Centennial, colonial and craft revivals, combined with changes in the gar-

ment industry and home sewing, led to a kind of forgetting: Americans “selectively remembered and revived women’s earlier work, celebrated the ornamental aspects of needlework, romanticized the tedious, and effaced the remunerative” (p. 212). With this study, Miller goes a long way toward curing that historical amnesia.

PATRICIA CLEARY
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SHARON BLOCK. *Rape and Secular Power in Early America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 2006. Pp. ix, 276. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

Sharon Block’s long-anticipated volume is a meticulously researched work that explores and analyzes the interrelationship of sexual power and sexual coercion. Using a variety of sources, including court records and papers, newspaper accounts, almanacs, diaries, letters, and fictional treatments of rape and seduction, Block has created an impressive work of legal/social/cultural history that builds upon and enhances the recent scholarship on sexuality and rape.

Block analyzes the shifts in ideology and practices that determined what early Americans actually considered rape, how they prosecuted it, and whom they punished for it. She also explores the reasons why women decided to report or not to report a sexual attack. By examining instances of coerced sex, as well as recorded acts of rape, she reveals the degree to which early American systems of sexual and social power intersected. Because the legal definition of rape in early America was so limited, many if not most rapes were never named in court records. Thus, Block’s inclusion of forced or coerced sexual acts not considered rape provides a broader and more realistic picture of sexual power and vulnerability. Since cultural beliefs promoted the idea that men were expected to pursue women and women were expected to resist, the line between persuasion and coercion was often blurred. However, some men believed force was acceptable if persuasion did not work. Block uses the often-cited Virginia planter William Byrd as an example, as well as mentioning less well-known men. As she observes, the power accorded some men by virtue of their race, economic situation, or social position allowed them to use that power to define a coercive sexual act as a consensual one. The power and position as household head also gave some men the motivation, desire, and opportunity to coerce sex from dependents within their households. In their position as patriarchs, some men coerced sex from their daughters, servants, and slaves, who often felt powerless to defy an authority figure. As Block notes, “men’s racial and class identities largely determined whether they could coerce sex undetected and unpunished, just as women’s identities determined their vulnerability to men’s sexual force” (p. 4).

This book is particularly valuable to scholars of rape,

sexuality, and gender relations for its breadth of coverage, both geographically and chronologically. From twenty colonies, states, and territories, Block has collected 912 incidents of coerced sex over a period of 120 years. By including all of the British North American mainland colonies/states between 1700 and 1820, Block is able to build upon and test the work of other scholars who have examined rape and coerced sex in specific colonies, states, or regions, and/or time periods. In particular, she challenges the idea that the “myth of the black rapist” did not develop until the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Block notes that more black men were indicted, convicted, and punished severely for sexual attacks than white men throughout the colonial period and after the American Revolution. This pattern of arrest and conviction then reinforced the idea that black men were more likely to rape than were white men, thus influencing the racial myths of the nineteenth century.

While maintaining that much of what she describes about rape and sexual coercion was true for all regions throughout the period of time covered in this book, Block does discuss some changes over time. For example, she notes that postrevolutionary views of capital punishment led to executions being abolished for most white rapists, but not for black rapists. In addition, the postrevolutionary discourse on rape politicized the act of rape, as fears of British and African American rapists transformed attacks upon individual white women’s bodies into perceived attacks on the new nation. In discussing the developing ideologies on rape and race, Block considers the rise in seduction literature in the postrevolutionary years, as well as examining actual cases of rape and coerced sex.

The book focuses solely on heterosexual rape, and some may take issue with this. However, the concept of homosexual rape (and homosexuality) did not exist during this time, although some men did rape other men and boys. In fact, all acts of extramarital sex, including sodomy, buggery, and rape were illegal in early America, and as Block points out there was also no concept of marital rape at this time. Some denseness and repetition occasionally mar Block’s writing, and she admits that her “multiplicity of approaches and sources” might result in “a messier story than we may prefer” (p. 243). Nevertheless, these are minor weaknesses in an otherwise outstanding volume. For those with an interest in early American social/cultural history, this painstakingly researched study is an important and valuable book.

MERRIL D. SMITH
Independent Scholar

MARY KELLEY. *Learning to Stand and Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America’s Republic*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 2006. Pp. x, 294. \$39.95.

One of the lasting influences of the Enlightenment was the celebration of education. Mary Kelley’s new book

demonstrates how that legacy extended to women. In the postrevolutionary era and early nineteenth century, young women displayed a passion for learning—a passion cultivated at female academies—for books, serious conversation, and intellectual attainment. This volume is really a prequel to Kelley's first book, *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America* (1984). In her earlier study, she detailed the successful careers of many "scribbling women," demonstrating how they combined business savvy with a domestic ideology that justified women's literary production. With this new book, we again run into Harriet Beecher Stowe and Catharine Maria Sedgwick, but now as the end point—the beneficiaries—of a thriving women's educational culture.

This study is an homage to the female scholars, mainly young, who attended the many female academies that proliferated in the early nineteenth century. Kelley has tracked down the personal letters of obscure students, who recount their love of learning. She includes a poignant letter from a dying mother, who refuses to have her daughter leave school to care for her. Nothing, this mother felt, should interfere with her daughter's education. Throughout this study, personal stories are intertwined with mounds of detail about curriculum, pedagogy, and the reading tastes of this new class of educated women.

Women attended these academies and seminaries at the same rate as men, which Kelley claims proves that the early republic fashioned a new role for women as makers of public opinion. The salon and tea table of the eighteenth century provided a model for the learned lady that translated into a more democratic liberal culture of literary societies, reading circles, and female academies. Education was a form of social capital for these young women, in many ways allowing parents to improve the lives of their daughters. The private ambition of these women also contributed to the growth of the antebellum middle class, which valued disciplined minds and the written word.

After reading this book, one might imagine that for most women education was liberating. On a much larger scale, the examples set by these women disproved the misogynistic assumption that brains were "sexed," and women were less capable than men of mastering intellectual pursuits. Yet a strictly progressive interpretation of Kelley's research would be incomplete. While antebellum America produced Margaret Fuller, the "American Corinne," a woman of letters, it also gave rise to Louisa S. McCord, a poet, critic, and fiercely loyal daughter of the Confederacy and defender of patriarchy. In Kelley's words, McCord "eras[ed] herself with the most traditional of feminine conventions," dismissing her career as inconsequential—writing to an editor that all she knew of herself was that she was born, married, and "not dead yet" (pp. 225–226).

Kelley might have chosen to explore the ideological limitations of education in more detail, especially its less than liberating potential for upholding hierarchies rather than toppling them. It would be fascinating, for

instance, to compare the educational ideology applied to women to that found at the United States Military Academy. As James Robbins contends in his new book, *Last in Their Class: Custer, Picket and the Goats of West Point* (2006), the most successful graduates were not the most dutiful scholars, but those who took risks, flaunted authority, and carved a masculine identity that celebrated a defiant style of leadership. The antebellum period prized men of action—and action and risk were the key traits that antebellum Americans insisted that women lacked. Herman Melville's *Bartleby the Scrivener* was not a hero, but an emasculated cog who mindlessly copied and never produced anything of his own. It is telling that the first American author to earn a living from writing, Washington Irving, never attended college and spent most of his life traveling; later, he proved his manhood by hunting buffalo on the prairies, claiming that the frontier offered the best rite of passage for young men.

Even without looking at West Point, the culture of male colleges instilled gendered values outside the classroom. In fact, from the eighteenth century onward college clubs served as the college-within-the-college at Princeton and Harvard. It was here that young men engaged in rivalry, fraternal bonding, and sexual banter. Female academies were very different institutions—a college is obviously more than its curriculum. It would have been revealing to see what these women were doing outside the classroom, acquiring knowledge beyond the academic.

So while, in places, it could have provoked the imagination more, overall this book fills an important gap in the historiography. Kelley has provided a wealth of detail about this lost world of educated women, which had a lasting impact on defining women's cultural authority in American society.

NANCY ISENBERG
University of Tulsa

TINA STEWART BRAKEBILL. *"Circumstances are Destiny": An Antebellum Woman's Struggle to Define Sphere.* (Civil War in the North.) Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2006. Pp. xx, 255. \$34.95.

This book is a biography of Celestia Rice Colby, a nineteenth-century Ohio school teacher, dairy farmer, reformer, and writer. Tina Stewart Brakebill attempts to put Colby's life into historical context, exploring it in relation to nineteenth-century farm life, reform movements, gender ideology, and the Civil War. The title is from an 1857 quote in Colby's diary in which she laments the disjuncture between the great aspirations she had for her life, and the little she felt she had accomplished with it. Her circumstances at the time—she was a married farm woman, the mother of young children, living in the home of her mother-in-law—had overwhelmed her, and left her no time to strive for other goals. Brakebill argues that Colby's frustrations and disappointments were rooted in the concept of "separate spheres," and that Colby spent much of her adult

life—often unsuccessfully—struggling against this constraining notion of womanhood.

Brakebill asserts, for example, that in writing for publication, Colby acted “outside the bounds of acceptable female behavior” (p. 34). This is somewhat odd, given the vast numbers of women who wrote for publication in the United States by the 1850s. Certainly one could find Americans who would claim such actions were outside “woman’s sphere,” yet, despite massive evidence to the contrary, Brakebill assumes that those who disagreed with Colby were in the mainstream, and that Colby was unusual. Colby herself argued that most Americans did not hold such a narrow vision of womanhood. In 1853 for example, she wrote in a farm journal that “It seems there are some even in this age of progress” who believe that woman’s “sphere” consists merely of “kitchen duties” and that education would “unfit” them for this sphere (p. 52). Thus, she asserted, such a narrow vision of woman’s sphere was backward and out of date. Colby was not attempting to move outside of the dominant gender ideology here; she was arguing that the true boundaries of that ideology were quite expansive.

In addition, Colby’s complaints about living in a “narrow unknown sphere” are not just criticisms of gender ideology (p. xii). They are also the feelings of a would-be intellectual trapped in the “drudgery” of manual labor. While Brakebill suggests that Colby saw her work on a dairy farm as drudgery because of the pastoralization of housework, her evidence suggests otherwise. As she put it in 1860: “I *am* something *more* than a machine, or an animal; I have *soul needs* that are just as imperative wants, necessities of being as is the air I breathe. But alas Earth has no food to nourish them, none that is attainable to me” (p. 142). Colby clearly knew her work on the farm was work; after all, she referred to herself as a machine. She found it dissatisfying, called it drudgery because it was manual labor: work for the body, not for the mind and soul. Colby aspired to be an intellectual. She wanted time to write and congenial people with whom to share her ideas, but her circumstances allowed for neither. Farm work and child care took up all her time, and she lived with her husband’s family: a group of people who “trammelled, repressed and dwarfed” her with their “opinions, prejudices and cold mercenary spirit” (p. 116). Her discontent was in part rooted in their attitudes toward women, and in part in the intellectual isolation of rural life and the heavy burdens of dairy farming.

Brakebill relies heavily on the Colby Collection in the Illinois State Archives, which includes Colby’s journals, letters, and newspaper clippings of many of her published writings. One of the strengths and weaknesses of this book is its focus on Colby’s rich and extremely introspective journals. Colby kept journals intermittently between the mid-1840s and 1865. There were no entries in 1855–1856 and entries were sporadic after about 1860. Thus, despite the fact that this book was published as part of a “Civil War in the North” series, there is only a small amount of material in it relating to the

war. Large gaps in the journals leave many of the details of her life difficult to piece together. In the late 1850s and early 1860s, as Colby became more despondent, the journals increasingly look inward. At this point they become less useful for discovering anything about her outward life. There are allusions to great “betrayals” and conflicts with various unnamed persons, but the journals provide no details. Brakebill, then, is left to speculate on the nature of these conflicts and betrayals with little evidence. Nonetheless, her use of Colby’s journals allows her to provide a fascinating window onto one nineteenth-century midwestern woman’s inner life.

BARBARA CUTTER

University of Northern Iowa

MILETTE SHAMIR. *Inexpressible Privacy: The Interior Life of Antebellum American Literature*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006. Pp. 282. \$55.00.

Milette Shamir’s book charts the transformations in the meaning attributed to privacy between 1830 and 1870, decades that witnessed the emerging structures of industrial capitalism in the United States and the formation of the middling classes. Although Shamir’s primary readers will be literary critics and theorists, historians, especially those who have made the “cultural turn,” will find much that has salience for current debates on the significance of liberal individualism, the gendering of social relations, and the evolving meanings of public and private. They will also participate in ongoing conversations among literary critics about the many ways in which antebellum writers grappled with the issue of privacy. The long-canonized Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Herman Melville, and Nathaniel Hawthorne receive close consideration, as do Harriet Beecher Stowe and Frederick Douglass, both of whom have been welcomed into the canon in the last two decades. Defining literature broadly, Shamir also maps configurations of privacy in a series of contextual discourses, including architectural manuals, political speeches, conduct books, and legal opinions.

In perhaps the most notable contribution, Shamir dismantles the link that has been forged by cultural historians and literary critics between domesticity and privacy. As she argues persuasively, women, who were identified with domesticity’s intimacy, yearned as much as men for privacy. Equally important, Shamir shows that the practice of privacy was integral to the liberal ideal of selfhood. Earlier connotations derived from republican ideology had made privacy an obstacle to a fully realized humanity. Privacy, according to republican theorists, denied both individual solidarity and social engagement on behalf of the newly constituted nation. The challenge mounted by the liberal ideal of private autonomy had enormous implications. Instead of being an obstacle, privacy was defined as crucial to both the individual and society. Privileged as a natural right and a moral good, privacy came to be seen as a constitutive element of selfhood.

In positing the household as a gendered site of contested values, Shamir aligns antebellum men and women along an axis of husband/wife, study/parlor, and isolation/intimacy. As a space enclosing both solitude and sociability, the home accommodated two bifurcated worlds: the male's solitary retreat constituted in the study and his wife's parlor, which was designed as a site for emotional expressivity. Prominently featured in manuals such as Andrew Jackson Downing's *Architecture of the Country Houses* (1850), this allocation of supposedly complementary spaces elided a host of tensions and contradictions. The parlor's affective sociability threatened the isolated individualism instantiated in the seclusion of the study. Conversely, the privileging of the solitary erected an insurmountable barrier to the bourgeois female's realization of selfhood as it was configured by liberal individualism. Expected to model domestic connectedness, the white woman of the middling classes was denied privacy and its attendant promise of individual autonomy, and the Enlightenment project of liberal selfhood remained at best in principle a distinctively masculine enterprise.

The tensions and contradictions embedded in the individual house marked the "national house," as Abraham Lincoln described the United States. Shamir's path-breaking analysis shows that the protection of the private self and the protection of property provided by liberalism supported and reinforced each other. Despite the fact that the issue of slavery was fracturing the nation in the antebellum decades, many still considered the ownership of human beings a white man's *private* affair. In a classic liberal defense of this doubled protection, Illinois senator Stephen A. Douglas, chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories, declared himself in support of "the great fundamental principle that every people ought to possess the right of framing and regulating their own internal concerns and domestic institutions in their own way" (p. 101). The position taken by a slaveholder in Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) underscored the consequences of this principle for the nation's enslaved. Dismissing a neighbor's plea on behalf of the slave, he retorts that private property is immune from public interference: "I know my own business, sir. . . . It's a free country, sir" (p. 101).

Little wonder, then, that one of the weapons in the abolitionist arsenal was the counter strategy: *exposing* to public scrutiny the consequences entailed in proprietary privacy. Shamir highlights Stowe's deployment of this strategy in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the antislavery novel that galvanized millions of readers in the decade before the Civil War. In combating the "privatization" of slavery, Stowe stages the black slave and the white woman as domestic informants who challenge the protection afforded by proprietary privacy. Shamir locates Frederick Douglass's only work of fiction, *The Heroic Slave* (1853), on the same continuum. In concert with Stowe, Douglass not only based his fiction on a true story, but he also made tangible the lethal privatization of slavery. Then, however, he insisted on the same right to an inviolable private selfhood that Melville and Hawthorne

claimed for their white male characters. In Douglass we see once again the gendered dimension of liberal individualism. Women, whether white or black, remained excluded from the privileges of the liberal self.

Virtually everyone had a stake in the many configurations of privacy that emerged in the decades between the American Revolution and the Civil War. The struggle that nearly sundered the nation did not alter in any fundamental sense the grammar and rhetoric of the meanings of privacy as they had been encoded in liberal individualism. Instead, the debates about its implications have persisted into our own century. And, as Shamir reminds us in her afterword, they will continue to have resonance in a world of internet chat rooms, television reality shows, and media-fueled celebrity culture.

MARY KELLEY

University of Michigan

SANDRA HARBERT PETRULIONIS. *To Set This World Right: The Antislavery Movement in Thoreau's Concord*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 233. \$29.95.

From early in the 1830s through the Civil War, the residents of Concord, Massachusetts, were divided over the issue of slavery. There were those who wished to turn their faces away from the issue, those who wanted to think about it, but not necessarily take concrete action, and those who joined William Lloyd Garrison's followers "to set this world right." Sandra Harbert Petrulionis has written a concise, sometimes overly detailed, but interesting, study of the development and activities of the antislavery movement in Concord from 1831 to 1868. It strives to accomplish several goals: trace the origins and development of the abolitionist movement in a town not immediately welcoming to such a movement; give credit to the abolitionist community, especially the women, for its commitment and bravery during the antebellum years; and place Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson into this historical context. In many ways, the author has accomplished her goals, but there are times when she stretches to make her case.

While establishing Concord's antislavery commitment, Petrulionis slights the opposition. The reader catches glimpses of officials forbidding bells to be tolled on the day of John Brown's hanging and newspapers which criticized various speakers, such as Wendell Phillips and Garrison, but on the whole, this part of Concord's history is underplayed in an effort to place the spotlight on the abolitionists. The first two chapters painstakingly trace the activities of such Concord notables as Mary Merrick Brooks, Prudence Ward, various Thoreau relatives (aunts Elizabeth, Maria, and Jane, and parents John and Helen), and Emerson's wife Lidian. Antislavery fairs, lectures, the creation of publications, and other organizing activities are described in detail. The author states in her introduction that she wishes to use people's exact words as much as possible, a technique which historians can well appreciate. But in

these two chapters, many of the quotations are too long and contain too much detail to be effective. Trimming and paraphrasing might have added drama to some of the exciting activities which seemed to fall flat. Of interest is the slow and seemingly torturous path Thoreau and Emerson took towards abolitionism. Emerson, in particular, appears to have preferred keeping an intellectual distance from the movement, offering help only when he felt completely compelled to do so.

Thoreau's involvement is more interesting. Although in the early years, he, too, preferred individual thought and action over joining a movement, eventually he found himself pulled into antislavery activism. Petrulionis mentions every activity which Thoreau might or might not have taken part in, discussing in some detail whether he helped runaway slaves while living on Walden Pond. (Apparently, historians cannot agree on this point.) More compelling is the author's portrayal of Thoreau's involvement in opposing the Fugitive Slave Law and his support of Brown. The two chapters that concern these topics are the most compelling of the book. In them, Petrulionis captures the spirit of emergency that flooded abolitionist communities in the 1850s. Her discussion of the Fugitive Slave Law brings to light the dramatic rescues carried on by the Boston Vigilance Committee and which then involved Concord residents. Shadrach Minkins and other fugitives, for example, were whisked out of Boston to Concord, where local activists such as Brooks, the Reverend Daniel Foster, and others saw them safely to Leominster, Fitchburg, and on to Vermont and Canada. Thoreau was said to have escorted fugitives on this treacherous journey.

In the case of Brown, the most notable Concord resident to become involved was Franklin Sanborn, a member of the "Secret Six" who helped to fund Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry. Sanborn had moved to Concord and opened a school there. (After their father's hanging, two of Brown's daughters attended the establishment.) Several Concord residents listened eagerly to Brown's speeches in their town and came to his support. Thoreau gave many talks and wrote moving essays on Brown, especially after the Harpers Ferry disaster. In a risky and dramatic rescue, Concord residents Anne Whiting and Sarah Sanborn fought off authorities who had come to arrest Sanborn for aiding Brown. The community also helped Francis Jackson Meriam, a young, unstable Garrisonian who had been at Harpers Ferry, flee the country.

Although uneven in its drama, Petrulionis's book is a valuable resource for those interested in a localized view of antislavery activity. It adds much to the literature of the movement in giving historians an inside look into how one community (unique in its population of transcendental thinkers) developed an abolitionist movement.

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XIOMARA SANTAMARINA. *Belabored Professions: Narratives of African American Working Womanhood*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 222. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

Xiomara Santamarina argues that nineteenth-century black women spoke through their work, and the stories they told are filled with contests, compromise, and cultural surprise. Santamarina analyzes four texts of black "working womanhood" and examines the overlapping discourses of class, citizenship, race, and femininity. The stories illustrate how black working women sought independence through narratives about wage labor by shaping rhetorics for labor, race, and femininity. The women's texts create complex black feminist identities that range from a Sojourner Truth, who sought to revise a free-labor abolitionist argument, to Elizabeth Keckley, Mary Todd Lincoln's dress-maker, who tried to parlay her patron's celebrity into her own cultural power. Each author examined wrote about her labor to expand her role and challenge the social order.

Santamarina recovers labor as an important explanatory factor and embeds it in a complex cultural analysis. Scholars lately worry that their analyses could fall into a dated Marxist chasm that uses labor to link economy and society. Not so Santamarina. She refuses to rely on one factor alone to define identity and strives for more complicated explanations of racial formation, gender relations, and, of course, class. When antebellum black women wrote about work, for instance, they gained power as the owners of their own labor, but they ran the risk of creating a text that illustrated how they failed to conform to middle-class models of femininity. Their narratives had to fill in the ideological gaps.

In part one, "Constraints," Santamarina argues that Sojourner Truth and Harriett Wilson created alternatives to prevailing ideas about slavery, race, and labor. The antebellum reformer and orator Truth revised the arguments of both proslavery and antislavery forces to legitimate the work she performed as a slave, to tackle class prejudices, and to confront antebellum racial ideology. Truth clung to her letterless, working-class identity as a free laborer, despite reformers' rhetoric that touted reading and writing in the new economy, to claim a place in the industrializing world. Wilson, author of *Our Nig* (1859), mapped a new place where the exploitation of black labor took place—the northern home—and illustrated how ideology and economy combined to create race, or, as the title suggests, a "nig."

These first two chapters are the book's least satisfying. Santamarina offers an interesting analysis overall of Wilson and Truth, but she needs to better position her subjects in the complex taxonomy of antebellum work, which created many gradations between menial or drudge work and manual labor that required mental skill. Santamarina's reading of Wilson does not explicitly deal with the main character's economic role—indentured servant—as occupying an in-between station, a tortured construction in the market economy that re-

sided between slavery and free labor. Her readings of Wilson and Truth also do not always integrate the analysis with a nuanced depiction of antebellum black uplift. At times, Santamarina creates a straw man out of Frederick Douglass and criticizes him for "overlook[ing]" how the North's occupational structure kept blacks in drudge work (p. 98). Douglass's own *Narrative* (1845) and the many articles in his antebellum newspapers about labor create a much more complicated picture than Santamarina allows.

Part two, "Opportunities," is by far the strongest section of the book. Santamarina illustrates the rhetorical opportunities that black women sought through stories of their labor. Eliza Potter represented her work as empowering by putting a novel twist on the trade of hairdressing: as a way to contribute knowledge to society. In Potter's world, hairdressers held a mirror up to their clients, and by extension, to the ways of society. She portrayed the black woman as a mediator of complex social relations and, thus, as fully capable of opportunities in modern society. The subject of Santamarina's final case study, Elizabeth Keckley, created a new way for society to understand a black working woman and illustrated the potential for racial integration of blacks in the postslave economy by painting herself as a woman with cultural power. However, Keckley's story of herself and her power met stiff resistance. Critics claimed that her book amounted to a kiss-and-tell written by an inferior person about her betters, and Santamarina reads this as the rejection of a black woman assuming cultural power. By capitalizing on the reflected glory from her clients, Keckley relied on the rigid class structure that eventually ensnared her.

The book shines when the author analyzes Keckley's critics and examines the reception of the dressmaker's narrative—a more complex cultural analysis that would have improved Santamarina's first two chapters. Santamarina's prose at times becomes turgid and interferes with the precision of her analysis. But her book offers the promising approach of using labor as a means to parse the interlocking identities of race, class, and gender.

TODD VOGEL
Independent Scholar

LINDA FROST. *Never One Nation: Freaks, Savages, and Whiteness in U.S. Popular Culture 1850–1877*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2005. Pp. xix, 241. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

This generation has been a boom time for the study of the freak show. For years Leslie Fiedler's seminal 1978 study *Freaks: Myths and Images of the Secret Self* stood alone as the sole scholarly study of the subject. Beginning in the late 1980s, new work started to appear in greater and greater profusion. Scholars such as Robert Bogdan, Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, and Rachel Adams have done particularly significant foundational work to locate the history of the freak show within a set of useful theoretical frameworks so that we can better

understand what happens when people put other people on exhibit. Bogdan's and Garland-Thomson's pioneering work has emerged from the burgeoning field of disability studies, which has helped us to historicize the shifting idea of the "normal" and show how it answers different cultural needs, while Adams's project combines history and self-referential historiography, as she shows how the freak show developed over time, incorporating former versions of itself along the way.

Linda Frost's book shows how freak studies is now building upward on this foundation. While the early work in the field was expansive, looking broadly without squinting and pushing outward at the boundaries, Frost looks closely at a twenty-nine-year period beginning with the decade leading up to the Civil War and ending at the conclusion of Reconstruction. Whereas Garland-Thomson, for example, identifies numerous ideological aspects of the "cultural work" of the freak show, Frost focuses on the specific intersection of race, freakery, and American nationalism. Or, to put it more precisely, Frost looks closely at the way that the creation of racial freaks enables the definition of "Americanness" for white citizens.

The nineteenth-century freak show thrived on the exhibition of nonwhite people as subhuman. This practice could involve the depiction of a nonwhite disabled person in a way that tied together race and disability to create an imaginary savagery (as with the microcephalic William Henry Johnson, whom P. T. Barnum dressed in furs, handed a spear, and named "What Is It?"), or it could involve the simple display of able-bodied indigenous peoples in a diorama setting designed to highlight their alienness. In both cases, white audiences were invited to define themselves against what they were not. Millions accepted the invitation, and the freak show exhibit formed the core of a popular nineteenth-century discourse.

That discourse extended outside the sideshow tent. Frost focuses on freak displays, to be sure, such as the famous Circassian Beauty, which she persuasively reads as a "kind of minstrel figure" (p. 82) of exotic Oriental origins whose beauty and sexuality invites displaced fears (and fantasies) of white slavery that finally speak to "the signification of women in nineteenth-century American culture" (p. 85). Importantly, Frost shows how freak discourse also prevailed in white U.S. periodical culture. For example, she scrutinizes *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* during the period leading up to the New York City draft riots of 1863 to show how their depictions of blacks revealed the deep anxiety over the end of slavery. Animal-like portrayals of blacks abounded in both text and advertisement—and the book is notably well illustrated with powerful visuals from the archive—displaying the fears of white workers and businessmen in a city that was deeply beholden to the cotton industry.

Frost tracks freak discourse through race relations on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line. She shows how the Confederate press enfreaked not only slaves (whose "special and different kind of humanity"—in Willie Lee

Rose's phrase—buttressed the dominant white view) but also "Yankees," who were rendered in a similar collection of subhuman images. Thus did a culture under siege define its own version of whiteness. Frost's examples also extend out to the frontier (where the "Chinee" received much the same treatment accorded to blacks east of the Mississippi), and to the question of women's rights in California (though the argument is rather thinner in this chapter than elsewhere). Overall, her book makes a valuable contribution to a number of critical conversations. By showing how whites used the strategy and lexicon of the freak show to shore up their own identity against imaginary racialized creations, Frost provides a revealing perspective on the needs of the dominant group at a time when the ground below it was shaking.

LEONARD CASSUTO
Fordham University

MARK R. WILSON. *The Business of War: Military Mobilization and the State, 1861–1865*. (Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 306. \$45.00.

This is essentially an institutional study of the Union Quartermaster Department in the American Civil War, and its central thesis is that "modern American business and government were shaped directly and indirectly by a military model of administration that had been on display in 1861–1865" (p. 4). While Mark R. Wilson convincingly argues that northern leaders such as Quartermaster General Montgomery Meigs and his regional quartermasters skillfully waged war by exploiting Union advantages in technology and production to devise a vast bureaucracy that employed over one hundred thousand civilian workers, he is less convincing in showing that the lessons of this military economy were taken as a model by later Populist and Progressive reformers and Gilded Age business leaders. Certainly the North's military bureaucracy was prodigious; it made or procured one billion rounds of ammunition, one million horses and mules, six million woolen blankets, and ten million pairs of trousers, but such an outpouring was accompanied by an exhaustive internal debate between those who advocated a mixed economy based on government manufacturing at depots, or "quartermaster entrepreneurialism," and those who supported "the political power of the producerist vision of military economy," a free market supply system supported by laissez-faire Republicans (p. 173). Based principally on state and national archives and on Harvard's business collections, this work makes an excellent contribution to the general understanding of Union military institutions and supplements standard studies by Fred A. Shannon and Russell F. Weigley.

Established in 1818 and administered for forty-two years by Brigadier General Thomas S. Jesup, the Union Quartermaster Department was staffed by men trained at West Point and seasoned at isolated outposts across the western frontier. Following the bombardment of

Fort Sumter, the Union encountered an entirely different set of logistical problems from those of the Mormon War or the war with Mexico. The first challenge to the federal military bureaucracy was the northern states, which quickly sallied into the field of production, making contracts with local producers, sending agents abroad, and establishing state-run factories with men, women, children, and prisoners as workers. In efforts rapidly to equip state troops, state quartermasters rushed into production with little method, consistency, or quality control. States competed with federal depots for contracts with large firms like Brooks Brothers. Convinced that states were guilty of favoritism, nepotism, and overpricing of shoddy merchandise, in the fall of 1861 Meigs ordered all state production to cease. In remarkable contrast to the Confederate experience, Meigs succeeded. With the field cleared, Meigs established regional depots, and as needed, dozens of sub-depots. Three depot quartermasters, originally commissioned in 1838, dominated Union purchasing: Thomas Swords (Louisville and Cincinnati), George H. Crosman (Schuylkill Arsenal, Philadelphia), and David H. Vinton (New York) collectively expended \$267 million or almost one-third of the department's Civil War budget. Quartermasters, believing that the depots produced goods of superior quality at lower prices, took a broad view of their responsibilities and authority. An estimated twenty-five percent of domestic war production came from the depots themselves. Quartermasters, generally employing relatives of soldiers, packed pork, made bread and furniture, built ships, and manufactured military equipage. In general, their civilian employees and some national Democratic leaders favored this method. Ad hoc labor organizations, desperate for well-paying jobs and suspicious of corruption and collusion at the higher levels of government, also were champions of depot manufacturing and the mixed economy.

However, most military supplies in the war were secured from private businesses. Recovering from the Panic of 1857 and suffering from the loss of their southern trade, northern businesses greatly needed the patronage of the War Department. The prevailing free-market ideology of the Republicans and cash flow problems at the government depots forced quartermasters to turn to the private economy. Quartermasters had a limited allotment of cash or greenbacks, their vouchers or individual credit had a limited appeal, certificates of indebtedness or federal notes were heavily discounted by brokers, and federal bonds were very long-term obligations. Only large businesses could accept the certificates, the most common form of payment, and they raised their bids accordingly to account for anticipated losses. Contrary to Jacksonian economic thinking, contracting was thrust into the hands of a small number of major manufacturers and jobbers, some of whom made substantial profits. Jay Cooke was a large buyer of vouchers and certificates at a ten percent discount. A solitary firm or a small cluster of companies were major contractors for Union horseshoes, rubber

blankets, wagons, powder, heavy ordnance, fire arms, and clothing. One-fifth of all military clothing came from two jobbers. The resulting scandals strengthened the public outcry for more depot manufacturing.

The mixed results of these Quartermaster Department experiments should generate caution regarding their long-term influence on the American narrative. Militating against the general adoption of an ethic of public entrepreneurialism was the rise of substantial business interests that generally saw government as an antagonist, and the creation of a competing Confederate military tradition in which statist control of the economy reached unprecedented, and uncomfortable, levels.

HAROLD S. WILSON
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JANE E. SIMONSEN. *Making Home Work: Domesticity and Native American Assimilation in the West, 1860–1919*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 266. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

In 1999, President Bill Clinton made a highly publicized stop at the home of Geraldine Blue Bird on the Pine Ridge Indian reservation. He discovered that Ms. Blue Bird was caring for twenty-eight adults and children in a four-room house with no plumbing. The visit triggered an outpouring of generosity (which included a new mobile home) and provided evidence that the “deliberate, arduous, and often self-conscious production of domesticity”—the subject of Jane E. Simonsen’s book—is an enduring feature of relations between Native Americans and their dispossessioners.

The book contains six chapters that examine the cross-cultural “contact zone” created when domesticity—described here as “an imperial construct used by the white middle class to uphold its power in a diversifying and expansionist nation” (p. 3)—was imagined, imposed and resisted in Indian communities. Rather than track a single organization or institution, Simonsen traces the meaning of “domesticity” in Indian-white relations between the time in the Civil War era when writers and reformers imagined domestic reform as the key to integrating indigenous peoples into the nation and the second decade of the twentieth century, when a combination of white indifference, Native resistance, and social transformation had hardened racial and cultural hierarchies and Indian leaders like the artist Angel DeCora had emerged to complain that whites, “softened and perverted thro’ artificial living,” could not appreciate the cultural achievements of indigenous peoples (p. 212).

Simonsen’s narrative begins with Caroline Soule, an easterner who relocated to Iowa in 1854 where she composed a sentimental novel, *The Pet of the Settlement* (1860). Soule’s tale describes a Winnebago prophet who converts to Christianity, marries an Indian girl, and inherits property from a white woman, raising them “into the middle class culture of security, access to property, and familial inheritance.” Simonsen’s point is

that Soule’s vision was part of mid-century “cultural work” that linked child rearing to nation building and promoted women’s domestic labor as an essential element in the development of the frontier. From Soule, Simonsen moves on to debates within white society over the value of domestic labor (in which Indians provide a useful illustration of the value of white women’s labors and the consequences of societies that ignore domestic “civilization”), and to the history of the domestic agenda of the Women’s National Indian Association. The latter group—which preceded the Indian Rights Association—originated the use of model cottages as “object lessons” in the assimilation project. Together, these chapters trace how “white, middle-class women exported domesticity to the West” (p. 14).

In the final three chapters of her book Simonsen shifts the focus from the white imagination to the realities of tribal life by examining three instances of attempted domestic reform: Alice Fletcher’s allotment of the Nez Percés, the career of the Arikara social worker Anna Dawson Wilde, and the art and commentary of DeCora, a Winnebago woman who taught at Carlisle in the decade prior to World War I. Here the story becomes more complicated as Indian people resist the domestic institutions being forced upon them (the background to Simonsen’s Nez Perce chapter) and even begin to talk back. As part of Dawson Wilde’s story, Simonsen presents a critique of this highly celebrated “model Indian” (one of the first children brought to the Hampton manual labor school in 1878) penned by Ella Ripley, a Mandan who lived at the Fort Berthold reservation while Dawson Wilde was field matron there. Ripley cut to the heart of the matter, attacking Dawson Wilde for relying on “expertise” rather than community and kin relationships in her social work. Ripley’s commentary not only “exposed Dawson Wilde’s professionalized, systematized version of domesticity” (p. 176), but it revealed the extent to which domestic reform ignored issues of power, colonialism, and the denigration of tribal traditions.

DeCora provides a fitting subject for Simonsen’s closing chapter. Frequently ignored by historians or marginalized as simply an “Indian illustrator,” DeCora is revealed here as an articulate commentator on the cultural politics surrounding her work as an art instructor at Carlisle. The image of DeCora stocking her classroom with ethnographic books from the Smithsonian while urging her uniformed and incarcerated Native students to “recall . . . the days of the old life” in order to produce “genuine, legitimate Indian work” (p. 209) contrasts sharply with Soule’s fictional Winnebago minister. The steady theme that unites the book, however—that domesticity was a “contact zone” and battleground between colonizers and colonized—links these images and illuminates this period and topic in a new and exciting manner. This book does not add new data to an old story; it tells a new story in a new way.

FREDERICK E. HOXIE
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DUANE A. SMITH. *A Time for Peace: Fort Lewis, Colorado, 1878–1891*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado. 2006. Pp. xi, 212. \$34.95.

For frontier buffs and academics alike, presumably, there are numerous romantic myths and misconceptions of the post–Civil War Southwest: images of wagon trains, threatening bands of Indians, and last-minute bugle calls; archetypes of Anglo aggressors, Native American victims, and Manifest Destiny–fueled violence. At least this is the presumption of Duane A. Smith. As a corrective, Smith offers the story of a small garrison in southern Colorado. During its existence from 1878 to 1891, Fort Lewis contributed little to the romance or violence of America's frontier southwest. More F-Troop than dashing cavalry, its garrison of some four hundred officers, soldiers, families, and civilians saw no combat, saved no settlers, and won no medals. They did stand duty, get drunk, and go trout-fishing. Often, the post's soldiers sallied forth in response to rumors of uprisings by local Ute Indians. More often they went off to a nearby bordello dubbed the "Hog Ranch." During its short life, argues Smith, Fort Lewis accomplished its mission of ensuring peace, aiding settlement, and protecting Indian rights. For the most part its history was one of dull routine and daily tedium.

Smith certainly captures the tedium. He provides extensive coverage of the post's construction, from the types and cost of materials, to the raising of buildings, to squabbles between officers over the assignment of quarters, beds, and bathtubs. He also covers its daily life, its bland routine of drill, mess, and detail. During off-duty hours soldiers drank, read, played baseball, and complained of isolation and boredom. The few women at the post took care of children. There were examples of bad behavior—several desertions along with one case each of sodomy, opium addiction, and arson—and a few bad apples were brought before courts martial. Men suffered from blisters, gas, and depression. They practiced their shooting at the post's firing range, where they rarely struck their targets and sometimes hit themselves.

At times, Smith's evidence threatens this picture of dull routine. He reveals, for example, that the Army's Ninth Cavalry—its famous unit of African American "Buffalo Soldiers"—was stationed several times at the fort. But he quickly forecloses on this information, merely saying that they "faced discrimination" though reports "never displayed any open racial tension" (p. 11). At other points, Smith's own inclinations threaten to elevate the routine into the romantic. He introduces the book's two short "Photographic Essays" with epic quotes from William Shakespeare and invitations to partake of the "legendary saga of the settlement of the American West" (p. 135). There is a clear disconnection between such language and the two sections' collection of plan drawings, stiff portraits, and pictures of picnic expeditions. At the same time the images support Smith's point: at Fort Lewis all was peace and tedium.

The book's two chapters on Fort Lewis's attempts to mediate between settlers and the local Ute Indians are more interesting. Here too, Smith finds a pattern of routine. Throughout the post's history settlers in the area made regular reports of Ute uprisings. With each charge, post patrols would ride out to investigate. In nearly every case they found no truth to the reports. According to Smith, this pattern reflected the fort's mission of maintaining peace, its officers' efforts to navigate between eastern humanitarianism and western hostility to Indians, their attempts to investigate "both sides" of the charges. It is hard to figure out what he means by this last assessment. For he does not include a single Native American voice in his narrative, despite the fact that the fort served as Ute agency headquarters. Moreover, the result of this pattern was hardly the protection Ute rights. With each sortie, patrols spent time in the settlements around the fort. They also spent money, contributing to the growth of Pagosa Springs, Cortez, Farmington, and especially the nearby town of Durango. By the mid-1880s, Durango had a military service economy of bordellos, restaurants, trading posts, and hotels, and the frequent charges of Indian atrocities came mostly from its burgeoning press. Later, enterprising businessmen would build a toll road between Fort Lewis and the town, actually charging the patrols to pass in response to the false reports. As a result of such military spending, the town continued to grow and regional development spread. The Utes, meanwhile, were pushed further west or onto shrinking reservations.

Smith puts a progressive spin on this pattern of false report, military largess, and regional development. Fort Lewis, he concludes, was both typical and a success: dull, isolated, and entirely lacking in heroism, it maintained peace and assured the development of its region of southern Colorado. Yet the success of Smith's narrative may be its accurate revelation of the banal face of conquest, a "winning of the west" not by heroism or violence but by tedium, lies, money, and the mind-numbing routine of an army at peace.

BRIAN ROBERTS

University of Northern Iowa

JOHN F. REYNOLDS. *The Demise of the American Convention System, 1880–1911*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 270. \$75.00.

Nominating conventions to select candidates for statewide officers were a common feature of American politics during the Gilded Age. Within a generation, the direct primary replaced these gatherings. The convention, once so important, either disappeared or became only a ritual for party activists to proclaim a platform. In this authoritative study, John F. Reynolds traces the "American convention system" from its heyday to its rapid decline during the Progressive era.

A scholar of electoral reform, especially in New Jersey, Reynolds has identified four states—New Jersey, California, Colorado, and Michigan—as case studies

for understanding the operations of the convention system. In essence, both the nominating convention and the primary system that replaced it were, in Reynolds's view, ways that the dominant parties preserved their institutional ascendancy. As Reynolds puts it, "the decisive role played by the office-seeking class in shaping the nation's political process remains one of the notable and recurring motifs of American political history" (p. 17).

Reynolds develops this argument with impressive expertise as he probes the membership, procedures, and economic underpinnings of the conventions in his four states. He has profiled the "office-seeking class" and tracked its behavior from the convention floor to the smoke-filled room. A strong sense that empty ceremonies are being explored pervades the earlier sections of the narrative. The convention system gave way to the primary in part because the "hustling candidate," seeking office in a more open manner, no longer wanted to accept the result of pre-scripted party meetings. Faced with legal challenges to their hegemony, the two major parties looked to state regulation to save them from ruinous competition. Reynolds's argument echoes the thesis of Gabriel Kolko and others from the 1960s that Progressive era big corporations themselves sought regulation as a way of achieving order. Rather than being attacks on political parties, direct primaries for Reynolds were the means of insuring that Republicans and Democrats remained in control of the governing process.

In the late nineteenth century, James Bryce wrote in *The American Commonwealth* (1888) that Republicans and Democrats had become little more than office-seeking organizations bereft of real ideological differences. For all his modern analytic tools, Reynolds harks back to this older historiographical tradition. He goes one step further and sees the major parties in tacit cahoots to insure their own institutional survival from third parties, chiefly on the left. So, in Reynolds's analysis, the traditional stereotypes of a meaningless and arid world of Gilded Age politics reappear though spruced up with the apparatus of methodological insights that characterize the "institutional" approach to political history.

One key to this way of viewing politics in the late nineteenth century is to bleach out the conflicts in which the two major parties engaged. In Reynolds's narrative the four states he looked at seem sterile cockpits in which politicians conduct empty rituals of convention infighting. The anger in California that animated the debate over the Southern Pacific railroad and its potential regulation receives little note. For Colorado, where Populism, free silver, and the ambitions of Senator Edward O. Wolcott roiled the state in the 1890s, Reynolds devotes minimal attention to such matters. The anti-corporate stance of Hazen Pingree in Michigan, which split the Republicans in that state, is hardly mentioned. In New Jersey, the emergence of Woodrow Wilson as a sudden reformer at the Democratic state

convention in 1910 lacks the excitement that Arthur S. Link first chronicled six decades ago.

Of the tariff issue, which animated many a convention, influenced countless platforms, and later shaped the outcome of primaries between 1900 and 1912, Reynolds says little. Had the divisions that affected the two major parties come into sharper focus, the sense of underlying harmony between the office-seekers on both sides of the aisle would not have seemed as pervasive as Reynolds suggests.

A book for specialists in the field, this is a narrative aimed at those who take their political history with the personalities and issues relegated to the sidelines. In so doing, Reynolds has delved into the machinery of the parties and brought back some intriguing results about how the partisan world of that day functioned. Yet Reynolds's description of politics at conventions and in primaries leaves essential features out of the picture. The actions and passions of that generation, expressed in issues like tariff protection and free silver, reflected something basic about how Americans in that time chose to live together. While far removed from those of the modern world, these concerns and many others were after all the reasons why conventions assembled, platforms were written, and voters went to the polls. Political history needs the sophistication that scholars like Reynolds bring to an analysis of the day-to-day conduct of politics in the Gilded Age. But the discipline also should recognize that imposing contemporary assumptions on the substantive debates of that period risks the loss of knowing why these Americans felt and acted as they did in public affairs.

LEWIS L. GOULD
Austin, Texas

DAVID A. ZIMMERMAN. *Panic! Markets, Crises, and Crowds in American Fiction*. (Cultural Studies of the United States.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 294. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

David A. Zimmerman's book made me nostalgic. I missed those years in my career when, like Zimmerman, I thought a lot about financial markets and the language used to describe them. But the book's larger arguments about connections between novels and financial panics, about a financial world where a writer's speculation on meaning equaled in importance the speculators' thoughts on money, made me long for a time when a novelist's imagination was commensurate with the market. Zimmerman takes us back to a time when events in a novel's plot might spin out as a panic in financial markets and to a time when readers turned to novels to make sense of high finance.

Put simply, at the turn of the twentieth century novelists were players in capitalism's great dramas, and readers looked to novelists to sort out the historical and ideological problems of the corporate economy. Fiction writers constructed the imaginary dimensions of financial modernity by taking advantage of the financial panics that upended markets and put all values, including

cultural values, into a state of uncertainty. Financial panics staggered the nation, and baffled readers turned to novels to find the comforts of a narrative shape behind the economy's apparent chaos. As Zimmerman writes, "By throwing social meanings and cultural structures into disarray, panics intensified novelists' desire to stabilize markets' protean meanings within familiar narrative forms, to bring markets' spreading effects into aesthetic line, and to make the future they unloosed knowable and controllable" (p. 227).

Zimmerman discovered some three hundred novels written between 1870 and 1913 whose plots turned on economic and financial questions and whose characters were caught up in financial panics. Panic novels, he says, were gripping popular entertainment and served as "training tools, imaginative testing grounds in which readers could practice how to *feel* in the market and how to feel about feeling itself" (pp. 7–8). He lays out the narrative conventions available to this generation of writers—sensation, sentiment, melodrama, and naturalism—and investigates how each served to help readers make sense of what seemed the puzzling excesses of financial modernity. These writers were fascinated with collective economic behavior and the power of crowds, whether rioters, bomb throwers, short sellers, or their own masses of readers.

Zimmerman's primary goal is to interpret a small selection of these novels. The book begins with a lengthy introduction that lays out its general themes. The introduction is followed by five chapters, each of which works through the panic plot of a single novel. As expected, there are chapters on the canonical panic texts—Frank Norris's *The Pit* (1903) and Theodore Dreiser's *The Financier* (1912)—but Zimmerman does some of his best work with lesser known and little-read novels such as Frederic Isham's *Black Friday* (1904), Thomas Lawson's *Friday, the Thirteenth* (1907), and Upton Sinclair's *The Moneychangers* (1908).

The book unfolds with a kind of imaginative choreography, as Zimmerman follows actors, issues, terms, and metaphors in various pairings through novels, out into the market, and back again. Plots intersect; terms take on new partners; meanings change; and one plot resolves another. He describes the work of *Black Friday*, suggesting that "[b]y channeling latent and lingering fears of revolution into the marriage crisis, Isham recasts this anxiety into a more personal, individual, and cognitively manageable form" (p. 79). For Zimmerman, panic novelists are all cognitive managers, of a sort, working in an unruly culture. They tame unruly markets with stories of marriage, mesmerism, conspiracy, and seduction. They use tales of financial accounting to think about moral accountability.

The book is rich in the anecdotes and details that capture the cultural context of the decades that straddled the turn of the twentieth century, and Zimmerman peppers his able readings with astute asides on such subjects as the Paris Commune, Haymarket, corners in the gold market, the spiritual movement known as "New Thought," and muckraking journalists who prac-

ticed the schemes they exposed. There were times when I wished Zimmerman had descended from his theoretical perch and indulged his readers by providing some biographical background on his writers. Lawson, for example, is a fascinating character but the lurid detail that he kept the body of his embalmed wife stretched out on a pool table deserves more than a passing reference.

Nevertheless, for historians, Zimmerman captures one chapter in the history of the American imagination. He gives us a moment when the nation was convulsed by a new financial order and paints a portrait of a segment of the population who was no longer thinking about slavery, race, or war but had turned its mind to money, sex, and the madness of crowds. Perhaps they were a bit like us, but they seem to have taken their novels more seriously.

ANN FABIAN
Rutgers University

THOMAS A. KRAINZ. *Delivering Aid: Implementing Progressive Era Welfare in the American West*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 325. \$37.95.

Thomas A. Krainz writes an eloquent and effective reconsideration of Progressive Era welfare historiography by going to ground level and studying welfare practices in six diverse Colorado counties in the early twentieth century. A former social worker, Krainz drew part of his inspiration from the jarring contrast between his practical knowledge of the daily experiences of the poor and disabled and the historical writing about welfare he encountered in graduate school. He aims to accomplish three things: to populate his study with the poor themselves, to query what we can learn about welfare history from social work *theory* by setting it against social work *practice*, and to question portraits of Progressive-era welfare that emphasize reform (at least in the eyes of the reformers) effected by legislative and/or regulatory policy change.

Krainz argues that we tend to overestimate the effects of policy changes by stopping short of studying the shaping impact on welfare policy of "local circumstances" and changes in the economic and social environment as well as the political framework. His choice to go to the county level was dictated by his desire to test this idea as well as, more practically, the spotty availability of data. Fortunately, in 1891 Colorado created a State Board of Charities and Corrections to study and oversee Colorado's welfare efforts. Just about every aspect of this development lined up with contemporary practices: the "charities and corrections" language, the board's charge to check up on the entire gamut of state welfare practices, and reformers' role in advocating the board to promote centralized, efficient, and nonpolitical charity practices. The part that conformed to American political caution was the board's strictly advisory, rather than regulatory, status. Thus the creation of the Board of Charities and Corrections had the effect for posterity of generating data sets in

some locales extensive enough to offer Krainz and other researchers the possibility of comparing welfare realities to welfare policies and understanding this comparison in the context of local conditions.

Krainz argues that far from being an unlikely candidate to test and extend Progressive-era historiography, Colorado is an excellent choice, a hot spot of Progressive-era issues and changes. He makes a persuasive case, citing Colorado's fierce and bloody labor battles, political struggles pitting citizens against corrupt politicians, approval of the initiative and of Prohibition, rapid urban growth, and slightly above average immigration rate. Like a good, and fortunate, historian, Krainz got dusty on his way to locating eight usable counties, based on availability of records pre-1930, from which he chose six: three more rural (Costilla, Montezuma, and Lincoln) and three more urban (Denver, Boulder, and Teller [Cripple Creek]). One may say "more" and "less" rural because there is more of a range than a split among these counties, and their differences have less to do with population size and concentration than with religion, economy, settlement patterns, ethnicity, and idiosyncratic differences (the presence in several places of highly persuasive individuals or organizations with welfare agendas, for example).

In addition to offering fascinating and telling detail about his six counties (including, for example, the fluctuating successes and failures of several "poor farms"), Krainz focuses on several contemporary movements that cut across the state. One is the Colorado counties' passive resistance to the Progressive "mothers' pension" movement, which he argues again suggests that historians have partly missed the mark in focusing on policy changes rather than practical measures in assessing Progressive welfare. He contrasts the mothers' pension saga with the campaign for blind benefits—a success for blind people secured by state legislation in 1918 and largely attributable to effective lobbying by interest groups who distinguished between blind aid (an entitlement) and poor relief (a temporary expedient). In the next decade, blind benefits were shaved away by the actions of an "odd assortment of groups" and individuals (p. 212), who included Helen Keller and the most ubiquitous individual in Colorado's Progressive-era welfare saga, Gertrude Vaile. Krainz evenhandedly weaves Vaile into Colorado's welfare history. Vaile's position as chief advocate of a professionalized, hands-on, case-based system of welfare administration captures one major strain of Progressive-era social work. Her rigid ideology led to her mighty opposition to blind benefits as an entitlement. She had at least a temporary come-uppance when Coloradans elected a Klan-financed governor who dealt with the Department of Charities and Corrections by firing or redistributing its employees.

Krainz's stories are colorful and he deploys his sources efficiently. Krainz writes blessedly well. The reader, particularly the college-level reader, is always grateful for any historical account that frequently ties

narrative to individual actions and fates, and Krainz does that as the evidence allows. At the same time he puts forward a complicated vision of Progressive welfare in Colorado and points the way to future welfare historiography.

MINA CARSON
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MICHAEL PHILLIPS. *White Metropolis: Race, Ethnicity, and Religion in Dallas, 1841–2001*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 267. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$19.95.

A pungent prologue and an acerbic afterword constitute the more memorable parts of Michael Phillips's study of race in Dallas, Texas. At the outset, in a critique of the historiography on Dallas, the author judges other accounts as variously mythical, Whiggish, fantastic, simplistic, or neglectful; in a rare positive concession he observes that one "narrative makes for poor history, however, at least it is coherent" (p. 6). To establish the importance of his own work, Phillips makes large claims for the historical significance of Dallas. The modern partisan realignment in southern politics "began in Dallas," and the connection between right-wing Republicans and conservative Christians also started there, especially with the First Baptist Church led by W. A. Criswell (p. 2). The city's "unique geographical position" at the edges of both the South and the West should have made it a "tantalizing" historical subject (pp. 3, 2). Phillips attributes the relative neglect of the city's history to an "amnesia by design" that created instead "a myth of consensus . . . in which a white male elite, ruling for the good of the 'city as a whole,' created a community 'with no reason for being' as an act of macho will" (p. 3). Phillips calls it the Origin Myth, and his book seeks to overturn it by putting conflict among races, ethnic and religious groups, and social classes at the center of the city's story. According to Phillips, the concept of whiteness provides the key to his analysis.

In his afterword Phillips defends whiteness studies and historian David Roediger against the attacks of their critics. In discussing Eric Arnesen's assessment of whiteness, Phillips claims it "too often degenerates into wildly inaccurate ad hominem attacks" (p. 179). He damns Arnesen's essay as a "prima facie absurdity," and he attributes to him an "obsessively empiricist literalism" (pp. 180, 179). In regard to Arnesen's "ally Barbara Jeanne Fields," Phillips claims she "cannot simply disagree with whiteness scholars; she attributes to them malevolent motives," and he "suspects she is not very familiar with the literature" (pp. 180, 181). (Phillips refers to essays by Arnesen and Fields in *International Labor and Working Class History* 60 [Fall 2001].)

Phillips does concede that some good works have been written, among them Jim Schutze's *The Accommodation: The Politics of Race in an American City* (1986), and he acknowledges that he seeks to "extend upon, revise, and counter" Schutze's "groundbreaking work" (p. 183). Only at the end of the book does Phillips

declare that he took from Schutze the concept of an Origin Myth to describe Dallas's past. He also credits the influence of scholarship by Harvey Graff on Dallas's lack of history and by Richard Slotkin on frontier violence. Although Phillips chides one author for using a photograph of Dallas on the cover of his southern history textbook but not including Dallas in his book's index, Phillips's own index inexplicably omits any references to Roediger, Arnesen, Fields, Graff, or Slotkin.

Between the prologue and afterword, Phillips quickly surveys 160 years of Dallas's history in as many pages. In each period he finds that the white elite used its varying definition of whiteness to retain power and to support capitalism. After the Civil War, for example, the elite defined whiteness to exclude blacks, Mexicans, and immigrants, but the elite also employed premillennial dispensationalism to convince the poor to wait for Christ's return and to allow increasingly influential Jews to become partially white. Around the turn of the century, the elite tried to use white supremacy to satisfy lower-class whites stripped of political power. Phillips sees that the "elite agenda became tangled in its own contradictions," with the distinctions among groups often challenged and frequently changing (p. 77). Jews, for example, sometimes were, and sometimes were not, white; "philo-Semitism existed side by side with anti-Semitism" (p. 122).

As the civil rights movement emerged, Phillips shows the conflicts and rivalries among blacks, Jews, Catholics, Mexicans, and lower-class whites; each group's efforts to become white often prevented it from aiding the black freedom struggle. While the white elite allowed some conservative blacks to exercise power, it "continued to see the Anglo working class as uncivilized barbarians, outside the norms of whiteness" (p. 147). Besieged by an influx of midwestern immigrants, the divided elite struggled over any change in segregation, while blacks and Mexican Americans fought. By the 1990s Phillips sees a "grim future" for all because whiteness, "an effective tool for controlling dissent," had been "poison for community building" (p. 177). "Under the influence of whiteness," he concludes, "Dallas learned to forget the past, regret the present, and dread the future" (p. 178).

CHARLES W. EAGLES
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TIMOTHY MATOVINA. *Guadalupe and Her Faithful: Latino Catholics in San Antonio, from Colonial Origins to the Present*. (Lived Religions.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 232. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$22.95.

Interest in Latino religion has been slow to develop among U.S. historians. Indeed, since the 1980s much more scholarship about the importance of religion among Latinos has been produced by theologians and sociologists than by historians. With two important exceptions—Moisés Sandoval's edited volume of essays, *Fronteras: A History of the Latin American Church in the*

USA since 1513 (1983), and the *Notre Dame History of Hispanic Catholics in the U.S.* (1994) edited by Jay P. Dolan, Gilberto M. Hinojosa, Jaime R. Vidal, and Allan Figueroa Deck—few historically grounded monographs have appeared. With the publication of this book, Timothy Matovina significantly advances the emergent field of Mexican American religious history.

Our Lady of Guadalupe (the Virgin Mary) is the most exalted figure in Mexican Catholicism and key to understanding Mexican and Mexican American history. Matovina explains Guadalupe's significance in that history by examining Guadalupan devotional practices in San Fernando Parish in San Antonio, Texas, since 1738. The author documents what others have claimed—that "Guadalupe has regularly offered her devotees a source of healing, hope, consolation, and renewed self-worth" (p. 19), but it is his insights about the ambiguous and often double-edged quality of Guadalupanism that deepens our understanding about religion's impact in Mexican American history. In a nutshell, Matovina argues that Guadalupan devotion has liberated as well as constrained Mexican Americans; it has promoted ethnic solidarity with which to endure social marginality, but it also has legitimated class and gender inequalities among Mexican Americans and failed to challenge the larger social structures that historically have denied them first-class citizenship.

In the book's introduction, Matovina reviews the historiographical debates surrounding Guadalupe's reported apparition in 1531 outside Mexico City; traces the evolution of Guadalupan devotion within colonial New Spain from central Mexico to San Antonio; and states the arguments that will unfold in the ensuing five chapters. Matovina then immerses the reader in the world of Guadalupan devotion through an account of San Fernando Parish's Guadalupe *serenata* (serenade celebration) held in 2003. Presented in participant-observer fashion, this chapter allows the author to convey the emotional fervor of Guadalupanism and to foreshadow the devotion's shifting meanings during its nearly three-hundred-year existence in San Antonio. The next four chapters unfold chronologically (1731–1836, 1836–1900, 1900–1940, and 1940–2003) and explain how, as a result of changing historical circumstances, "devotional practices were altered, added, and abandoned, and the meanings of practitioners' Guadalupan devotion shifted dramatically across successive historical eras and generations" (p. 44).

In San Antonio's early history, Our Lady of Guadalupe was one of four patron saints (the others being Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria, San Fernando Rey de España, and San Antonio de Padua) to whom struggling colonists turned for protection and sustenance in this isolated and dangerous farming outpost. Guadalupe gradually became the most revered of the saints and by the nineteenth century symbolized the very identity of the community. The trauma of changes in sovereignty further affected the expression of Guadalupan devotion from 1836 to 1900. As dramatic political and demographic changes buffeted the city's Mexican Amer-

icans, Guadalupe's role as a symbol of ethnic solidarity and cultural resistance intensified even as public displays of devotionism waned. Heavy Mexican immigration in the early twentieth century swamped San Antonio's predominately native-born community, transforming it into *el México de afuera* (Mexico abroad). Thus, in the period from 1900 to 1940 Guadalupean celebrations increasingly took on a Mexican homeland orientation and "the conflicting sentiments of exile" (p. 97). During World War II and in the years since, Guadalupeanism in San Fernando Parish reflected and was itself molded by succeeding generations of native-born Mexican Americans. As they fought in the nation's wars and mounted civil rights campaigns to secure their place in society, they also numerically overshadowed the Mexican immigrant population, thus diminishing the exilic quality of Guadalupean devotion while simultaneously preserving connections to their Mexican heritage.

This is clearly a substantial work of scholarship and a major contribution to Mexican American religious history. Straddling theology and social history, Matovina has produced a deeply researched and cogently argued book that will serve as a model for further examining the long neglected religious dimension of the Latino past. Although work of this caliber is difficult to fault, some may question the author's periodization in the last chapter. Watershed developments in the post-Chicano era, especially the concurrent rise of globalization and Latino evangelical Protestantism, warrant deeper scrutiny in a separate chapter. The book's epilogue notes the importance of these twin developments, of course, but they are discussed in the context of their *future* impact on Guadalupean devotion rather than as part of the history of the last quarter century. This pales in light of the book's achievements, however, and it deserves wide readership and acclaim.

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JEROLD S. AUERBACH. *Explorers in Eden: Pueblo Indians and the Promised Land*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2006. Pp. 205. \$34.95.

At the end of this book, Jerold S. Auerbach reveals that on his first morning in Santa Fe, New Mexico, he felt transported to another place: Jerusalem, "a strangely familiar foreign land, with deep historical and personal resonance" (p. 168). That information explained this book's genesis and interesting, but somewhat misguided, argument. Auerbach, whose previous work includes *Are We One? Jewish Identity in the United States and Israel* (2001), maintains that Anglo-American "explorers" and other visitors to the Southwest repeatedly used biblical imagery to describe the Pueblos. This, in turn, connected to a long-standing American tradition of looking for the Promised Land, or Eden, in America. The Hebrew Bible framed the way Americans explained their supposedly unique historical experience.

The Southwest, by the late nineteenth century, became "the last best hope of return to the wellspring of American distinctiveness as a chosen people" (p. 1).

From the Puritans' city upon a hill, revolutionary references to George Washington as an American Moses, and the Mormons' belief that they descended from the Israelites, American cultural history is replete with biblical metaphors and Holy Land references. Starting with Frank Hamilton Cushing, who first came to Zuni Pueblo in 1879 as part of a U.S. Bureau of Ethnology team, Anglo-Americans renewed this impulse through the 1920s. They imposed upon Pueblos, with their supposed organic unity, spiritual and moral integrity, and pastoral existence, a belief that these communities offered America's final chance for regeneration. Of course, this represented the Anglos' hopes and yearnings. It had nothing to do with the complicated reality of Pueblo life. Others who engaged in this process included ethnographer Matilda Coxe Stevenson, journalist Charles Fletcher Lummis, photographer Edward Curtis, tourism entrepreneur Fred Harvey, and the influential cluster of women who came to New Mexico following World War I such as salon hostess and writer Mabel Dodge Luhan, anthropologist Elsie Clews Parsons, and some of anthropologist Franz Boas's women students. The Pueblos also proved "useful" to Anglo men and women wrestling with the nation's growing unease regarding changing gender roles. For some men the Pueblos' example offered encouraging reminders that separate spheres were appropriate. Feminists believed Indian models challenged patriarchy.

Historians have already covered most of this ground and these particular Anglo "explorers" (an odd appellation for people who arrived in the Southwest centuries after the first Europeans did). Auerbach acknowledges his predecessors' efforts, resting much of his argument on secondary sources. The thesis regarding biblical and Holy Land imagery, however, is fresh. Alas, the evidence is thin. When Cushing observed some Zuni women visit a well he compared the place to the "Pools of Palestine" (p. 5). Curtis's photograph of "Taos Water Girls" subtly suggested "biblical tropes." Other photographers repeated this "Rebecca" image including Philip E. Harroun's explicitly titled photo, "A New Mexican Rebecca," taken at San Juan Pueblo. Mabel Dodge Luhan once described Taos Pueblo as "a garden of Eden inhabited by an unfallen tribe of men and women" (p. 100) and her husband, Taos Puebloan Tony Luhan, as "like a Biblical figure." But such references were relatively fleeting, not sufficient evidence upon which to hang an entire book.

More problematic is the tendency to conflate these twentieth-century figures with seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth-century Americans who yearned for an American Eden. Although they shared a desire to create a perfect society, the moderns' turn to Indians posed a qualitatively different impulse. Earlier Americans located the nation's best hope in their own spiritual or political traditions. These twentieth-century Southwest seekers sought it in others, consciously

claiming to reject American, European, and Christian values, examples, and sources. This, in turn, had significant political consequences for Native Americans, including but certainly not limited to Pueblos. In fact, seeing Indians as viable alternatives to a morally bankrupt, spiritually sterile world found adherents in various corners of the country. This was a national, not a regional, phenomenon.

One area where Auerbach covers new ground, and does so more convincingly, is his assessment of recent feminist scholarship focusing on Southwest-based women anthropologists and the tourism industries. He zeroes in on the postmodern, Orientalism critique with its inherent indictment of American corporate capitalism, patriarchy, and political domination. The problem with this interpretation, he argues, is it oversimplified the complicated interactions among Indians and non-Indians, stripped the Pueblos of their agency and humanity, and denied the economic and artistic benefits that Indians accrued from the development of tourism. In the process, these feminist scholars used Pueblos "to sharpen their criticism of corporate malfeasance and male power in American society," thus "appropriate[ing] them for their own personal, political and polemical purposes" (p. 159). Auerbach is on to something here. What he does not see, however, is his own tendency toward the same predicament. In associating Santa Fe with Jerusalem and the Pueblos with Palestine, he too falls into the trap of looking for something that he then finds.

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PHOEBE S. KROPP. *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2006. Pp. xx, 364. \$39.95.

Historian Phoebe S. Kropp draws from the study of place and memory, and environmental, urban, and western history to deliver a richly nuanced book that examines the development of a southern California mythology that colored everything from how tourists experienced the region to how American newcomers lived in it. It was a mythology rooted in a fictional, romantic Indian and Spanish history that rationalized the American takeover of California by creating a narrative of succession that naturalized conquest and relegated Mexican Americans and native peoples to the past. The text dates the mythology's development to the 1884 publication of Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* (although Kropp points out that Jackson's tale was derivative, borrowing from Californian narratives to create a nationally popular novel). The mythology began to unravel in the 1930s as "imperialist nostalgia" gave rise to cynicism and a noir version of the California present in the midst of the Great Depression (p. 250).

Kropp explores how Californians and outsiders viewed the region through four case studies and divides the book into two sections, "Locating the Past" and "Living with the Past." El Camino Real, a road that

connected twenty-one Spanish missions, and San Diego's 1915 Panama-California Exposition form the first half of the book. Both cases reveal how boosters "created a time and place that never existed" in an effort to celebrate a carefully constructed past to justify an American future (p. 121).

The mission bells that came to symbolize El Camino Real were the inspiration of Harrie Forbes, one of the many Anglo women who acted as California's "historical housekeepers" (p. 57). Kropp places an American obsession with Spanish Catholic missions (to the extent that Americans cast Father Junípero Serra as California's first pioneer) into the context of the good roads movement, modern tourism, and connections between historic "preservation" and commerce (Forbes and her husband owned the company that made the bells and a gypsum mine that aided in the paving of the road). If the missions were places where tourists could view what once was, San Diego fairgoers could inhabit the past in what Kropp describes as "participatory romance" complete with costumed dances (p. 116). In both cases, modern Anglo boosters placed themselves in the role of saving the remnants of the past.

The exclusive community of Rancho Santa Fe and the Los Angeles marketplace at Olvera Street are the focus of the second half of the book. Rancho Santa Fe used the monumental architecture of the fair and road as inspiration for everyday living in modern homes that reflected what would become known as Spanish colonial style. The interwar community, primarily designed by architect Lilian Rice, reimagined the estates of Mexican dons as suburban paradise. Olvera Street, a marketplace that specialized in Mexican-inspired crafts, opened in Los Angeles in 1930. Largely the effort of one woman, Christine Sterling, the marketplace was a business opportunity dressed as a tourist venture with little physical connection to its celebrated past. Sterling enforced "traditional" dress and economic activity among Mexican American vendors to provide Anglo tourists with an authentic experience. But because she fashioned the site as Mexican (rather than Spanish), many *Angeleños* with Mexican ties used the space to support their own communities.

The case studies transport the reader to diverse places and periods in the history of southern California, but they have several important themes in common. They are all physical places that are "sites of cultural production and venues for struggles over public space, racial politics, and citizenship in America" (p. 15). They embody opposing booster visions of southern California as either connected to a romantic past still meaningful in the contemporary period or as a place of progress and modernism. They provide examples of the multiple and contradictory ways white Americans racialized the people around them that they perceived as nonwhite and removed contemporary Indians and Mexican Americans from their own histories. And they enable Kropp to examine the role of Anglo women in shaping and popularizing the individual venues.

As a whole, the book combines well-known stories

(*Ramona*, the ways in which fairs constructed racial difference and interpreted American imperialism) with the less familiar (El Camino Real and Olvera Street, narratives that ran counter to booster romanticism). Kropp considers each case within a broad historical context that includes federal influence, urban and suburban development, the history of women's clubs, and historic preservation that expands and enriches even those cases with which many western historians will have some familiarity. Moreover, Kropp deftly develops some surprising threads such as her examination of photographs that depicted tourist automobiles next to mission ruins or the prevalence of postcards that represented elderly Indians almost exclusively. Just as important, this book is a joy to read. Kropp's engagingly written study captures the complexity of imperial public history making. It is a significant contribution that will be enjoyed by students and scholars alike.

KATRINE BARBER
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FAY BOTHMAN and SARA M. PATTERSON, editors. *Race, Religion, Region: Landscapes of Encounter in the American West*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 190. \$40.00.

This collection of essays edited by Fay Bothman and Sara M. Patterson demonstrates the growing interest of historians concerning the effect race, religion, and region have on one another. The book is historiographically significant as it makes a strong argument that the U.S. West influenced views on race and religion in ways different than did the South, the Midwest, or New England.

Some of the essays make the case that religion influences the manner in which one racial group views another. In "Going against the Grain: Multiracialism and the Fate of the Social Gospel in 1920s Los Angeles," William Deverell and Mark Wild show how the religious viewpoints of predominantly white Protestant Angeleños produced the downfall of G. Bromley Oxman's Church of All Nations, as the church, geared to aiding the multiracial poor in Los Angeles, threatened the white-dominated racial structure. Likewise, Michael E. Engh, S.J., in "Religion, Immigrants, and Americanizers in Los Angeles, 1900–1925," argues that a similar core of white Protestant Angeleños withheld support from Mary Julia Workman, the Catholic head of Brownson Settlement House, a local settlement center targeting Japanese and Mexican immigrants. Workman's efforts to bring Americanizing programs to the downtrodden met with frustration and eventual defeat.

Two of the essays, by contrast, note how race can shape positions on religion. In a well-articulated piece entitled "Children of Ham and Children of Abraham: Construction and Deconstruction of Ethnic Identities in the Mormon Heartland," Armand L. Mauss traces the change in racial attitudes among leaders of the Latter-day Saints, who first prohibited African American males from positions in the priesthood but in the late

twentieth century lifted the ban. In "E Pluribus Unum: The Islamic Center of Southern California and the Making of an American Muslim Identity," Mary Jane O'Donnell explains that Muslims can adjust their religious views, as the Islamic Center of Southern California has done, in order to accommodate "outsiders," among them Anglos, African Americans, or Mexicans, as long as the members of such groups accept the Islamic faith.

In "Bringing in the Sheets: Robert Shuler, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Southernization of Southern California," Daniel Cady declares that race and religion reinforce each other. He focuses on Robert Pierce Shuler, a southern minister who as head of the Los Angeles Trinity Methodist Church in the 1920s allied himself with the newly arrived Ku Klux Klan and played upon the racist leanings of whites in a movement to save the city from foreigners and modernization. Shuler's racist campaign gained the support of many white Protestants (and led to the triumph of Shuler's handpicked candidate for city major in 1929), whereas efforts like those of Oxman and Workman encountered disappointment.

Other essays contend that race and religion affect identity. According to this viewpoint, Anglos associated the bodies of minority groups in the West with deviance, for peoples of color seemed to engage in actions that departed from white concepts of moral and religious principles. Laurie Maffly-Kipp, in "Engaging Habits and Besotted Idolatry: Viewing Chinese Religions in the American West," determined that during the late nineteenth century Chinese buildings, artifacts, idols, temples, and their own physical forms influenced whites to view the Chinese as strange folks whose religious practices and approaches to physical health threatened Americans with "bodily invasion" (p. 80). Similar judgments regarding bodily acts, based upon Anglo racial and religious sensibilities, were applied to Mexicans and African Americans, according to Pablo Mitchell, in "Bodies on Borders: African Americans, *Penitentes*, and Social Order in the Southwest." In "Modernists, Pueblo Indians and the Politics of Primitivism," Tisa Wegner finds still another link among race, religion, and identity. She studies two schools of thought that during the 1920s clashed over the meaning of Pueblo ceremonial performances. Modernists viewed Pueblo religion as primitive and in need of preservation in its unspoiled state, while progressives sought to outlaw some of the Pueblo rituals they thought bordered on the inhumane and the sexually disgraceful. Yet, she explains, both camps judged the physical acts of Pueblo religious celebrations as manifestations of a backward identity.

This collection has as its purpose introducing another variable—in this case religion—into the persistent question of what factors shape communities in a region. As a whole, the book informs the debate, and it represents another contribution to the many perspectives now applied to the study of western history.

ARNOLDO DE LEÓN
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BEN A. MINTEER. *The Landscape of Reform: Civic Pragmatism and Environmental Thought in America*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 264. \$28.00.

In this book, Ben A. Minteer argues that environmental scholars have reinforced an anthropocentric-ecocentric dualism within conservation and environmental activism. In doing so, they have simplified a complex past and lost a pragmatic approach grounded in experience, regionalism, and civic mindedness. Examining four thinkers of the early twentieth century, Minteer expands the intellectual foundations of American environmentalism and hopes to influence contemporary policy by suggesting relationships between environmental values and other public and ethical responsibilities.

Minteer opens with Liberty Hyde Bailey, Jr., an oft-forgotten horticulturalist, educational theorist, and leader of the Country Life movement that sought to revitalize farming life in a more urban-industrial nation. Bailey and his counterparts recognized rural deficiencies but accepted long-standing Jeffersonian traditions that assumed living in a closer relationship with nature supported a stronger civic order. Both Bailey and the better-known philosopher and educator John Dewey adopted a pragmatic epistemology that emphasized learning through experience and activity. They believed the understanding gained in school gardens was essential to students' citizenship. "Human interests and goods were thoroughly enmeshed in the parts and processes of the natural world, and fullness of experience could not be achieved by following the purely utilitarian strategy so dominant in urban life" (p. 29). Bailey's progressive ideas idealized the agrarian past and garnered little support in his lifetime. Nonetheless, Minteer contends, Bailey's environmental philosophy transcends the traditional dichotomy by seeking wise and efficient resource usage and emphasizing moral and civic stewardship.

While contemplating various human experiences within regional environments, Minteer proposes, Lewis Mumford's interwar planning also reflected Dewey's pragmatism in its unified method of inquiry and strong reliance on democratic participation. Given the two thinkers' published criticisms of each other, this may prove the most controversial aspect of the book. According to Minteer, Mumford's "pragmatic conservatism" suggested diverse moral foundations to American environmentalism and anticipated contemporary scholars who call for an environmentalism that mediates the needs of multiple human communities and those of natural ones. "Mumford thus offers us a broader and more integrated environmentalist agenda, one encompassing human moral, cultural, and political values as well as certain strains of holistic nonanthropocentrism (i.e., organicism)" (p. 78).

Benton MacKaye, the forester-philosopher who proposed the Appalachian Trail in the 1920s, hoped to integrate institutional and cultural features with the natural landscape. Minteer suggests that philosopher

Josiah Royce influenced MacKaye. Royce's "provincialism" balanced more expansive regional customs with moral and political universalism, while MacKaye's work for the U.S. Forest Service and other agencies convinced him that conservation tools could be combined with economic planning to strengthen communities. Like Bailey and Mumford, MacKaye believed that nature study could remedy urban ills. The socio-political and pragmatic value of the wild was its check on human arrogance and materialism. MacKaye's vision of an Appalachian Trail within a regional context was never fully realized, but Minteer still finds it a viable alternative. "Far from subscribing to the ideal of the unworked landscape, MacKaye sought a balanced regional environment that included urban, agrarian, and primeval elements in a reconfigured relationship, one that encouraged a more cooperative and democratic economic order and socially authentic form of human labor on the earth" (p. 111).

Minteer's final thinker is already central to environmental thought. Aldo Leopold is known for his "land ethic," in which he expanded community boundaries to include soils, waters, plants, and animals. The hegemonic scholarly view claims that in granting the biotic community intrinsic value, Leopold joined the ecocentric camp. Dissenters focus on Leopold as a democratic educator in a political tradition centered on self-reliance. Minteer alternatively poses Leopold as a practical philosopher concerned with public interest and a healthy environment. "It is clear that Leopold, in [4] *Sand County [Almanac, and Sketches Here and There]* (1949) and elsewhere, advanced a very different notion of 'progress' and its place in the conservation agenda, and he proffered a conception of the public interest that went beyond satisfaction of individual preferences and the accumulation of consumer goods" (p. 146).

Minteer's focus on the supposedly lost foundations of American environmentalism reflects his desire to influence contemporary issues by shifting debates away from the traditional dichotomy. Minteer's "civic pragmatism" path places environmental values in a discussion that also emphasizes a renewed democratic citizenship, incorporates regional diversity and multiple environmental experiences, and contemplates the public interest in nonmaterial terms.

This is an elegantly written, deeply researched book. Its delicate integration of intellectual history offers a valuable lesson for environmental historians. Minteer perhaps slightly overstates the persistence of the anthropocentric-ecocentric dichotomy in academia and today's multivariant environmentalism. Moreover, we might ask, if some ideas, such as those by Bailey and MacKaye, were not embraced by contemporaneous thinkers or subsequent activists, do they truly constitute foundations or do they simply offer meaningful alternatives for environmental thought? In the end, Minteer's book raises important and provocative questions and, in turn, raises the level of our debate.

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GREGORY SUMMERS. *Consuming Nature: Environmentalism in the Fox River Valley, 1850–1950*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2006. Pp. xiv, 256. \$29.95.

The Fox River flows thirty-five miles from the outlet of Wisconsin's largest interior lake, Lake Winnebago, to the beginning of Green Bay, which flows, in turn, into Lake Michigan. There are six small-to-medium cities in the valley, the largest being Appleton and the city of Green Bay. It is a heavily industrialized valley, and Gregory Summers's book covers the rise of its industry and the impact of this industry on the valley's people and environment.

Summers has written a well-organized and exceptionally well-documented study that is an important contribution both to regional history and to environmental history. However, it is as much, if not more, economic as environmental history, and the title should say so explicitly (although there is a hint in the word "consuming"). The two longest chapters are predominantly economic history: chapter three discusses electrification, building highways, and the shift from wheat to dairy farming; and chapter four discusses the rise of a valley consumer society. Summers uses the term consumption very broadly and does not distinguish between a lumber company's consumption of a forest, after which the forest is gone, and a bird-watcher's consumption of nature by virtue of having driven on paved roads and stayed in a resort to see birds in a forest that is essentially unchanged by bird-watching.

Most environmental histories develop narrative tension by focusing on a struggle between capitalists who exploit the environment for profit and environmentalists who attempt to protect the environment. Summers's introduction and final chapter focus on one such event, the Isaac Walton League's attempt in 1948 to force a state regulatory body to control valley paper mills' pollution of the Fox River. The Fox Valley paper industry provided ten thousand well-paying jobs, and its management claimed that the expense of pollution abatement beyond what it was already doing would force the mills to close. The League won a moral victory, but the state did not curtail the pollution as much as the League had hoped.

Summers's main argument is that, as our control of the environment has increased, our dependency on the environment has become progressively less visible. Theodore Roosevelt made this point at the White House conference on conservation in 1908. Roosevelt argued that we need to look below superficialities in order to appreciate the need for conservation. Summers, however, adopts a new use of this insight by his dissertation advisor, William Cronon, that environmentalists need to look beyond superficialities in order to appreciate society's needs to exploit the environment, and to acknowledge that, in order to gain general credibility. Presumably, such acknowledgement would lead to a more balanced environmental defense that would be more persuasive than extreme arguments to defend the environment.

There is some merit to this claim, but I think those who make it tend to carry it much further than is warranted, thereby excusing those who degrade the environment for profit. For example, Summers admits that it was in the financial interest of paper mills to delay pollution abatement as long as possible, but he is still inclined to take their word that they were already doing as much as possible to control pollution. He does not explore the question of whether more abatement would only have reduced profits rather than causing mills to close. Furthermore, he portrays the environmentalists' arguments rather simplistically. Few, if any, have argued that the environment should not be exploited at all. The real issue is what level of exploitation is justifiable, what expense is justifiable to reduce the impact, and how much recycling should be mandated. By shifting the onus to environmentalists, Summers neglects these questions.

He also seems to believe that if environmentalists only presented a more balanced argument that it would be persuasive; that those who profit from exploiting the environment would then either use more self-constraint or would be more easily constrained by society. This is a huge assumption that seems at odds with what we already know: that those who drive gas-guzzling vehicles do not trade them in because gas is becoming scarce and their vehicles cause more pollution than vehicles with better miles per gallon; and that no amount of evidence of global warming has ever convinced very many corporations profiting from release of greenhouse gases to constrain themselves.

The best regional environmental histories, such as Harry Caudill's *Night Comes to the Cumberlands* (1963), encourage the reader to sympathize with the majority of the people and to care about the environment. Summers's goal is to find a balance between the need for exploitation and a desire for protection. Whether Caudill's and Summers's goals can be achieved in the same history seems unclear.

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KATRINE BARBER. *Death of Celilo Falls*. (The Emil and Kathleen Sick Lecture-Book Series in Western History and Biography.) Seattle: University of Washington Press in association with the Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest. 2005. Pp. xi, 258. \$22.50.

Completed in 1959, the Dalles Dam and lock at Celilo Falls is one of twelve structures in the vast Columbia River Basin Project that re-engineered the great river and its tributaries for the purposes of navigation and hydroelectric power. Celilo Falls on the mid-Columbia just east of The Dalles township once was the hub of a thriving Native American culture and economy: a regional trading center, bountiful intertribal fishery, and magnificent landscape. During the twenty years following completion of Bonneville Dam in 1938, the Columbia was transformed from a community of fishers,

salmon, Indians, and small-town white Americans to an industrial infrastructure of national significance—an “organic machine” in the words of historian Richard White. Drawing on extensive documentary records of local and federal agencies, Katrine Barber’s book is an engaging, meticulously documented, and perhaps representative account of how the federal government transformed the American West.

Celilo Village prospered from the river prior to the invasion of the Army Corps of Engineers. Because the community was outside the boundaries of adjacent Indian reservations its legal status was ambiguous. Four Indian tribes (Yakama, Nez Perce, Warm Springs, and unenrolled Wasco and Wishram) enjoyed treaty-guaranteed fishing rights at the falls. But whites and out-of-area Indians also fished in the area. Competitive groups negotiated river access and all of them sold their catch to a white-owned cannery. As many as five thousand fishers swelled the small village population during salmon season, quarreling over preferred spots overlooking the falls but also cooperating in a market governed by custom. Jerry-rigged platforms reached out over the rapids from which migrating salmon were scooped up in nets. The remarkable scene (pictured in one of the book’s many photographs) attracted tourists and customers for fresh and smoked salmon.

Barber claims the inundation of Celilo Falls was inevitable once the larger Columbia River Basin Project was conceived. Her story told from the vantage of contemporary documents vividly portrays the culture of small-town boosterism in The Dalles that welcomed federal planners. The Chamber of Commerce and high school band celebrated the imminent arrival of progress and development. Federal largess would not only bring population and economic growth, it would also eliminate nuisances like the Indian slum and drunken, unemployed residents of Celilo Village. The changes were further justified and celebrated in the rhetoric of the Cold War, the Northwest’s contribution to national defense so much on the 1950s agenda. Given this momentum bearing down on the meager resources of Indians to resist, “the story of the inundation of Celilo Falls and the dislocation of fishers who worked there is shockingly unremarkable and predictable” (p. 184).

At other times, however, the story is told with less emphasis on inevitability and more on resistance. Native American groups, a few allies in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, legal defenders of Indian treaty rights, and some supporters in the state and national press opposed the project. Consideration of an alternative dam site was seriously if unsuccessfully urged. Opponents won consideration in the form of replacement housing near the flooded village and meager financial compensation for loss of the fishery. Yet the resistance movement was feeble. No monkey wrench gang emerged (as envisioned in John Hockenberry’s novel about the Columbia, *A River Out of Eden* [2001]), the national media were disinterested, and the American Indian Movement (AIM) and the Environmental Protection Act (EPA) were thirty years away. The times were not right.

Federal power and bureaucratic culture overwhelmed the opposition. Public hearings that claimed to invite local participation were presented with set agendas; Indians were politely heard and politically ignored.

Barber’s conclusion wrestles with these oppositions: “The history of Celilo Village is one of endurance, adaptation, and resistance within a powerful nation set on transforming the Columbia River into a source of hydroelectric power. Yet Celilo residents carried on traditions that gave shape to their lives even while they opposed solutions they believed to be unjust. Because of this perseverance, the community persists to this day” (p. 139). Inevitable loss, destruction, and death coexist uneasily with resistance, adaptation, and a sense of justice; both defeat and perseverance.

These seeming inconsistencies call for deeper analysis. How may Native American communities (or any others) retain their spirit once they have lost their livelihood? How do some Indian movements succeed when faced with similar threats from federal water and power schemes? In Wendy Espeland’s *The Struggle for Water* (1998), for example, Arizona’s Yavapai Indians stopped construction of a dam that would have destroyed their land. Why the differences? How for that matter does the relatively early exploitation of the Columbia River compare with environmental struggles over the Colorado River, including the continuing controversy over the Glen Canyon Dam? One would like to see the case of Celilo Falls located in a broader analytical frame. Barber’s useful study, like The Dalles Dam itself, takes on greater meaning as part of a larger pattern.

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JOE CREECH. *Righteous Indignation: Religion and the Populist Revolution*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2006. Pp. xxx, 232. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$25.00.

Since the 2000 election, observers of the American political map, with its distinct “red” and “blue” swatches, have commented on the apparently undying affiliation of rural states from the Southeast to the Northwest with the Republican Party. Writers like Thomas Frank in *What’s the Matter with Kansas* (2004) wonder aloud how these states could have traded the radical politics of the nineteenth century for the social and economic conservatism of the twentieth and twenty-first. After this year’s mid-term elections, when some once-red states like Montana began to look blue again, the relationship between the legacy of radicalism and the landscape of contemporary politics in rural America became more confounding than ever.

In this book, Joe Creech begins to untangle the web of rural politics in the Populist era in a way that can help us better understand our current divisions. Populism, he reminds us, has been the subject of intense historiographic debate: were these radical farmers proto-

progressives as C. Vann Woodward and Lawrence Goodwyn would have had us believe, or were they the rabid anti-intellectuals and anti-modernists portrayed by Richard Hofstadter? Creech presents a significant new perspective on this debate, arguing that Populism may have seemed both liberal and conservative because it was strongly influenced by evangelical Protestantism, which was itself both a backward and forward-looking movement. Although he focuses on the southern branch of the Populist Party, and on its work in North Carolina in particular, Creech does occasionally point to the broader significance of his research. For example, he explains that given the importance of evangelical Protestantism to Populism, “the image of William Jennings Bryan, the ‘great commoner’-turned-fundamentalist, prosecuting John T. Scopes . . . is not as incongruous as it might seem at first glance” (p. 179).

Creech makes the connection between Populism and Protestant evangelism on the basis of both party leadership and political rhetoric. Many Populist leaders in North Carolina were either ministers or active congregants in rural evangelical churches. They made the connection between church and state more readily than historians have previously recognized. One group of Populists, for example, campaigned on a “look to Jesus” platform (p. xv). Others vociferously associated their opponents with Satan and his kingdom. Moreover, Creech shows that certain kinds of evangelicals in North Carolina were more likely than others to embrace Populism’s political message: those “associated with denominations of a restorationist bent . . . and a more decentralized ecclesiology” (p. 144). In other words, those North Carolinians whose religious leaders believed in the importance of restoring the moral framework of American life and rejecting large “churchianity” were most open to hearing the same kind of ideas about American political life as a whole. Dr. Cyrus Thompson, a Methodist lay leader, for example, urged North Carolinians to see that “just as the church may lose the spirit of its head and accept the lordship of Constantine or Mammon . . . so a republic may be robbed of the fruits of democracy and its citizens . . . become slaves of increasing aggregations of wealth and power” (p. 152).

That Thompson held out the specter of slavery to a Populist audience only thirty years removed from the end of the Civil War suggests another unique aspect of southern Populism: its sometimes unintentional but nonetheless very significant biracialism. In North Carolina Populism appealed to many African Americans, and some evangelical leaders openly embraced political union. In the state elections of 1894, African American voters helped Populists win many state and Congressional seats. The second district, in particular, saw the creation of a solidified rural black electorate. Yet, as Creech reminds us, this success was linked to the movement’s undoing. First, African Americans left the Populist Party in 1896 when the national ticket fused the People’s Party with the Democrats and abandoned its southern Republican allies. Closer to home, the success

of the black Populists in North Carolina evinced a violent, relentless white supremacist backlash. In less than a decade, the black electorate had been disenfranchised and the one-party system firmly established in the state. Indeed Creech reminds us that because the biracial Populist politics had been so successful in North Carolina, the backlash against it was particularly severe. The African American Congressman from North Carolina’s Second District contended that he no longer could “live in North Carolina and be a man” (p. 177).

In the end, Creech agrees with those who feel that Populism represented a “democratic vision” despite its unrelenting anti-Catholicism and, in his view, intermittent antisemitism. Moreover he believes that the movement came to an end after 1896. Nevertheless, echoes of its “frame of mind” can also be seen in some radical twentieth-century rural movements which similarly straddled the political left and right, including southern agrarianism, support for Huey Long, and even the civil rights movement. In short, Creech’s work reminds us that all rural political movements—both those in the past and the present—need to be reconsidered in the light of the religious culture that reinforced them. As he puts it, “these opposing [political] tendencies seem less contradictory, however, once they are understood as part of a religious ethos” (p. xxiii).

CATHERINE MCNICOL STOCK
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MARGARET LAMBERTS BENDROTH. *Fundamentalists in the City: Conflict and Division in Boston’s Churches, 1885–1950*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 250. \$45.00.

In recent decades, both historians and sociologists of American religion have documented how and why religion survives and thrives in American cities. Since 2000, a host of young scholars including Keith Zahniser (*Steel City Gospel: Protestant Laity and Reform in Progressive-Era Pittsburgh* [2005]), Wallace D. Best (*Passionately Human, No Less Divine: Religion and Culture in Black Chicago, 1915–1952* [2005]), and Omar Maurice McRoberts (*Streets of Glory: Church and Community in a Black Urban Neighborhood* [2003]) have joined the ranks of those seeking to overturn the paradigm of urban religious declension by focusing on minority groups and faith-based activists. A welcome addition to this literature, Margaret Lamberts Bendroth’s book elucidates the entwined religious and political trajectory of conservative Protestantism in one of the nation’s oldest enclaves.

From its founding mission as a “city on a hill” to its more recent status as a sanctuary for skeptics, Boston has had its share of religious controversy. By the closing decades of the nineteenth century, distinctive minorities such as Unitarians, Christian Scientists and Vedantists had burnished the city’s reputation for religious liberalism, eclecticism, and experimentation while Old World transplants—notably Judaism and Roman Ca-

tholicism—provided a sense of conservatism and continuity. Yet even as historical images of religious progressives rubbed up against the realities of deeply committed faith communities, there has been little written about the heirs of the early English settlers—main-line Protestants who, by the mid-nineteenth century, formed the core of Boston's middle class but less than fifty percent of its citizenry. Bendroth's book focuses on these believers: Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians who by the turn of the century were leaders of an incipient fundamentalist movement.

Bendroth, who had initially planned to research the conflict between Boston's upper-crust liberals and middle-class fundamentalists, eschews the latter term in favor of "conservative evangelicals." The choice reflects her belief that Boston's story manifests social dynamics rather than theological clashes. Her book, a series of case studies illustrating how local events exacerbated the rift between the city's Protestants, also demonstrates how conservative hostility to liberalism was blunted by its greater antipathy to Catholicism. Arguing that anti-Catholicism became a unifying factor among evangelicals of varying stripes, Bendroth notes the need for solidarity arose when Catholics' numerical strength resulted in control of local government.

The book's first section documents conflicts between Protestants and Catholics over religious and political authority. At the center of these chapters is the May 1885 arrest of three Protestant ministers for preaching on Boston Common. The three had broken a city law by preaching in a public space without a permit, an ordinance honored more in the breach than in practice. The arrest stirred widespread anger among Boston's Protestants, who considered the Common a sacred patrimony. Puritans hung theological dissidents there, George Whitefield rallied fifteen thousand, and several of the city's most beloved congregations dotted its perimeters. Evangelicals interpreted the move against the ministers as part of a conspiracy to dominate Boston, a crusade also apparent in Catholic efforts to oppose temperance legislation and to control public education. According to Bendroth, anti-Catholicism spurred Boston's conservative evangelicals to engage in city politics at a time when historians assume they were more interested in eternal salvation than local elections. Sensitive to gender politics, she describes the significant role evangelical women played in these drives—despite the established narrative of fundamentalism's res masculinization.

In the book's second section, Bendroth examines the impact of large-scale evangelical crusades on Boston politics and religious life. J. Wilbur Chapman, Billy Sunday, and Billy Graham each elicited strong support across the Protestant spectrum and won thousands of sinners. But the conversions had little affect on politics or religion; for all Sunday's devil-dousing antics, he could not muster enough votes to stop the liquor trade, nor could Graham reinvigorate New England's evangelicals. Yet the group's impact was far from over as evangelicals developed a network of schools, associa-

tions, and parachurch organizations that shaped mid-to-late twentieth-century conservative Protestantism.

Bendroth's book is an elegant work that is accessible to students as well as scholars. Its fascinating characters—from female evangelist Virginia Asher to farmer-evangelist Joel Wright, founder of the First Fruit Harvesters Association—cry out for longer studies. Bendroth's revisioning of fundamentalism's dominant narrative complicates the movement through well-developed case studies. Some nits can be picked: class issues are mentioned yet only glancingly engaged. Race is not raised until the book's concluding pages, when Bendroth belatedly notes that African Americans made up less than two percent of Boston's pre-1900 population. This short book reads more like a series of essays than a fully integrated manuscript, and the chapters on revivals seem more like set pieces than a continuation of the first section's salient themes. Nonetheless, Bendroth has written a timely addition to studies of urban religion that enables readers to see both fundamentalists and the city of Boston in a new light.

DIANE WINSTON

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KALI N. GROSS. *Colored Amazons: Crime, Violence, and Black Women in the City of Brotherly Love, 1880–1910*. (Politics, History, and Culture.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 260. \$21.95.

Kali N. Gross examines the history of black women's criminality in Philadelphia from 1880 to 1910 from a "bottom up" perspective. Here she is interested not only in how black women negotiated the criminal justice system but also in how they subverted marginal employment and forms of discrimination to their advantage. In particular, Gross relies upon the records of Eastern State Penitentiary, Philadelphia's main prison facility, and newspaper accounts of court proceedings. These archival sources reveal both discriminatory practices of the court and press, as well as black women's agency in often exploiting their employers and sexual partners.

Chapter one discusses Pennsylvania's early legal history, beginning with the case of Alice Clifton, a black woman accused of murdering her "illegitimate" biracial child in 1787. Based on this singular case, Gross argues that slavery "shaped broader notions of race, gender, and sexuality" (p. 14). Far more persuasive is her use of statistics to demonstrate racist court practices. For example, black crime constituted three percent of all crime in Pennsylvania by 1800 and slightly over nine percent by 1864. Yet these percentages far exceeded the percentage of the state's black population. Black women faced the most discrimination, evident in the large number of them incarcerated.

Chapter two investigates black women's specific crimes during the post-Reconstruction years, particularly servant theft. Most black female criminals were first-time offenders, single or widowed, semiliterate, and poorly paid. Here a comparison of black women's

employment and criminal records to those of other ethnic women in Philadelphia would have given readers a better understanding of black women's circumstances. Instead, Gross refers to white women generally, not differentiating between native and foreign-born. Gross does provide a fascinating discussion of working-class and poor black women's participation in popular urban entertainments and sub rosa activities. However, her concluding discussion on the black elite and urban reform does not fully investigate how black clubwomen, Philadelphia's Urban League chapter, or black churches sought to uplift poor and working-class women.

Chapter three focuses on the specific behaviors of fist fights, domestic quarrels, felon assaults, and badger thefts. In the last case, women posed as prostitutes and robbed white men, thereby purposefully exploiting white men's sexuality. At least one-fourth of the black female criminals sentenced to Eastern State Penitentiary used some form of violence both to defend themselves and to obtain material possessions. As in the first chapter, however, Gross relies heavily on one case to substantiate her arguments.

Chapter four is a powerful chapter in its focus on the press's use of racist caricatures of black women. White-controlled presses more often portrayed black women criminals as uncontrollable and emotional, whereas white men were viewed as stoic and controlled. Similarly, most stories about the migration of black women relied upon caricatures. Gross argues that white-controlled newspapers were more sympathetic to white female criminals. But again, it is not clear whether she is referring to immigrant or native-born women. Further, Gross claims that black papers also participated in the construction of black women as "Colored Amazons," but she tells us little about this.

Chapter five looks at the discourse of criminology and its interpretation of black female crime. Gross's discussion of Cesare Lombroso, legislation pertaining to criminals, and visual forms of criminal identification such as mug shots would have been better placed in the first chapters of the book. Further exploration of the various discourses about criminality, including theories and court testimonies, would have strengthened her arguments about the court's racist practices.

The appendixes provide valuable information about the type of crimes committed by black women in Philadelphia, their ages, nativity, marital status, number of offenses, and the disposition of their cases. However, readers should be cautioned that the number of black female criminals at Eastern State Penitentiary from 1880 to 1910 was quite small: only 158.

Gross's book provides historians with a spirited account of black women's criminality in Philadelphia during the Progressive era. I found the sections on turn-of-the-century entertainments and consumer styles of working-class and poor black women in Philadelphia to be an important contribution. Her discussion of newspaper accounts and cartoons of black women criminals is also significant. Nonetheless, a fuller portrait of black

women's crimes could have been drawn through comparisons with other female inmates. Further, in emphasizing a few spectacular accounts of black women's crimes, Gross denies the reader a full understanding of the range of black women's crimes or the circumstances of these activities. This may well be because of the sparseness of prison and penitentiary documents, something Gross acknowledges. Perhaps if she had extended the time period, she might have given readers a more comprehensive view of black women criminals in Philadelphia.

ANNE MEIS KNUFFER
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ELIZABETH ALICE CLEMENT. *Love for Sale: Courting, Treating, and Prostitution in New York City, 1900–1945*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 321. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$21.95.

Courtship, marriage, and sexuality changed dramatically in America during the first half of the twentieth century. Working and middle-class youth rejected parental control in "courtship," creating a peer-defined "dating system." Deserting family parlors, young heterosexuals explored romance and sex in the commercial dance halls, movie theaters, and parks of urban America. Cities also became settings for homosexual subcultures. "Petting" became commonplace in dating, and a growing proportion of dating couples engaged in premarital intercourse. The sexualization and commercialization of courtship provoked anxiety among youth's elders, but older Americans also promoted change, acknowledging love and sexual intimacy as keys to "modern" marriage. Sexuality invited scientific inquiry, and reformers challenged laws prohibiting contraception and sex education. As sexual satisfaction became important in dating and marriage, prostitution moved to society's margins.

Elizabeth Alice Clement's book adds detail and analysis to this picture of sweeping change. Clement traces the long-term and wide-spread effects of working-class "treating"—a system of heterosexual barter that peaked before and during World War I—on American society and culture. The willingness of poorly paid working girls to trade sexual favors for the price of a movie ticket, restaurant meal, or fashionable hat became the basis for middle and working-class dating, and for male sexual privilege, in subsequent decades. Treating also marginalized prostitution and contributed to prostitutes' worsening conditions of work. Clement draws on sources from vice societies, municipal courts, women's reformatories, the U.S. War Department, and a host of social scientists. Focusing on one place, New York City, she has produced a history of impressive scope and interpretive power.

Courtship practices were already shifting among working-class New Yorkers in the early twentieth century. With some success, immigrant and African American girls challenged their parents' authority, indepen-

dently searching for mates and engaging in premarital intercourse. Working-class young women also experimented with "treating," trading sexual favors for access to commercial goods and amusements. Wage-earning girls felt entitled to independence and wanted to enjoy New York's dance halls and other "cheap amusements," but they earned too little to pay their own way. Young men paid for them, in return for sex. Young women who "treated" did not consider themselves prostitutes and exerted considerable control in sexual bartering, sometimes withholding sex from men who were insufficiently generous or attractive. Even as treating women refused the label "prostitute," prostitution gained visibility in working-class neighborhoods. After city officials forced the closure of brothels in the entertainment district, prostitutes scattered to working-class areas. They helped saloon owners retain a loyal clientele, achieved a modicum of independence, and were grudgingly tolerated by their neighbors.

World War I hastened the sexualization of American youth culture, but at women's cost. The government incarcerated thousands of prostitutes, hoping to reduce venereal disease in the armed forces. The repression of prostitution encouraged treating, which "took on a patriotic glow as young girls combined their own hunger for urban amusements with their desire to boost the morale of 'boys in uniform'" (p. 114). Wartime "charity girls" shamelessly pursued soldiers and a good time; their daring made the trading of sex for commercial entertainment fully visible to middle-class Americans. Yet "charity girls" lost control in the treating exchange, as military life promoted masculine aggression and feelings of entitlement to sex.

Treating took two paths during the 1920s and 1930s. Incorporated into the "dating systems" of middle and working-class young adults, treating moved premarital sex and commercial entertainment to the center of modern courtship. Tensions developed between young men who made an "economic investment" in sex and young women who saw dating as a path to romantic love. Treating was also practiced by poor older women—divorced, widowed, single, married—who needed its material benefits. For them, especially during the Great Depression, sexual barter became a way to obtain shoes, rent, and other elements of economic sustenance.

Prostitution, meanwhile, was further marginalized. Dating and married men made declining use of prostitutes. White women eschewed prostitution for well-paid employment in legal sex-oriented entertainment, such as taxi dancing. Crime syndicates and pimps gained control of prostitutes working in brothels and apartments. Corrupt police controlled poor (and disproportionately black) prostitutes who solicited on the streets.

World War II sharpened women's disadvantages in America's modern sexual culture. Government officials reinvigorated a sexual double standard, making condoms widely available to military men while condemning as immoral both the prostitutes and "victory girls"

who dated uniformed men. After the war, sexual treating continued to be an expected part of dating, but "public prescriptions . . . insisted on premarital chastity for women" (p. 258). Women were caught between new practices and old ideals.

This book vividly illuminates the inequities and disadvantages that shadowed women's entry into modern dating. Clement does not explore the possibility that modern women found ways to subvert male sexual privilege. Other scholars surely will, while thanking Clement for her important contribution to the history of modern American sexuality.

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STEPHEN CRESSWELL. *Rednecks, Redeemers, and Race*. (Heritage of Mississippi Series, number 3.) Jackson: University Press of Mississippi for the Mississippi Historical Society, Jackson. 2006. Pp. x, 283. \$45.00.

It is difficult to imagine Mississippi in 1911 as "progressive." Images of a one-party government committed to white supremacy and willing to tolerate, even encourage, the lynching of blacks inevitably come to mind. Yet, measured against the harsh conditions of life in postwar Mississippi, and the limits of Progressive-era reforms in general, Stephen Cresswell argues, "emphatically, yes" (p. 226). Mississippi was a progressive state. He marshals solid evidence for that conclusion. Between 1903 and 1917, the state passed a direct primary election law that increased popular participation in elections, created a Department of Agriculture that encouraged scientific farming, increased school funding, passed child labor and work safety laws, and ended convict leasing.

Cresswell emulates Albert Kirwan's analysis of class relations in his 1951 classic, *Revolt of the Rednecks: Mississippi Politics, 1876–1925*, while carefully grounding his own analysis of Mississippi's advances in the state's simultaneous political and social degradation of African Americans. Racist demagoguery, he emphasizes, flourished alongside agrarian class consciousness in Progressive-era Mississippi.

Cresswell begins his study in 1877, the year that Mississippi Democrats, largely through fraud, violence, and racial intimidation, wrested control over the state's government from Republicans. Ensuing chapters focus on three major themes: economics, politics, and race. Retelling the grim story of southern farmers' post-Civil War entanglement in one-crop production, the crop lien system, and perpetual indebtedness, Cresswell attributes the unusual strength of radical agrarianism, reflected in the National Farmers' Alliance, the People's Party, and the Socialist Party, to such conditions. In seeking to end the state's domination by wealthy Delta planters, many small farmers and wage workers joined farm cooperatives and labor unions. But despite agricultural and labor leaders' valiant efforts to organize farmers and workers and elect dissident candidates to political office, they were no match for consolidated ag-

riculture and industry, or the Democratic Party that served both.

Cresswell devotes three chapters to the plight of African Americans, identifying postwar violence and segregation as tools of racial control that served to isolate blacks and render them a readily available source of cheap labor. Coercive laws of doubtful constitutionality reduced many blacks to a state of peonage and made it easy to incarcerate those who resisted. Prisons were filled with black men, used by the state as leased (convict) labor. When blacks acted to restore their rights of citizenship, challenge segregation, or gain equal access to education, whites countered with more violence. Using circular logic, mainstream political leaders then blamed the state's economic problems on black poverty, ignorance, and disease. Segregation, they argued, was the only means for protecting whites' interests. Not surprisingly, Cresswell finds that many blacks chose to build their own communities apart from white society, and, often, outside the state of Mississippi altogether.

Racial discrimination and inflammatory political rhetoric played an integral role in power struggles among whites. Cresswell devotes an entire chapter to the Mississippi State Convention of 1890, showing how state Democrats justified disfranchisement of blacks as a means to protecting white supremacy without resorting to violence and political corruption. Many agrarians agreed with that strategy, and hoped that eliminating the black vote would weaken the power of black-majority counties where, they believed, wealthy planters controlled the votes of blacks. Most populists, however, realized that poll taxes and literacy tests would not only disfranchise many black voters, but also those whites most likely to support populist candidates. They were, of course, correct. The 1890 convention effectively undercut the populist movement by disfranchising many whites as well as blacks.

Cresswell's blending of political and economic history leaves no doubt as to why agriculture, poverty, workers' rights, literacy, and race relations were burning issues in Progressive-era Mississippi. Some former populists found a home in the Socialist Party, but it was the agrarian reform wing of the Democratic Party that seized the reins of government. Cresswell zeroes in on Governors James K. Vardaman and Theodore Bilbo to illuminate the meaning of "progressive" during the first two decades of twentieth-century Mississippi. Vardaman, he points out, was anti-imperialist and a fierce advocate of both child labor laws and (white) woman's suffrage, yet also a virulent racist heard to praise lynch mobs. His and Bilbo's brand of demagoguery not only reflected, but accelerated, the racism that permeated Mississippi's agrarian, prohibition, and woman's suffrage movements.

Cresswell's insightful study of race, class, and politics in post-Reconstruction and Progressive-era Mississippi significantly advances our understanding of that state's failure to achieve more widespread economic and political progress in the six decades following the Civil War. Well into the twentieth century, he shows, most

white Mississippians clung to the idea—an idea repeated *ad nauseam* by politicians and reformers over the years—that the elevation of their status depended on the degradation of blacks' status.

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San Marcos

GERALD E. SHENK. *"Work or Fight!" Race, Gender, and the Draft in World War One*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2005. Pp. x, 194. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$26.95.

When Representative Charles Rangel proposed a Universal Service Act, requiring two years of compulsory military or alternative civilian service from all American men and women aged eighteen to twenty-six, in 2003, many applauded the proposal as a more fair method of sharing the burden of national defense. Advocates of the selective service system put in place in September of 1917 also argued that it would be a more equitable way than an all-volunteer force of sharing the burden of war. Yet the system included a complex set of deferments, exempting some from service, especially those whose civilian work was deemed essential. As Gerald E. Shenk's perceptive book shows, in parceling out those deferments and determining the fates of draft-age men, the selective service system was far from equitable. Rather than fairly distributing the burden of national defense, officials running the system used it to "protect privileges associated with property, patriarchy, and white supremacy" (p. 153).

The draft created a complex system whereby some were able to assume control and others had to submit. The Selective Service Act of 1917, along with "work or fight" laws enacted by the federal government and several states, created an elaborate system that mobilized vast segments of the population behind the war effort. Shenk, himself a conscientious objector during the Vietnam War, looks at local newspapers and government records in four states, finding stories that reveal important aspects of how the system functioned at the state and local levels. The book presents a series of case studies—on Georgia, Illinois, New Jersey, and California and in one county or town in each of those states. The book supplements John Whiteclay Chambers's *To Raise an Army: The Draft Comes to Modern America* (1987), an account of the draft at the national level, by providing close-up views of the workings of the selective service system where it directly affected Americans. It also elaborates on the topic of Joan M. Jensen's *Price of Vigilance* (1968), showing how private vigilante organizations like the American Protective League collaborated with government agencies to both squash dissent and advance the interests of particular individuals.

Shenk's book shows how the federal government harnessed the self-interest of elites to mobilize the nation in support of the war, often in violation of basic human and Constitutional rights. Almost everyone went along with the system, and the few who resisted were marginalized or prosecuted. Many, especially individuals

with social status, were able to skirt the system or use it to their own advantage. But certain unprivileged individuals had limited success in bending the system to their purposes. Some of the book's more interesting stories involved the attempts of women to petition local draft boards to force their loafing husbands or sons to get work, or to get abusive husbands sent away to the army. They often failed, coming up against unsympathetic male draft board members, but some succeeded. More important, though, the decentralized and seemingly chaotic system also served the nation's needs well, raising an army, suppressing dissent, and mobilizing the domestic work force. Like legislating and sausage-making, the process was not pretty; it was riddled with unfairness, fraud, and corruption. A pair of New Jersey men managed to collect \$20,000 for delivering four hundred alleged deserters, most of whom turned out to be exempt from military service. The owner of a water company in San Diego used his position on the draft board to win an exemption for the son of a newspaper publisher whose influence he was courting.

It is unclear why Shenk leaves "class" out of the subtitle of the book, since there are plenty of stories of how wealthy individuals like the San Diego water baron used the system to advance their interests, often at the expense of lower-class men and women. Examples where class was a determining factor are generally more convincing than Shenk's attempts to find "gendered" meanings in primary sources. In fact, many of the book's interesting stories do not seem to say much about either race or gender. Each chapter deals with a different state, and within each chapter several different subsections tell stories that deal with different themes, so there is no narrative story line to tie the whole book together, and Shenk's attempts to relate each story back to the central themes of race and gender do not achieve this either. Meanwhile, to work the race/gender theme, Shenk sometimes unfairly imputes sinister motives or sentiments to individuals, as when he labels an Army general's concern that Georgia planters were exploiting black laborers as "paternalistic" (p. 31).

More striking in the findings of this study than the impact of race and gender or even class is how a democratic, federal system can control its population in a time of war by serving not only the needs of the state, but also the needs of individuals who, for whatever reasons, are privileged characters in their communities.

WILLIAM G. JORDAN
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DAVID A. GERSTNER. *Manly Arts: Masculinity and Nation in Early American Cinema*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 316. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

Cinema may not be an American invention (the Lumière brothers got there first), but Hollywood has made the movies its own, drawing together the national obsessions, ambitions, and ideals that have kept a people at once in the dark and illuminated. David A. Gerstner

focuses on the history (and prehistory) of cinema to reveal it as a struggle for an art that would be distinctively American, which has generally meant (so he argues) an art native-born and *manly*. In this book Gerstner traces the interrelated development of the concepts of "American art" and "manliness" as they intersected over the course of a century, defining a national aesthetic.

The thesis is established in the Astor Place riot of 1849, which resulted from the intense rivalry between two Shakespearean actors, the Englishman William Macready and the American Edwin Forrest. Forrest's brash style offered not only a potent contrast to Macready but something like a distinctive national model of muscularity and virility. The actor's physical body itself, in the stereotypically masculine poses favored by Forrest, came to represent a nationalizing presence, one that Walt Whitman would celebrate as part of a democratic, masculinist national ideology. Gerstner then leaps to the American Vitagraph production of *The Battle Cry of Peace* (1915), a propagandistic film created with Theodore Roosevelt's collaboration to encourage Americans into opposing isolationism by instilling fears of an attack on New York. The choice of cinema itself as a spur to action lay in belief in its democratizing spirit, as an art that supposedly leveled distinctions among artist, subject, and viewer. In this, it posed a rebuke to modernist aesthetics, or as Gerstner characterizes Roosevelt's belief: that "art was an industrious and virile activity where art and artist were one and the same because art was 'quite simply' an extension of the artist's experience" (p. 67). Like Forrest, Roosevelt hewed to an ostensibly national aesthetic in which art embodied virile principles long associated with frontier ideals.

The sequence now tightens chronologically, though the argument itself makes a leap toward African American (as distinct from national) concerns, in turning to Oscar Micheaux's film, *Within Our Gates* (1920). Gerstner begins with the important fact of absent fathers and gifted sons in postslave culture (Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, preeminently), granting to the figure of the African American mother an unusual power to "resuscitate the structuring absence of the father" (p. 100). Micheaux translated that sociological thematic into cinematic terms, exploring the lineaments of black manhood through the response of women characters. And Gerstner does (for once) reveal this argument in formal terms, showing how Micheaux's use of parallel editing offered a searching investigation of race, skin tone, and manhood. "I suggest that Micheaux writes his body into these texts as a projection of a body torn asunder by the trauma of history and the inability to identify an absolute mirror image of pure blackness" (p. 92). Paul Strand and Charles Sheeler's brief film *Manhatta* (1921) then becomes the centerpiece of a larger discussion of modernism, although the film itself is less important than the photographic innovations by Strand and Sheeler, posing the artist as invisible craftsman, offering self-portraits that effectively erase the artist as a presence

independent of his art: he simply becomes what he envisions. And both artists' interest in industrialism serves as a further nationalizing aesthetic.

Finally, Gerstner turns to Vincente Minnelli's early film *Cabin in the Sky* (1943) as a focus to his study of the common ground that emerged between 1930s queer and African American cultures: they "generated what was perceived to be incongruous aesthetic practices that discomfited and confused white and black American critics alike" (p. 167). Unlike Forrest or even contemporary modernists, Minnelli turned to the cultural "other" to announce his own otherness, rather than as a form of spiritual integration. *Cabin in the Sky* thus "provides a view into this cultural mixing of sophisticated American modernism that resisted hetero-masculinist Anglo-Saxon nationalism" (p. 174). As in each of his other chapters—although this is not a theme pressed firmly enough throughout—American artists posed alternatives to white, heterosexual, masculine figures (whether Forrest's English rival, or Roosevelt's German foe, or Micheaux's white father, or Sheeler's modernist machine, or Minnelli's queer white culture) as a means of reinforcing a nationalist aesthetic.

For all the comprehensiveness of Gerstner's analysis—and he covers a lot of territory here, from Macready to George Balanchine, Max Nordau to Marsden Hartley—the argument is more ambitious than the examples adduced. Fixation on the male body as central to the development of cinema, conjoined in turn with nationalist sentiments that infect both gay and African American self-consciousness: this tangled web works more often by bald assertion than careful persuasion. And while focusing on a half-dozen discrete artistic moments might have been made to seem less arbitrary, in fact Gerstner with rare exception fails to find much of a basis for his sweeping claims in the texts themselves. Brief thematic summaries are allowed to stand in for formal analyses, and in the end the Astor Place riot seems to share little with obscure films like *Cabin in the Sky* or *Manhatta*.

LEE MITCHELL
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PETER DECHERNEY. *Hollywood and the Cultural Elite: How the Movies Became American*. (Film and Culture.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 269. \$27.50.

According to Peter Decherney, historians have failed to connect the history of Hollywood with that of American cultural institutions. This is even more striking if we consider that Hollywood is now one of the key representatives of American culture. Decherney's thought-provoking book suggests that it is Hollywood's long involvement with American institutions of higher learning that turned what was a working-class pastime into an industry in synecdochical relation with American culture. The author argues that this collaboration was fruitful for both parties. Hollywood people soon saw that their association with American top universi-

ties would legitimate their problematic new medium in the eyes of skeptical Americans. Decherney stresses, however, that Hollywood producers were not just after higher cultural status. Very early on film producers saw the practical advantage of getting American universities to train the industry's increasingly specialized workforce. Thus, in 1915, Jesse Lasky and Adolph Zukor sponsored Columbia University's screenwriting courses. Later on, in 1927, Lasky and other producers tried to involve Harvard's Fogg Art Museum in the creation of an annual film award ceremony and a permanent collection of worthy Hollywood films. Harvard's prestige was appealing, but it was not the only motivation. The move was also meant to extend the exploitation period for high-end movies by making them into "classics" to be appreciated long after their original release. Sketched only months after the Studio Basic Agreement had unionized stagehands, the Harvard accord was also about turning Hollywood filmmakers into artists rather than contract labor, and thus was intended to stave off the unionization of directors, actors, and screenwriters.

American cultural institutions also saw something to gain from their collaboration with Hollywood. In 1915, poet Vachel Lindsay thought that films could be extracted from the commercial sphere, relocated to museums and libraries, and refashioned as a "technology of the citizen" (p. 23). This kind of anticommmercialism, however, did not last. After World War I, it became clear that the commercial film was here to stay. American museums and libraries did not give up on Hollywood. In his richest chapters, Decherney looks at the American career of Iris Barry, the British-born curator of the Museum of Modern Art's (MoMA) Film Library. Having opposed the Americanizing effects of Hollywood as a young British cultural critic in the 1920s, Barry came to the United States in the 1930s and somewhat surprisingly became a champion of Hollywood cinema. This about-face is convincingly explained by Decherney. Barry's early opposition to Hollywood cinema stemmed from her high esteem of commercial film's powers. Hollywood's supposed escapism did not irk Barry, who thought of cinema in gendered terms and theorized that films potentially offered women an alternative to extant, restricting, social roles. Of essence, then, was to insure that cinema offered "better dreams" (p. 118). Once at MoMA, Barry participated in the effort to get Hollywood to make civic minded films during World War II and, later, the Cold War. By endorsing Hollywood and its national, civic, and cultural role in contraposition to the solipsism of the American avant-garde, Barry sealed the alliance between Hollywood film and American culture.

In a book about Hollywood, the author's choice not to engage any actual film may seem problematic, but the story Decherney tells can probably stand on its own. The author meant to write sophisticated institutional history and he largely succeeded in doing that. The book is not without flaws. Regardless of the author's claims, this book is predominantly about the culture

elite. In this intelligent history of northeastern museums, libraries, and universities, Hollywood people figure little, with the exception of Lasky. Cultural institutions outside the Northeast are also hardly referred to. For example, Decherney does not engage the *Hollywood Quarterly*, a crucial magazine born out of the collaboration between Hollywood filmmakers and the University of California and interrogating the political role of mass-marketed cinema in America. Decherney may have also profited from complicating the relation between these selected institutions and American intellectuals. Barry's and MoMA's championing of Hollywood movies over American avant-garde is significant, though not surprising, as American government and government-linked institutions often endorsed American mass culture as a cold war weapon. But the relation between MoMA's choice and American cultural history remains tantalizingly underexamined; how do Barry's preferences speak to those of Cold War intellectuals working outside these museums and agencies? The literature about the anti-mass culture intellectual discourse of the 1950s is relevant and growing. Confined to its institutions, Decherney's book does little to explain why Andrew Sarris felt necessary to open his seminal book, *The American Cinema: Directors and Directions, 1929–1968* (1968), with a defense of Hollywood against the many American critics who—be they anticapitalist or antiphilistine—saw Hollywood as “a pejorative catchword for vulgar illusionism” (p. 20).

SAVERIO GIOVACCHINI
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JEFFREY B. FERGUSON. *The Sage of Sugar Hill: George S. Schuyler and the Harlem Renaissance*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 303. \$40.00.

Literary historians most often recall George S. Schuyler (1895–1977) as the losing party in one of the defining manifesto wars of the Harlem Renaissance. In a 1926 debate brokered by the *Nation*, Schuyler's essay “The Negro-Art Hokum,” a hilariously presumptuous assault on both the New Negro vogue and the very possibility of a racial culture, bumped heads with Langston Hughes's jazzed-up clarion call “The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain,” the Harlem movement's signature declaration that “younger Negro artists” aimed “to express [their] individual dark-skinned selves without fear or shame” (p. 188). In the immediate judgment of the *Nation's* progressive readership, Schuyler's tart anti-racialism carried the day. Yet in the estimation of the younger Negro artists themselves, as well as in the long run of modern black cultural politics, Hughes's case for the proud distinction of African American artistic forms prevailed decisively, energizing a multigenerational hunt for a purified racial aesthetic.

Among its other assets, Jeffrey B. Ferguson's exceptionally thoughtful study reminds us of the wisdom—and the provocative error—to be found on the non-Hughes side of the “Racial Mountain” scaled by African American intellectuals. Schuyler's critique of

the “Negro-Art Hokum” underpinning the Harlem Renaissance, Ferguson suggests, in fact echoes worthy materialist anxieties “that the wide attention given to black culture . . . detract[s] from more crucial economic and social concerns” (p. 186). The cutting wit of Schuyler's critique, for its part, deserves respect for inciting Hughes's response in the first place. As Ferguson resourcefully reasons, “[g]iven the satirist's goal of constantly returning the terms of racial discourse to the open arena of democratic deliberation and debate, the publication of Hughes's ‘The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain,’ which disputed almost every claim Schuyler made, might be considered a powerful argument in his favor” (p. 187). At its core, Ferguson's portrait of Schuyler as a young send-up artist sympathetically recasts the African American intellectual as a self-governing, publicly constructive satirist—a far cry from his or her usual incarnation as a solemn respondent to the “Negro Problem” and/or aggrieved conscience of the nation.

Ferguson does not offer a full-fledged literary biography of the “Sage of Sugar Hill,” the title the Harlem-dwelling Schuyler earned for his stylistic and personal closeness to H. L. Mencken, the “Sage of Baltimore” who similarly targeted Jazz Age hokum with comic exaggeration, meticulous invective, and self-conscious indecency. Instead, Ferguson concentrates on “the most important strain in Schuyler's thought”—the satirical—and “on the years in which that strain received the broadest and deepest expression in his published works” (p. x). The book thus ranges from Schuyler's apprentice journalism in the early 1920s to the sci-fi burlesque of his most successful fiction, the novel *Black No More*, issued in 1931—a near decade of work that not coincidentally parallels the rise and fall of the Harlem Renaissance. Ferguson's method, a merger of close literary-critical interpretation and fluently inclusive intellectual history, is as flexible and occasional as the satirical genre he examines. Always cogent and instructive, he is nonetheless no more wary of Schuyler's logical paradoxes than Schuyler himself, a commentator on American race relations who “remain[ed] an expert on a problem that he regarded at its root to be false” (p. 61).

Following an introductory outline of Schuyler's overall career and reputation, Ferguson plows into a series of discrete, in-depth analyses, most of which link a particular corpus of Schuyler's Renaissance-era writings to a particular angle on the question of nay-saying satire in U.S. racial politics. A chapter on Schuyler's contributions to the Harlem socialist journal *The Messenger* presents his nonconforming brief for the right of New Negroes to laugh as they protest. Another chapter on Schuyler's columns for the *Pittsburgh Courier* ingeniously unpacks his desire to train, through weekly doses of derisive humor, “a large group of ‘shockproof’ black people, battle-hardened by slavery and segregation, and adept at navigating the swift currents of modernity” (p. 124). The most moving chapter details Schuyler's efforts to challenge the pseudo-scientific rac-

isms of Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard with a hardnosed but “beautiful interracial vision,” fulfilled in his well-publicized marriage to white heiress Josephine Cogdell as much as in his hybridly vigorous polemical prose (p. 153). Readers may come away from Ferguson’s book regretting that his pro-satirical lens is not applied systematically to Schuyler’s archconservative maturity, when the Sage was capable of slurring Martin Luther King Jr. as a “sable Typhoid Mary infecting the mentally disturbed with [a] perversion of Christian doctrine and grabbing fat lecture fees from the shallow-pated” (p. 3). But this regret emerges only because of the novel insight that fills the best scholarship yet on Schuyler and a bracing, impious, and elegantly written contribution to African American intellectual history.

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ANNE MEIS KNUFFER. *The Chicago Black Renaissance and Women’s Activism*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2006. Pp. x, 244. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$20.00.

The activist community of Chicago that flourished at the turn of the twentieth century ebbed during the 1920s and experienced rebirth during the Depression and the three decades that followed. Referring to the period between 1930 and 1960 as the Chicago Black Renaissance, Anne Meis Knupfer argues that there was a “revitalization of the black expressive arts” and a rise in “social protests” that highlighted the significant and impressive role of black women. Defining the primary forms of activism in the renaissance as an awareness of the intellectual relationship between black Americans and their African roots or “pan-African intellectuality,” an acute interest in and support of the arts, and an actively engaged protest agenda, Knupfer points to the myriad of institutions and programs that were either created by or heavily staffed by women as the pivotal forces behind the success of the renaissance. Those female-centered arenas such as YWCAs, schools, and public housing certainly played a central role in the participation of women, but so, too, did community centers, libraries, and churches. All of them shaped and reshaped the social, political, and cultural development in black Chicago.

The devastation and despair generated by the Depression challenged blacks in one of America’s largest cities. Suffering massive jobs losses, racism, and discrimination, many African Americans faced destitution. At the same time, however, the New Deal programs, primarily meant to offer economic recovery, energized those committed to building a strong cultural core. Through the combination of financial resources from federal funds, the participation of sociologists, historians, and anthropologists from nearby universities, and the organized efforts of women, the black intellectual and literary community thrived. The study of black culture funded by the Works Progress Adminis-

tration (WPA) that gave many of the writers and artists their start helped catapult the renaissance to national prominence and centered the black southside community in debates about shaping social, cultural, and political action and discourse. The Good Shepherd Community Center afforded black artists the opportunity to showcase their work on stage at a time when so few outlets existed for them. Literary pieces found audiences through numerous black-owned newspapers and literary magazines. The promotion of African Americans’ history took on greater prominence when Vivian Gordon Harsh made it her mission to design the George Cleveland Hall Library as a community educational center. Serving more than 95,000 patrons before the advent of World War II, the library provided intellectual stimulation and instilled race pride.

World War II and a budding civil rights movement also galvanized black women’s activism and shaped subsequent protest movements. Driven by a growing black migrant population with few employment opportunities and limited housing, black women insisted on increases in additional social and economic resources. Bolstered by the self-help ideology of the late nineteenth century, many of the middle-class black women’s organizations that Knupfer referred to in her earlier work, *Toward a Tenderer Humanity and a Nobler Womanhood: African American Women’s Clubs in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago* (1996), expanded their agendas and refined their protest strategies to meet the needs of the new migrants and the changing economic and political landscape. More importantly, the creation of new organizations designed specifically to challenge race, class, and gender marginalization gave the movement a depth that was lacking at the turn of the century. The fluidity of the renaissance offered individual women the opportunity to find a measure of success in their communities. Some established and operated schools and social welfare programs for children and families in public housing. Schools became sites of activism under their leadership. Teachers created curricula that met the organic needs of each child, feeding their racial pride by teaching black history and assisting with social welfare issues such as housing, clothing, medical needs, and food.

While women play the central role in this work, in the early chapters Knupfer struggles to cast women as intellectuals rather than simply as activists. The problem has more to do with definition than content. Characterized by national stature, connection to institutions, credentials, and prominence in academic fields, the male intellectuals seemingly set the tone of the renaissance. In so doing they overshadowed the women who, though lacking degrees, were the primary agents of the resistance and the renaissance.

Still, this is an important and significant study. It clarifies the established links among artists, academics, activists, and community and illuminates the gendered dynamics of a localized renaissance that resonated nationally. Many of the artists who began their careers or honed their craft in Chicago found unprecedented success in other cities and venues. Many of them would

play an important role in the national civil rights movement. Knupfer captures well the multilevel community activist spirit of black club women. Many like Irene McCoy Gaines actively engaged in the Chicago and Northern District Clubs as well as the National Association of Colored Women and the National Council of Negro women. Gaines, as did many of her contemporaries in Chicago and other cities, assisted with setting and shaping policies that affected blacks on local, regional, and national levels for decades.

WANDA A. HENDRICKS
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PSYCHE A. WILLIAMS-FORSON. *Building Houses out of Chicken Legs: Black Women, Food, and Power*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 317. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

There is a lot more at issue here than chickens. Any reader who is concerned with the histories and representations of race and gender in the United States will find much to contemplate in this intriguing study. In her examination of African American history—and the issue of food and power in particular—Psyche A. Williams-Forson takes us from minstrel shows to World War II, from the novels of Zora Neale Hurston to the cut-paper silhouettes of contemporary artist Kara Walker. Moving through nearly two centuries of art, history, literature, mass media, and criticism can be a bit daunting. But that is the point. In order to appreciate the pervasiveness of associations of black women to food, it is necessary to catalogue these associations in detail and in myriad formats across time and space.

This book is part of the burgeoning area of scholarship known as food studies, which, as the author notes, has had surprisingly little to say about black people. Considering the central role black female cooks have played in the history and imagery of slavery, this is a grave oversight. But it is not only as cooks that black women have shaped American culinary history and culture; Williams-Forson does an excellent job highlighting black women's agency in the marketplace. Her first chapter, for example, is replete with examples of the ways African American women shaped not only markets but race relations and power dynamics in the Chesapeake and Carolina Lowcountry before the Civil War.

For a historian, chapters that move so quickly across time and space can be confusing. Partly this has to do with the fact that the author jumps between literary texts and historical examples. In the chapter titled "Who Dat Say Chicken in Dis Crowd," for example, we move from an analysis of the character Chicken George in the 1977 televised miniseries *Roots* to a discussion of the minstrel songs of the early twentieth century. And while this approach emphasizes the extent to which black men have also been associated with chicken, it is sometimes difficult to make the connections between such disparate materials.

There is some extraordinary evidence collected here. The menus and paraphernalia from the Coon Chicken

Inn, showing a restaurant entrance in which customers walk through the mouth of a Zip Coon-like head, is as revealing as it is shocking. Whether Williams-Forson is analyzing film, cartoons, or New Deal photographs, she addresses and undermines the most extreme stereotypes of black men and women. Her discussion of the mammy figure and how much the stereotype has to do with food is an important one. Detailing how black women used food for feminist purposes, self-definition, and self-discovery marks one of this book's greatest contributions.

Thankfully, the author goes to great pains to show that black people do not form a single, monolithic "community." Especially strong are the sections where the text highlights differences among African Americans. The author shows how reformers like Charlotte Hawkins Brown used food as part of their efforts to uplift the race, and black women in particular. In Brown's *The Correct Thing To Do, To Say, To Wear*, published in 1941, she instructs readers, presumably working-class black women, that it was acceptable to eat bacon with your fingers but only "when crisp, brittle and dry" (p. 95). Interestingly, chicken, or recipes for its preparation, are nowhere to be found in Brown's section on menus. Williams-Forson notes that by offering recipes instead for chopped olive sandwiches and bonbons, Brown used food to "comfortably situate herself outside the folk community" (p. 98). Equally provocative is a detailed reading of a scene in Ann Shockley's novel *Say Jesus and Come to Me* (1987), in which the protagonist, a black lesbian preacher, is invited to dinner at the home of a staid minister and his wife. The point here, like the point of Brown's pamphlet, is less about chicken and more about conflicts and tensions within black communities.

Chicken is forced to do some pretty heavy lifting in this book, standing for the cultural, economic, and political work black women perform in the United States. We learn that the bird has been central to the migration experience, and that it can signify hope, happiness, but also pain and transgressions of all sorts related to sexism and racism. The text works best when chicken is not stretched too thin. For example, Williams-Forson's analysis of cookbooks and the meaning assigned to poultry therein is fascinating. Overall, the work gathered here—archival, literary criticism, folklore—forces the reader to think carefully about the role of food in black women's history. And this alone, as one cookbook author might say, is a good thing.

LYNN M. HUDSON
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PATRICIA CAMPBELL WARNER. *When the Girls Came Out to Play: The Birth of American Sportswear*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2006. Pp. xxii, 292. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$24.95.

Patricia Campbell Warner has given women professors and their students a happy recognition: she credits them with influencing the world of style and fashion.

Throughout the nineteenth century, women encased their bodies in long skirts, tight sleeves, hats, corsets, and stockings—even when they played tennis, went skating, and (yes) swam in the ocean. Female tennis champions, Olympic swimmers, and bicycle riders juggled contradictory demands for fashionable clothing and room to move with only limited or temporary success. Pants were generally deemed appalling for women to wear in public despite reformers' efforts. Away from the male gaze, however, female students incorporated bloomers into their gym dresses and devised crew uniforms with loose blouses. Convinced such clothing was appropriate for work as well as play, college women eventually wore it off campus. In 1910 they appeared in their middies, bathing dresses, and gym suits on collecting expeditions for the Marine Biological Laboratory (MBL) at Woods Hole on Cape Cod. These exercise outfits and the women who wore them, Warner argues, were a major force behind American women's adoption of casual sportswear in the 1920s, 1930s, and beyond.

Warner's book makes good sense as a costume history. She has gathered illustrations and descriptions of nineteenth-century sports and exercise clothing from far and wide, including ladies' magazines, newspapers, pattern books, paintings, photographs, and personal letters. She pays attention to hemlines, fabrics, and subtle changes in style. She organizes her chapters primarily by type of outfit (croquet and skating, tennis, bathing and swimming, bicycling, crew uniforms, the gym suit) with others (Olympic Games, trouser wearing, exercise for women, taking exercise clothes to new places) to explain their context or illuminate efforts for change. For those interested in the history of clothing, this book fills a gap in the literature with extensive research, careful description, and some thought-provoking ideas. Warner asks, for instance, why men protected the right of wearing pants so stringently; she ponders the role of athletic competition in achieving cultural change; and she recognizes that women were not necessarily wearing everything they saw in popular magazines. She reveals the significance of Cornelia Clapp, a field biologist and gymnastics instructor at Mount Holyoke Seminary (later College), who had her students wear exercise clothes while collecting, first at school and later in public at the MBL. Yet such women were not the only forces behind the growth of American sportswear. Warner notes that new production and fabric technology influenced clothing styles, as did the rise of mass media, French designers, and America's emergent celebrity culture.

While Warner gathers descriptive information and makes an interesting case for the impact of women's college athletics on fashion, her argument was hard to follow. The book's organization clouds lines of chronology and causality. Many will find it frustrating that the author does not address the relationship between women's clothing and their position in society more consistently. While she first argues that clothing merely reflected women's changing status in society between

1860 and World War II (p. xix), there are moments when she argues that the freedom of movement afforded by some clothes actually affected women's opportunities, especially in sport (pp. 85, 100, 220). This fresh and potentially significant argument is left undeveloped. How did mass production and higher education alter the gendered politics of physical mobility? Warner's distinction between sports (public, coeducational, linked to fashion) and exercise (private, women-only, linked to functional clothes and higher education) begins to break down in the twentieth century. During this period especially, Warner is reluctant to juggle the myriad forces acting upon women and their clothing choices. She argues that new ideas about clothing could not have come from the public sphere, but she accepts the term at face value and does not discuss how it changed. Major scholarship on separate spheres, the New Woman, women in sports, in higher education, and as consumers is conspicuously absent from Warner's analysis and her notes. By the time Warner gets to the 1920s there are so many unexplained changes for women in American culture that exactly why they decided to wear pants seems impossible to know.

This book takes on a set of topics and ideas potentially significant to historians of gender, sports, higher education, and consumption. To her credit Warner raises many of these issues; but she does not follow through. In the end the book is at its best documenting the evolution of women's sport and exercise wear from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century.

ANNIE GILBERT COLEMAN

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MARINA MOSKOWITZ. *Standard of Living: The Measure of the Middle Class in Modern America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 300. \$45.00.

In this well-researched monograph, Marina Moskowitz traces the evolution of the American concept of the standard of living from 1870 to the 1920s through fascinating case studies on silverplate flatware, bathroom fixtures, mail-order homes, and zoning plans. These wide-ranging, interdisciplinary case studies draw on a rich variety of materials that move beyond prescriptive sources and go behind the scenes to find out how "cultural educators" (p. 2) and a host of economic and social forces actually gave rise to the idea of a standard of living. Through her close readings of business correspondence, trade catalogs, advertising, and city plans, as well as fiction, cartoons, material objects, and the built environment itself, Moskowitz gives new definition to this elusive concept, tying it to the vast transformations in production, distribution, and consumption that led to a national consumer culture by the 1920s. This standard of living reflected aspirations, and as measure of the quality of life was "materialized in the settings of everyday life" (p. 2).

This book has much to offer those interested in the history of the American middle class. Not surprisingly, the author sees close ties between the emerging stan-

dard of living and an expanding middle-class market. As reflected in silverplate flatware, bathroom fixtures, mail-order homes, and city planning, the standard of living ideal both grew out of and helped shape middle-class identity, with its emphasis on "the importance of etiquette and social codes, privacy and interiority, investment, and careful management" (p. 18). Richard Bushman, Katherine Grier, John Kasson, and others have gone down this path before. But Moskowitz adds a new twist made possible by her innovative use of rich business and literary archives. She argues for a consideration of the rise of American business and industry in our understanding of middle-class life, making a consistent case throughout the book for the close relationship between changes in production and distribution and the material shape of middle-class life. Middle-class objects (silverplate and bathroom fixtures) and spaces (single-family, mail-order homes and zoning plans and laws) reflected values "borrowed from business parlance" (p. 18). The standard of living ideal was thus underwritten by new economies of scale. Railroads, mass and batch production processes, and new forms of distribution were just a few of the things that made it possible.

Going behind the scenes as she does, Moskowitz is able to trace the ways in which a wide variety of individuals, institutions, and firms put their stamp on the standard of living. The reader is introduced to a host of characters and individuals, including well-known ones in the literature on the American middle class, such as Sinclair Lewis and Robert and Helen Lynd. But Moskowitz again breaks out of the expected with detailed histories of many who toiled away in obscurity, whose stories have been untold until now. A middle-class standard of living ideal was also promoted by individuals such as Joseph Rhines of the famous silverware manufacturer, Reed & Barton. Rhines was a successful sales agent who helped his company land a prominent San Francisco hotel contract for silver goods, one that Moskowitz argues educated the public about possible settings and the use of silverware. We are also introduced to others who played a role, individuals such as William and Otto Sovereign of the Aladdin Company, a prominent mail-order home producer; Herbert S. Swan, the secretary of the New York City Zoning Committee; Harland Bartholomew, an influential urban planner; and Jessica Peixotta, University of California at Berkeley professor of social economics and author of a 1927 study of faculty consumption habits.

Wresting the concept away from past critics and scholars who defined it in terms of purchasing power and cost of living, Moskowitz asserts that the standard of living emerged through a "collaboration" between consumers and producers—an ideal that drove both consumption and production (pp. 68, 279). Consumer culture scholars and business historians will find much of interest in this argument. Chapters are well organized around different "standards" that emerged with regard to certain products or organizational forms. The idea of collaboration is most clearly visible in "The

Standard of Investment." Here, we see how Aladdin homeowners acted as paid "co-operators," local agents that used their own mail-order homes as sales models for the firm. However, consumers rarely come up in "The Standard of Etiquette" or in "The Standard of Health and Decency." As a whole in this monograph, producers and "cultural educators" have the strongest voice in articulating a standard of living, although Moskowitz does make the case that these historical actors were consumers too. A fuller discussion of consumers would likely have complicated her story of the triumph of this standard. In the end, however, Moskowitz's creative use of case studies mounts a persuasive argument for the important role of business, industry, and a wide variety of individual historical actors in the creation of the measure of the middle class.

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KATHLEEN B. DONOHUE. *Freedom from Want: American Liberalism and the Idea of the Consumer*. (New Studies in American Intellectual and Cultural History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 326. \$45.95.

In this book, Kathleen G. Donohue describes a crucial transformation in classical liberal thought. She explores how political philosophy and economic theory, which once privileged the producer, came to value the consumer. In short, she explains how "freedom from want" came to be a fundamental American right.

In this careful intellectual history, Donohue examines the theories of key economists and social commentators who lived and wrote between 1870 and 1940. She first lays out the producer-centered vision that dominated nineteenth-century economic thought. Whether on the right or the left, thinkers ranging from William Graham Sumner to Henry George and Richard T. Ely shared a belief that producers created value and wealth, and gave scant attention or respect to consumers, who they variously portrayed as the decadent elite or the profligate poor. Consumers were tainted economic actors, wasteful and nonproductive.

This consensus began to break down at the turn of the century. Simon Patten, Thorstein Veblen (in his *Theory of Business Enterprise*), and Edward Bellamy all assigned the consumer a more central place in their analysis of social and economic life. Gradually, the marginalist theory of value—which argued that value should be measured in terms of consumer satisfaction rather than labor and production costs—gained traction. Moralistic condemnations of consumerism also began to diminish, at least among economists. During the height of the Progressive era, the consumer made further inroads into economic and political theory, as some began to associate the public interest with consumers' interest. During the 1910s and 1920s, a rising generation of commentators, including Walter Weyl, Walter Lippmann, and others associated with the *New Republic* in its early

years, offered influential perspectives on the importance of consumerism. Weyl, in fact, suggested that material prosperity was necessary for democracy.

In the 1920s, Stuart Chase, Robert Lynd, and Rexford Tugwell further elaborated on the emerging consumer-oriented philosophy. They saw consumers as important but not always empowered actors and worried about their exploitation and gullibility. They believed internal market mechanisms, like competition, failed to protect consumers and that more safeguards were needed. Such fears led Chase and F. J. Schlink to form Consumers' Research in 1929, an offshoot of which became the Consumers Union in the 1930s.

The implications of this reassessment came into view during the New Deal. It was then that consumers were recognized as a distinct interest, and given a formal voice in the federal government. In particular, the National Recovery Act provided consumers a role in decision making by creating a Consumer Advisory Board. Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace likewise demanded representation of consumers' interests when setting Agricultural Adjustment Act policy. Other New Deal programs, like Social Security and Unemployment Insurance, were justified by some as a way to ensure the continued buying power of the American public. In such an atmosphere, where the needs of consumers were increasingly recognized, and the power of the consumer was deemed necessary for full economic recovery, Franklin D. Roosevelt articulated the idea that a precious freedom was the "Freedom from Want."

Donohue concludes with an intriguing look at how consumerist philosophy fared after World War II. Some thinkers, like John Kenneth Galbraith, worried that the focus on consumerism undermined higher goals and the public good. In the 1980s and 1990s, the belief that all Americans held a fundamental right to consume came under attack. The Reagan administration showed a willingness to cut the benefits of those they perceived as "non-producers"—those who received AFDC or food stamps, while the Clinton administration worked to limit welfare benefits. Such policies reflected the belief that producers had a right to consume, but that those perceived as non-producers held more limited rights. Finally, the centrality and legitimacy of consumer-oriented economics has come under renewed scrutiny as its global environmental implications have become more apparent.

The history that Donohue traces is important. At times, however, the implications of her argument get lost in rather dense and abstract prose; there are points at which the reader longs for more concrete examples of the phenomena she describes. After all, while this is a history of ideas, it is a history of ideas about material things. More significantly, the larger social milieu in which these economists and sociologists wrote goes largely undiscussed. The theorists often seem to exist in a vacuum, hardly affected by the dramatic changes happening around them. Because of this, the narrative offers only part of the story. The book suggests that the consumerist philosophy, and its ultimate adoption into

policy, were primarily the result of these intellectuals' writings. Yet the exact relationship between these thinkers and the larger public remains obscure. Perhaps, however, this is asking for too much; for while it neglects the interplay between social life and social theory, the book offers a well-researched and thoughtful history of ideas, and it should be of interest to economists as well as intellectual and economic historians.

SUSAN J. MATT

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S. J. KLEINBERG. *Widows and Orphans First: The Family Economy and Social Welfare Policy, 1880–1939*. (Women in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 230. \$35.00.

Over the past twenty years, a wealth of publications in several disciplines have reexamined the origins of the U.S. welfare state and offered critical reassessments. New perspectives on the interaction between contemporary race and gender systems and the politics of the Progressive era and the New Deal have led to new interpretations of the meaning of citizenship as well as the interrelationship between labor systems and social provision. S. J. Kleinberg promises to add two elements to the field: the distinctive features of the working-class family economy and an analysis of the development of programs for widows across the life course. How did widows and orphans fare, she asks, during the decades of free-wheeling industrialization, decentralized government, and a transition in the infrastructure of public and private aid?

The agency of widows within their specific environments has been overlooked, Kleinberg argues, as the literature has portrayed widows as both helpless and passive. Quickly dispensing with the minority of economically privileged widows, she focuses on those in economic need. Social welfare policy for these widows' families had more to do with the availability of jobs and the charity infrastructure of particular localities than with values such as maternalism, which have received attention in the literature. A comparison of three localities—Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and Fall River, Massachusetts—over six decades reveals more clearly how the family economy operated and how public policy supplanted the family initiative with expectations of age and gender. The sites were chosen for their distinctly different employment opportunities and charity structures.

Early in the book, Kleinberg provides a demographic profile of widows during the time period as well as a specific assessment in each locale. We learn the age at which women became widows, their residential and labor force patterns, the number of children living with them, and their race or ethnicity. Specifically, we learn the degree to which a majority of widows had only themselves and their children upon whom to depend. In chapter two, the author challenges the idea that childhood was extended and domesticity celebrated universally, calling those features characteristic of only the

middle class. She uses as evidence data that found widows' children left school earlier and entered the workforce earlier than children from two-parent families, with some lessening of that pattern by the 1920s. The next two chapters discuss the transition in policies for widowed mothers between 1890 and 1940 in each site. The research shows that when jobs were available for widows or their older children, as they were in Baltimore and Fall River, maternalist values did not influence social policy. Conversely, where few jobs existed for those groups, as in Pittsburgh, more extensive charity resources existed for widows and their families. Chapter five tackles the transition to federal programs, the exclusion of widows from social insurance, and their modest inclusion in old age pensions.

The focus on the family economy is a clear strength of the book and builds upon Kleinberg's previous research on working-class families in Pittsburgh. Contributions to the family income by children as well as mothers provided widow-headed families with a measure of flexibility. Similarly, the comparison of three sites allows certain presumptions such as the impact of maternalist ideals to be tested. The three sites provide essential details about implementation in a decentralized social welfare regime.

At the same time, such an ambitious agenda needs a tight argument and clear organization to accomplish all it promises. On this point, the book might have done more with less. The arguments are hard to find and difficult to follow throughout the chapters. Those looking for the assessment of social provision to widows over the life course will be disappointed. The great majority of notes and references do not relate to this aspect of the thesis. It is treated inconsistently except for chapter five. Finally, one does not come away with a clear understanding of the ways in which Kleinberg's rich data change our current understanding of the development of the U.S. welfare state.

This examination of the widow's family economy in three comparative settings is immensely useful in understanding the variability of decentralized social welfare programs before federal entitlements. It deepens our understanding of the intersections between local economies and social welfare programs. Widows and orphans in most of the United States before 1939 were unlikely to be first in the minds of policy makers or in the outcomes of social welfare policy despite important policy innovations.

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JASON SCOTT SMITH. *Building New Deal Liberalism: The Political Economy of Public Works, 1933–1956*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 283. \$75.00.

For the past two decades there has been mounting interest among historians in the study of state policy making, bureaucracy, and infrastructure development. The *Journal of Policy History* has become a respected cham-

pion of such scholarship, and Alice O'Connor and Patrick Reagan have produced fine works in this genre. Of course, Samuel P. Hays might well wonder why it has taken so long for the profession to catch up to the scholarly approaches and research topics he began exploring sixty years ago. The answer may well be that policy history requires scholars to bring to life the drama behind frequently mundane events. There is also the problem of dealing with a documentary trail of bureaucratic backbiting so confusing as to defy ready understanding.

Such are the challenges that Jason Scott Smith has grappled with in writing a study of New Deal politics and public works. Smith's research is commendable and the points he addresses contribute enormously to our understanding of New Deal political economy.

As Smith notes in detail, public works spending soared during the Great Depression. With copious documentary evidence and statistics he demonstrates that public works projects were at the center, rather than the periphery, of New Deal political considerations and economic recovery policy. Smith contends that even if the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the Public Works Administration (PWA) failed to solve massive unemployment, such agencies represented a significant departure in the federal role in infrastructure improvement. Both the WPA and the PWA, driven by such strong-willed and calculating figures as Harry Hopkins and Harold Ickes, also sought to play a role in cementing a Democratic electoral realignment.

If, as Smith contends, the WPA and the PWA succeeded in transforming federal public works policy, the political benefits that Democrats received from this historic change were mixed. From inside the Roosevelt administration policy makers and pollsters actively collaborated to influence elections through federal public works spending. Hopkins, Ickes, and Emil Hurja—the last a pioneer Democratic pollster and statistician—did not hesitate to discuss, at least among themselves, the “propaganda” value of public works projects.

It is a tribute to the ineptness of conservative Republicans that while many of their darkest charges of WPA corruption and political coercion had merit, they failed to return the United States to a pre-New Deal public works policy. In part, according to Smith, conservative political and news media charges of “boondoggles” mattered little since the enormous amount of federal projects spread across the U.S. overwhelmed any individual example of questionable expenditure. There is also the fact that what may appear to critics in New Hampshire to be an unnecessary project characterized by enormous cost overruns in Tennessee, was (and is) seen as a vital initiative by its beneficiaries.

When particular public works projects became a political liability to Democrats, Smith observes, it was often not a result of Republican criticism. Rather, Democrats at the federal level were all too frequently embarrassed by state-level party infighting. Smith nicely documents a self-defeating factional fight in Kentucky that received national exposure. Such public relations disasters were not exceptional. Pennsylvania

was a model of how organized labor and Democratic political factions punished enemies and rewarded friends through control of public works employment. In 1938 Pennsylvania went Republican in part because of the use of the WPA as an instrument of political coercion.

Smith's discussion of the Hatch Act is especially praiseworthy. In 1938, New Mexico Senator Carl Hatch, a Democrat, proposed legislation to remove New Deal relief agencies and personnel from politics. Hatch asked that federal employees of such agencies as the WPA not run for office, threaten questioning civil servants with dismissal, and use public works projects to benefit allies. With seventy-three politicians in New Mexico under indictment for WPA-related corruption—a number of them relatives of New Mexico Senator Dennis Chavez—Hatch had cause for concern.

Hatch's good government inclinations were not shared by Senate Majority Leader Alban Barkley, Congress, or the White House. Although it would take over a year, Hatch prevailed. In the interim between stony rejection and effusive embrace of the Hatch Act, the Democrats were hammered in the 1938 midterm elections, Hopkins indiscreetly shot his mouth off about New Deal political tactics within the hearing of a journalist—"tax, tax, spend, spend, elect, elect"—and Barkley's Kentucky political machine became the subject of news media and Senate investigation. As so often happened when public opinion grew testy and allies became embarrassing—and then expendable—Roosevelt spun the Hatch Act until it became his own initiative.

In sum, if this is not the definitive study of public works projects and political jockeying in the era of Franklin D. Roosevelt, then it comes pretty close.

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MARY POOLE. *The Segregated Origins of Social Security: African Americans and the Welfare State*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 258. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

This analysis of the racial history of the Social Security Act (SSA) investigates why the major welfare program to emerge from the New Deal effectively discriminated against African Americans. Mary Poole challenges the "solid South" interpretation of New Deal history that credits southerners in Congress with the discriminatory aspects of New Deal legislation. She posits that racial politics during the New Deal cannot be understood solely as the diametric opposition of two regionally centered parties. Even though it was drafted by people who could appropriately be described as liberals, the Act excluded the predominant occupations of blacks and other racial minorities. The conflicting agendas of Franklin D. Roosevelt's advisers, the staff of the Children's Bureau, and southern and northern Senators and Representatives all contributed to this omission.

Poole explores the processes through which racial discrimination was embedded into the Social Security

Act. She investigates the perspectives of black and interracial pressure groups, Congress, University of Wisconsin alumni in the Committee of Economic Security, and white female social workers in the Children's Bureau. The Social Security Act reflected the beliefs of John Commons's former students, who dominated the Committee on Economic Security (CES). They believed that unemployment insurance for industrial workers could redress the balance between labor and capital and rescue the American economic system.

The Social Security Act discriminated on the basis of race and gender. It channeled African Americans of both sexes and most women regardless of race away from programs designed for workers. It excluded those with very low incomes, who worked in dispersed occupations (farm laborers), or who did not have a proper, long-term position in the labor force (characteristic of most women workers in the 1930s). CES Chairman Edwin Witte believed relegating these groups to public assistance rather than insurance-based benefits would enable Old Age Assistance (OAI) to function without crippling the economy. Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau recommended the exclusion of agricultural and domestic workers because their wide dispersion would make their contributions hard to collect. Affluent legislators had a vested interest in blocking the inclusion of domestic servants employed by their families, thus sparing their wives the complexities of paying Social Security deductions. Southern Democrats, unsure whether it was in their region's interests to include agricultural laborers in the Act, made little effort on their behalf.

Poole counters the common assumption that administrative requirements led to the exclusion of African Americans from the SSA. Domestic servants and farm workers might have bought insurance stamps at local post offices (as was the case in some European countries) to fund their contributions. Nor was racism directly responsible for the exclusion of these groups. The CES was "color blind" in its preoccupation with industrial workers, almost all white men. Social Security excluded African Americans because they were "superfluous to the larger agenda of the Wisconsin group, which was to enhance the bargaining power of labor and regulate the economy" (p. 72). It protected white manhood, not by reference to race or gender, but through the construction of a hierarchy that privileged the jobs done by white men. It stigmatized women and all people of color as too poor or feeble to make such contributions or not properly available for work because of their gender, ill health, age, or limited skills. In order to protect white men's economic citizenship, the Act's drafters relegated all others to "welfare" programs.

The 1939 amendments to the SSA further undermined African Americans' right to full economic citizenship by excluding an additional 300,000 to 400,000 agricultural laborers and raising the income required before a person could be eligible for Social Security. This deprived poorly paid women and minorities of both sexes of access to retirement pensions and unem-

ployment compensation. Even if they had industrial rather than agricultural or domestic jobs, wage discrimination precluded their eligibility.

An examination of the racialized gender system encoded in the Social Security Act is essential to understanding how citizenship was both raced and gendered. Poole might have discussed another aspect of the 1939 amendments. These differentiated between the mostly white "worthy" widows who were the survivors of men in covered occupations (and who thus received federal benefits for themselves and their children) and the other mothers relegated to poorly funded state supervised "welfare." Despite ostensible interest in the well-being of all children, these reforms provided well for white orphans and poorly for the children of divorced, deserted, or never-married women. State officials subjected these families to intense scrutiny which was not the case for "survivors."

Despite misidentifying Mary McLeod Bethune as a member of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Cabinet (she was director of the Negro Division of the National Youth Administration), this well-researched book makes a valuable addition to our knowledge of the racial origins of the welfare state.

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CAROL A. HORTON. *Race and the Making of American Liberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 300. \$39.95.

Populist Tom Watson and civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., do not often come under scrutiny together, but they do in this probing and intelligent book. Carol A. Horton explores the roles that race has played in "variants of liberalism" (p. 4) from the Civil War to the present. She focuses in particular on the vexed relationships among class and race politics and liberalism itself. Liberalism emerges here as historically specific but consistently limited; Horton concludes that it has yet to develop "the capacity to tackle the intertwined problems of racial and class equality" (p. 225).

Horton's concern is two periods in U.S. history. The four chapters that comprise the first half of the book take up relationships between class and race in liberal discourse from Reconstruction until the end of the nineteenth century. The "anti-caste liberalism" (p. 15) of Reconstruction-era Republicans called for legal racial equality and even advocated federal activism to assure citizenship rights to freed slaves. In rejecting land redistribution in the South and embracing laissez-faire policies, however, these liberals cordoned off class and economics from any vision of racial equality. Conversely, by the 1880s and 1890s, there were varieties of liberalism in which class ultimately trumped race. The "producer republicanism" (p. 62), most evident in the Knights of Labor and Populism, brought class to the fore by challenging corporate capitalism and demanding equity for wage laborers and small producers. But with some rare (and vivid) exceptions that Horton

notes, neither movement could incorporate racial equality as a goal or sustain interracial organizing. To the contrary, despite their potential for radical change, both the Knights of Labor and Populism reproduced and relied on racial hierarchies. With the collapse of these movements by the presidential election of 1896 and the Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that same year, what Horton calls "Darwinian liberalism" (p. 37) moved from the margins to the mainstream. Increasingly dominant Darwinian liberals, she explains, supported the principle of minimal citizenship rights for African Americans, believing in a natural hierarchy of races and in laissez-faire doctrines as the engine of both progress and social order. Relative to the often violent white nationalism also resurgent at the end of the century, Darwinian liberalism was moderate in this moment. Still, with its circumscribed view of both class and race, it marked a "severe contraction" in the "scope of American political life" (p. 113).

In the second half of the book, Horton jumps ahead several decades to investigate configurations of race, class, and liberalism in the post-World War II period. Here, she details the de-emphasis on class among mostly white postwar liberals who took up civil rights politics; she explores the effects that this shift away from class had on African American leaders and organizations in which, she argues, race and class had always been conjoined; and, she considers how this polarization contributed to a crisis of liberalism, which in turn precipitated a conservative resurgence in the 1970s and 1980s. Horton concludes the book with a convincing discussion of how and why conservatives in the 1970s and after were able to appropriate a liberal discourse on race, even in their attacks on affirmative action.

The chronological and thematic breadth of this book is its greatest strength, even as that sweep raises certain questions. Drawing primarily on influential scholarship in labor, political, and social history from the 1980s and 1990s, Horton skillfully portrays liberalism as a changing, contradictory, and sometimes troubling political impulse; she makes it crystal clear the extent to which race constituted liberal discourse in both positive and negative ways—how in a certain time and place, for example, white supremacy not only went alongside but actually underscored liberal definitions of citizenship. The narrative moves along fluidly, as Horton's analytic interventions make largely familiar stories feel fresh, in part through their juxtaposition to each other. But there are times when Horton renders liberalism such an elastic term and stretches it so much that it loses rather than gains the nuance that she seeks. While it is enormously useful to consider both the reactionary and progressive dimensions of liberalism, sometimes her use of the term accommodates too broad an ideological spectrum (especially in the discussion of "Darwinian liberalism"). Further, one gets the sense that Horton was (and is) looking for some authentic version of liberalism—the "real thing" that can live up to its potential. This sense that a "fundamental" (p. 4) or transhistorical liberal politics lurks beneath or beyond this sweep of

case studies is sometimes distracting. These questions though, do not detract from the many merits of this creative and insightful book—one that, with its consistent focus on race and class in relation to each other, offers readers an opportunity to engage a range of periods, topics, and leaders in new ways.

RUTH FELDSTEIN

MARK S. WEINER. *Americans without Law: The Racial Boundaries of Citizenship*. New York: New York University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 197. \$45.00.

In this short monograph, Mark S. Weiner joins the many academics who have written on the topic of race in the United States. His inquiry focuses on the cultural history of law, with the aim of “depict[ing] a specific language through which the racial character of civic belonging in the United States was understood from the late-nineteenth through the mid-twentieth century” (p. ix). It is a way of speaking and thinking that he labels “juridical racialism,” one that he examines through the legal experience of nineteenth-century Native Americans; citizens of Hawai‘i, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico after the Spanish American War; early twentieth-century Asian immigrants; and African Americans at the time of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). Consistent with the work of other scholars, Weiner argues that this juridical racialism was “a historically significant discourse of modernization that enabled the United States to manage its civic boundaries in ways that furthered national economic growth” (p. 1). He writes that through its use racial groups were “characterized in terms of legal categories,” often their “ability or inability to uphold legality as a general ideal and to follow specific forms of legal behavior” (p. 2). These rationales and categories undergirded American state development while exploiting the civic and economic status of the particular minority group until, he contends, in the middle of the twentieth century, ways of thinking about race, in law, changed.

Weiner is concerned with the manner in which law has been used to shape lives, but he is equally interested in the intellectual forces that have molded the law. What distinguishes this book from the many studies in law, history, sociology, and cultural pluralism that discuss the legal treatment of these groups is Weiner’s exploration of the conceptual structures developed by anthropologists and subsequently used in relevant legal decisions. He is particularly attentive to the conflict between the Boasian culture concept (named for German American anthropologist Franz Boas), and those theories of human difference that his work displaced.

The book is organized around four narratives. In the first, Weiner considers the influence of John Wesley Powell, the founder of the Bureau of American Ethnology who, drawing upon the ideas of lawyer and anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan, believed that human societies follow a unilinear path of progress, “moving from primitive to advanced stages of culture and social

organization” (p. 30). Weiner argues that this developmental intellectual framework informed late nineteenth-century federal Indian law (with disastrous effect). The discussion establishes a logical but modest causal link between intellectuals and the politicians and judges who made policy concerning Native Americans.

Although the acquisition of land guided federal Indian policy, Weiner argues that our nation’s desire for an increase in overseas markets “in a host of ways . . . grew from the national experience with American Indians” (p. 51). He posits that U.S. overseas imperialism, like federal Indian policy, had at its core the belief that the inhabitants of insular lands were “incapable of upholding American legal norms” and were fit largely for subjugation (p. 51). His second case study considers U.S. policy toward these new insular possessions after the Spanish American War. He examines the *Insular Cases* as well as the influence of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, a proponent of American expansionism and immigration restriction who espoused “Teutonic” juridical racialism.

Lawyer, biologist, and eugenicist Madison Grant drew heavily on anthropology and racial science when writing about the desirability of restrictive immigration. In his third case study, “The Biological Politics of Japanese Exclusion,” Weiner maps the bitter intellectual contest that pitted Boas against Grant. Boas unsuccessfully sought to discredit Grant’s “Nordic doctrine,” a set of racist ideas ultimately enshrined in the restrictive 1924 Immigration Act. In a somewhat confusing flashback, Weiner then analyzes challenges to Asian exclusion before the Supreme Court in the nineteenth century and describes how, and why, Justice George Sutherland, in his 1922 opinion in *Ozawa v. United States*, chose to ignore anthropological arguments and to focus instead on economic substantive due process.

The final case study, discussing the African American fight for legal rights from *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) to *Brown*, is a paean to Boas, whose view, that culture is a central explanation of human variation, replaced the earlier, explicitly geneticist, approach. Generally, the influence of Kenneth and Mamie Clark is dispositive when analyzing *Brown*. Weiner goes one step further, exploring the ways that Gunnar Myrdal, author of *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (1944), brought Boasian social science into a major publication concerned with race relations and, in so doing, contributed to a new discourse to the struggle for African American rights, one reflecting Myrdal’s view “that the American Creed applied to everyone [and that] all citizens were capable of holding the full range of legal rights it embraced” (p. 118).

Weiner’s book is ambitious, provocative, and flawed. It appropriately directs us to pay greater attention to the intellectual antecedents of law but is frustrating in laying out a too-delicate causal chain. As history, how-

ever, it forms a preliminary narrative that implicitly invites other scholars to continue the exploration.

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CHERYL LYNN GREENBERG. *Troubling the Waters: Black-Jewish Relations in the American Century*. (Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America.) Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 351. \$29.95.

In this sweeping and meticulously researched history of black-Jewish relations in twentieth-century America, Cheryl Lynn Greenberg discards the sentimental portrait of a "natural" alliance between African Americans and Jews while also rejecting the view that there never was an alliance to begin with. According to Greenberg, the "golden age" of black-Jewish cooperation that spanned from the mid-1940s through the mid-1960s was the product of a particular historical moment, one made possible by the successes of postwar liberalism and then undermined as liberals lost their unifying vision.

Greenberg's periodization demonstrates how relations between African Americans and Jews varied widely under different circumstances. During the early twentieth century, despite stirrings of mutual interest and cooperation, members of the two groups were too preoccupied with their own problems to forge an active coalition. Only during World War II, when "racial hatred" became synonymous with the Nazi enemy, did African Americans and Jews begin to understand their overlapping interests. For Jews, supporting civil rights for African Americans transformed their age-old fight against antisemitism into a "broader message of tolerance and antibigotry" (p. 92) that helped position them as mainstream Americans. African Americans also hoped that casting their aims in universal terms would bolster their authority, just as linking themselves with Jews would bring the world's outrage against Nazi racism to bear on their own plight. According to Greenberg, the collaboration between African Americans and Jews "emerged out of a clear and explicit self-interest," yet it was a "self-interest that corresponded with a broader moral vision" (p. 92).

Because detailed social histories of black-Jewish relations are such a desideratum, one might wonder why Greenberg focuses on the often-studied work of civil rights agencies like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Urban League, the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League. Yet Greenberg provides a more detailed and nuanced account of these organizations' approach to intergroup relations than do earlier authors. She also consistently points out how they struggled with the gap between their official positions and the antisemitic and racist attitudes of many African Americans and Jews. Thus, Greenberg does not present

the work of official agencies as the entire story of black-Jewish relations but as an example of how members of the two groups worked together in the face of ongoing differences and internal challenges.

Greenberg's most impressive achievement is the way she weaves the story of black-Jewish relations into the larger history of American liberalism in the twentieth century. In the postwar decades, African Americans and Jews emerged as the two most identifiably liberal groups in U.S. politics, bound together by their commitment to the principles of "individualism, moderation, limited state intervention, and pluralism" (p. 9). These ideals were expressed in their fights for fair employment and housing, the dismantling of legal segregation, and the creation of a civic culture that replaced social discrimination with an emphasis on "human relations." After the major legislative battles of the 1960s had been won, however, the broad liberal vision that had bound African Americans and Jews together began to deteriorate. While Greenberg rejects the notion that the two groups have abandoned liberalism, she does see them embracing two very different liberal agendas, ones that are more self-serving and narrowly focused on identity politics. This transformation, she suggests, represents the crisis of American liberalism in microcosm.

In tracing the widening gap between African Americans and Jews, Greenberg places less importance on specific events like the 1968 Ocean Hill-Brownsville school controversy than on the ways in which postwar liberalism affected each community. Postwar strides reinforced Jews' faith in the viability of an integrationist, color-blind society based on merit, while the ongoing difficulties faced by African Americans made them more skeptical and more reliant on group assertion and mass action. As the groups' interests diverged and their commitment to a shared set of values declined, they began to question one another's motives and become involved in a cycle of recriminations. "As liberalism lost its footing," explains Greenberg, "so too did black-Jewish cooperation" (p. 253).

While bemoaning the fate of the liberal vision once shared by African Americans and Jews, Greenberg remains hopeful that history might once again align the interests of the two groups. She notes that black and Jewish civil rights organizations and politicians have continued to work together, and that along with flash-points of controversy there have been moments of cooperation and conciliation. While the likelihood of another "golden age" of black-Jewish relations seems remote, what is certain is that Greenberg's book will be essential reading for anyone interested in this complex relationship and in the history of American liberalism more broadly.

ERIC L. GOLDSTEIN
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SHULY RUBIN SCHWARTZ. *The Rabbi's Wife: The Rebbetzin in American Jewish Life*. New York: New York University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 312. \$35.00.

Since the mid 1990s there has been an explosion of scholarship on the history of Jewish women, especially in the United States, much of it engaged in uncovering a past neglected by historians. Although Shuly Rubin Schwartz's study of rabbis' wives, or *rebbetzins* as they are called in Yiddish, participates in this process, it goes beyond reclamation to offer a gendered interpretation of American Jewish religious leadership. The book covers the years from the late nineteenth century through the 1970s when second wave feminism produced women's ordination as rabbis in the Reform (1972), Reconstructionist (1973), and Conservative (1985) movements and challenged basic premises of defining a woman's position as a Jewish authority through her status as a wife.

Rubin Schwartz begins her account with the story of the last box of papers of Rabbi Herman Rubenovitz, Box 14, which disappeared from the archives. Separated from the other thirteen cartons presumably by archivists, Box 14 is finally located in a remote storeroom. When Rubin Schwartz discovers it, she recovers the papers of Rabbi Rubenovitz's wife, Mignon. Box 14 symbolizes for Rubin Schwartz the challenges she faced trying to uncover the experiences of rabbis' wives. Mignon Rubenovitz had assembled and donated the papers of her husband after his death and considered one box of her own papers worthy of preservation, but her self-assertion almost was erased from institutional memory. In reuniting Box 14 with the other boxes of the collection, Rubin Schwartz seeks to make whole what had been partial. Her account of rabbis' wives similarly strives to restore what had been sundered. For much of the twentieth century, Jewish congregations, like many Protestant ones, got two for the price of one when they hired a religious leader.

This book stands midway between social and institutional history. There were thousands of rabbis' wives, and Rubin Schwartz describes only a couple dozen. Given the sparse documentation available, she focuses on individuals who innovated in the role, developing gendered venues for women's leadership. Although she describes continuities in expectations and responsibilities of American *rebbetzins* with their European predecessors, she is more interested in the new attributes the position acquired in the United States. Thus she devotes a chapter to the three *rebbetzins* who forged national associations of sisterhoods that helped to define the parameters of their respective religious movements. The creation and maintenance of sisterhoods within congregations would become an area delegated to rabbis' wives. Rubin Schwartz also examines how *rebbetzins* extended their religious influence through publication, writing books for children and women, as well as editing congregational bulletins and composing regular columns for magazines published by Jewish women's organizations. These institutional innovators built up extensive overlapping networks of female organizations. Their success stemmed in part from their strong Jewish backgrounds and the higher education they had acquired. Often knowledgeable in Hebrew with college

degrees, wives possessed levels of education and skills comparable to their rabbi husbands. Yet as they articulated the dimensions of their role as *rebbetzins*, they consistently stressed supportive—and often subordinate—responsibilities. Given the opportunities and expectations for women in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century, marrying a rabbi provided a woman deeply committed to Judaism with a chance to fulfill many of her own dreams. Still, becoming a “wife of,” as Rubin Schwartz points out, was often frustrating.

Rubin Schwartz does not dwell on the difficulties of living as a *rebbetzin* nor does she analyze the significance of the establishment of gendered divisions within congregations. The women she interviewed ultimately assessed their positions positively, discounting the loneliness, congregants' criticism, and the fishbowl character of their home lives. Rubin Schwartz admires their creativity, ability to innovate, and dedication to Judaism. She does note, however, that widowhood empowered many of the most forceful *rebbetzins*, freeing them from the necessity of standing in their husbands' shadows while letting them retain the visibility that came from having been the wife of a rabbi. It is, at times, almost as if their married lives were a kind of apprenticeship for activities and leadership they would pursue as widows.

I found it exhilarating to read the names so often used to identify famous rabbis—Brickner, Schechter, Greenberg, Goldstein, de Sola Pool—referring instead to women. Perhaps more than anything, this usage forcefully reminds readers that the American rabbinate really did consist of husband-wife teams and that often rabbis' wives' accomplishments matched those of rabbis. The women adumbrated expectations for congregational life that would subsequently come to be filled by swelling staffs of professionals: educators, social directors, artistic and music directors, office and business managers. In this fine book, Rubin Schwartz has succeeded in revising our understanding of American Jewish religious leadership even as she has illuminated important aspects of congregational life.

DEBORAH DASH MOORE
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STEVEN R. BULLOCK. *Playing for Their Nation: Baseball and the American Military during World War II*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 183. \$30.00.

It was a different war, and in many ways the United States was a different country. During World War II, drawing from a national population less than half what it is today, the U.S. armed forces put into uniform some fifteen million men and women, who served their country in virtually every corner of the world. The approximately twelve million American males serving in the Army and Army Air Force, the Navy, the Marine Corps, and the Coast Guard came to include about nine out of every ten players who had held positions on major-

league baseball rosters in the last pre-Pearl Harbor season, as well as thousands of men who had been pursuing professional careers in the forty-one minor leagues operating in 1941.

Most of the baseball players who entered military service were drafted in the most comprehensive conscription system ever put into place by the U.S. government. A considerable number, though, volunteered out of a genuine sense of patriotic duty. Undoubtedly the most illustrious volunteer was the Cleveland Indians' Bob Feller, who enlisted in the Navy within days of the Pearl Harbor attack, having barely turned twenty-three but having already won 107 major-league games. At the other end of the age range, forty-one-year-old Ted Lyons (three years past the maximum draft age), winner of 259 games for mostly poor Chicago White Sox teams, volunteered for the Marine Corps. (One tries to imagine a young pitcher such as Justin Verlander or elderly stalwarts—Kenny Rogers and Roger Clemens come to mind—behaving so improbably today.)

As Steven R. Bullock acknowledges, much has already been written about the way baseball carried on in World War II and the experiences of returning baseball veterans once the war ended. His book, however, is the first extended examination of the way baseball functioned *within* the military services, supposedly to promote physical fitness as well as entertain and boost morale for servicemen who found themselves far from home and enduring the monotony and unfamiliarity of tightly regimented duty. In six chapters, Bullock deals with the issue of morale-building in relation to military baseball; with baseball's role in helping to finance the war and to pay for baseball equipment for military personnel; with the efforts of various notables (especially Henry "Zeke" Bonura's work in North Africa) in organizing local service teams; with the outstanding military baseball outfits; with the wartime experiences of particular big-leaguers; and, in an especially valuable chapter, with the adverse effects of lost wartime seasons on particular big-league careers.

Most big-league players in the Armed Forces stayed close to baseball and out of harm's way, whether they remained stateside or (as most did) eventually spent some time overseas. Among the few who saw actual combat were Feller, who served on the battleship *Alabama* in both the northern Atlantic and the Pacific; Harry Walker, who fought in the last months of the war in Europe and received a Purple Heart and a Bronze Star; and Cecil Travis, whose career was ruined by frostbite suffered in the Battle of the Bulge.

Professional baseball players, particularly if they had big-league experience, commonly received favorable treatment—sometimes, as in the case of Joe DiMaggio, simply because of who they were, but usually because base commanders considered using their unique experience and skills to be valuable assets in morale building. Military baseball featured intense rivalries and hot competition, especially when Army and Navy teams competed against each other, and some officers went to lengths bordering on the unethical to get star players

assigned to their commands. The "top brass" often operated on the assumption—rarely questioned, it seems—that fielding winning baseball teams reflected favorably on themselves. Not a little money was spent flying ballplayers around the continental United States and to Hawaii and elsewhere in efforts to put together the best possible outfits for inter and sometimes intraservice competition.

Bullock includes no separate bibliography, although he does provide copious endnotes. He misses a few pertinent works, such as Richard Goldstein's *Spartan Seasons: How Baseball Survived the Second World War* (1990) and Bill Gilbert's *They Also Served: Baseball and the Home Front, 1941–1945* (1992), but overall his research is impressive. In addition to relying heavily on *The Sporting News* (still effectively professional baseball's trade paper during the war years), Bullock mined *Stars and Stripes* and other more obscure wartime service periodicals, as well as materials in the Military Institute Archives at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and the A. B. Chandler Oral History Collection at the University of Kentucky. He also cites information gathered from his own questionnaires and personal interviews.

Yet Bullock's dissertation-turned-book exhibits elements common to the genre. As is often the case when an author opts for topical organization, quite a lot of repetition shows up, usually prefaced by such phrases as "In chapter so and so we saw," and "As was discussed earlier," with the result that frequently Bullock goes back over matters already covered in previous chapters. Then, too, he makes quite a few factual errors (albeit nothing critical). Ebbets Field, Brooklyn, for example, could never have accommodated a crowd of 40,000 (p. 32). William Veeck, Sr., was president, not general manager, of the Chicago Cubs (p. 56). William "Bill" Veeck, Jr., did not lose a leg in combat but as a result of an artillery-drill accident. Frank Baumholtz played in the National Basketball League, not in the "fledgling National Basketball Association" (p. 77). Murry Dickson was a righthanded pitcher, not a lefty (p. 138).

Bullock also refers to "the diminishing number of fans attending Major League games" during the war (p. 29). Aggregate attendance did decline during the first three war years, but the 1945 season produced a record 10,841,853 paid admissions. For all the emphasis people writing about wartime baseball have given to the "balata ball" and other factors depressing offensive output in the major leagues, team batting averages actually increased somewhat from 1942 to 1945. Moreover, National Leaguers hit nine percent *more* home runs in 1945 than in 1942.

Finally, although an author should be never taken to task for not writing a different book, Bullock might also at least have noted that besides baseball (admittedly still unchallenged as the "National Pastime" in the war years), the military services made major investments of time, money, and personnel in basketball, boxing, and especially football programs. The history of what the War and Navy departments sanctioned and what was undertaken in those sports has yet to be written. But if

the Great Lakes Naval Training Station assembled the top service baseball teams, its football team—which featured Otto Graham and Johnny Lujack, among other collegiate stars, and was coached by the legendary Paul Brown—gained general recognition as the foremost gridiron power in the country. Other potent military outfits included Randolph Field and the Quantico Marines, which, like Great Lakes, often prevailed over draft-depleted collegiate teams.

None of the preceding reservations should diminish my estimate of this very worthy book, the only one of its kind and the only treatment of the subject we will likely need for a long time. Bullock is to be congratulated on producing a study that anybody interested in the history of American baseball and, for that matter, the history of American society during that long-ago war will enjoy and learn from.

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SHERI CHENIN BIESEN. *Blackout: World War II and the Origins of Film Noir*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 243. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$20.00.

Sheri Chenin Biesen wades into the murky, controversial world of film noir with a thoughtful monograph on the development of Hollywood's film noir in the 1940s. A film noir aficionado, Biesen provides the most detailed and thoroughly researched interpretation of this era's American film noir. The heart of her study is intensive analysis of the production histories of several key noir pictures.

She highlights the pivotal role of *Double Indemnity*, directed by Billy Wilder for Paramount in 1943–1944, after being held on ice for nearly a decade by censorship concerns and studio timidity. *Double Indemnity* nicely illustrates Biesen's thesis that World War II, rather than retarding the development of American noir, was integral to it. As she writes: "The chiaroscuro lighting and shadowy visual design that today is considered so characteristic of film noir style was in large measure a savvy aesthetic response to the [Production] Code and the war" (p. 107). Biesen emphasizes that the motion picture industry's production code, though claiming to represent timeless aesthetic and moral criteria, was enforced more liberally in the 1940s and later. She also stresses the importance of the constraints the studios faced during World War II, when blackouts, shortages of material, and limited numbers of leading men demanded innovative responses.

There followed a series of noir classics, which the 1940s press termed "hard boiled" or "red meat." They included *Murder, My Sweet* (1944), based on Raymond Chandler's cult classic; *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (1946), based like *Double Indemnity* on a James Cain story that was anathema to Hollywood in the 1930s; and *The Woman in the Window* (1944) and *Scarlet Street* (1945), two of Fritz Lang's best 1940s pictures. One

standout was *Gilda* (1946), which was notable for being produced by Virginia Van Upp during the brief window that the war opened for female production executives.

One of Biesen's strengths is her awareness of the overall context of film production. While not neglecting aesthetic considerations or the unique contributions of talented figures like Wilder, she astutely considers the multifaceted dimensions of movie production. She establishes the changing cultural context occasioned by the war and analyzes bureaucratic decision making in the studios without losing sight of the creative spark that individual directors and performers brought to productions. Her use of Production Code Administration files underscores that, without recourse to such records, Hollywood history from 1930 to 1968 will always be incomplete. She shrewdly addresses the Office of War Information's intervention in wartime movie making, which, paradoxically, partially subverted the Production Code Administration's traditional boundary setting.

At times, however, the archives overwhelm broader cultural phenomena, which, if more elusive, may be equally critical. Biesen might explore more fully the growing horror that years of total war imposed on the creative psyche. Émigré directors such as Wilder and Lang were among noir's chief exponents. Mounting anxiety about the fate of Jews settled over Hollywood during the war, only to reach awful confirmation after VE Day; surely the psychological impact of this catastrophe contributed to the noir sensibility. The movie colony was also a hotbed of psychoanalysis, and it is not far fetched to think that noir's darker psychological framework owed something to the analyst's couch.

By addressing the complex facets of Hollywood production, Biesen makes a clear case for her interpretation, in contrast to critics beguiled by the auteur tradition or similar exclusive foci on aesthetic inspiration. But the boundaries and origins of noir have remained contested. Director Paul Schrader has argued, for instance, that "were it not for the war, film noir would have been at full steam by the early forties" (p. 3). Instead Biesen shows noir in full flower by 1944, gaining traction precisely because of the war. Her film noir is also a largely American product, in contrast to those who seek foreign inspiration for this genre.

The controversy that Biesen addresses derives, in part, from noir's mutable boundaries. Although the term *noir* originated with French critics in the late 1940s, who were tantalized by the dark turn American films took during the war, the term *noir* has enjoyed a protean existence. To some noir is as old as D. W. Griffith and as young as Quentin Tarantino, and noir techniques are scattered throughout prewar Hollywood films, especially those of 1940–1941. Wisely Biesen keeps a tighter rein on the definition of noir. And yet she suggests, as some other writers have, that noir continued to live during the Cold War. She makes the provocative assertion that Cold War noir "took on a new tone—ultimately a different, grayer *film gris* aesthetic" (p. 210) as it reflected such mid-century anxieties as the

atomic bomb, communist subversion, organized crime, and xenophobia. The subtle fade from film noir to film gris remains to be written, employing, as does Biesen, the complex interplay of forces that determined Hollywood's productions.

CLAYTON KOPPE
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LAURA E. ETTINGER. *Nurse-Midwifery: The Birth of a New American Profession*. (Women, Gender, and Health.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 269. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$26.95, CD \$9.95.

In 1946, Sister Theophane, a leading nurse-midwife and director of the Catholic Maternity Institute, asked hopefully, "Is nurse-midwifery the solution?" (p. 1). From the 1930s, nurse-midwives and a handful of physician and nurse supporters hoped the fledgling field would help solve the United States' problems of inequitable and inadequate maternity care. Indeed, to some of the early leaders of nurse-midwifery, their practice seemed primed to become a new profession for women, akin to public health nursing. Yet, as early as the 1950s, many nurse-midwives came to agree with one who wrote, "No matter how high-flown our name or how rigid our requirements, we will never be more than nurses—nurses with a special skill" (p. 176).

In this important book, historian Laura E. Ettinger sets out to explain how nurse-midwifery, the mainstay of maternity care in many European countries, has been unable to fulfill its promise in the United States. She argues that the compromises nurse-midwifery made with what she calls the "male medical model" of childbirth actually insured that it would never become a specialized, autonomous profession, or even a widespread practice in American health care. Nurse-midwifery's leadership disagreed about its goals, its educational philosophy, and its self-definition in relation to medicine and nursing. Such internal disputes helped prevent its attaining the autonomy its leaders desired. She implies that, beyond the cost to nurse-midwives themselves, the greater cost may have been to low-income and/or rural mothers, the very women whom nurse-midwifery was designed to assist and who, seventy-five years later, are still radically underserved consumers of health care.

Drawing effectively on secondary literature on the history of nursing as well as extensive archival research, Ettinger describes the trajectories of five models of nurse-midwifery practice: the Maternity Center Association of New York City, catering to the urban poor, and especially women of color; the Frontier Nursing Service of eastern Kentucky, serving poor, almost always white, Appalachian women; the Catholic Maternity Institute of Santa Fe, whose clients were largely Mexican American; university hospital-based practitioners; and the two African American-led centers operating in conjunction with Dillard University and with the Macon County, Georgia, Health Department. She shows us some of the interesting women who shaped the

field. Finally, Ettinger traces nurse-midwifery's transition from a home-birth practice in which physicians acted as little more than emergency backup to its current status as a largely hospital-based nursing subspecialty.

The idea of nurse-midwifery was first proposed by settlement house nursing pioneer Lillian Wald and others during the 1910s. But the idea was not realized until the 1920s when the Manhattan Midwifery School and the Maternity Center Association's Lobenstine Maternity Clinic and School opened in New York City and the Frontier Nursing Service (FNS) was established by the redoubtable Frances Breckinridge in eastern Kentucky. The FNS, which is still in existence, has been the subject of several earlier studies and is surely the most visible face of early nurse-midwifery. Breckinridge was an upper-class, white woman from an influential Kentucky family who felt called to help mothers and babies after experiencing the deaths of her two young children and seeing the hardships induced by World War I. The model she inscribed onto eastern Kentucky's Appalachia is epitomized by the picture of a hale and hardy nurse on horseback, saddlebags bulging with the necessities, riding into a mountain hollow to attend a woman from labor to the postpartum period. Breckinridge made "independence" her watchword, but its implicit corollary was an ugly and unapologetic racism. During the height of the American eugenics movement Breckinridge won support for the FNS by reframing its clients as the deserving poor, upholders of traditional "English, native stock." The isolation of the FNS allowed Breckinridge to maintain the freedom of her program from medical control, something no other site managed as successfully.

The lesser known but far more influential models of nurse-midwifery, those located in large urban centers, derived more from the outlook of settlement house and public health nursing than from mythologizing about sturdy pioneers. Ettinger's account is laudable for including a full treatment of these programs directed at serving African American and Puerto Rican women as well as educating nurse midwives—whites as well as women of color. The philosophies of most nurse-midwifery programs acknowledged the field's hybrid basis and its seemingly unavoidable subordination to medical practitioners. It is unsurprising that obstetricians, just emerging in the 1950s from a period of little specialized education and less respect by their fellow physicians into a golden era of growing acceptance by the public, saw nurse-midwives mostly as a threat. More surprising is the negative reaction of the leaders of American nursing. The latter saw them as a threat, but for very different reasons; to hospital nurses, the independence of nurse-midwifery in its first decades threatened to upset the delicate balance they believed to be the foundation of their working relationship with physicians. Today, almost all nurse-midwives practice alongside physicians and nurses.

I have only minor criticisms of this useful book. Given Ettinger's justifiable conclusion that nurse-midwives

suffered from being caught between the professional ambitions and insecurities of both doctors and nurses, I think Andrew Abbott's *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor* (1988) might have helped theorize the problem more crisply. Nurse-midwifery's "boundary" problem was as important in stymieing its professional growth as its well known "labeling" problem (by the 1920s, the term "midwife" was a term of opprobrium among both doctors and nurses). It is a truism to observe that a feminine profession, by cultural consensus, was not defined by autonomy or authority. The deck was pretty well stacked against nurse-midwives from the beginning. Ettinger might also have made more of the nurse-practitioner movement, which faced many of the same problems as nurse-midwifery. Those minor points aside, this is a must-read for historians and students of medicine, health care, women's studies, and the professions.

ELLEN S. MORE

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REBECCA LEMOV. *World as Laboratory: Experiments with Mice, Mazes and Men*. New York: Hill and Wang. 2005. Pp. 291. \$30.00.

Rebecca Lemov's book is a three-part overview of American behavioral psychology, roughly between the Progressive era and the early 1970s, written in a popular or "crossover" style. The first part covers the origins of behaviorism, centering on the work of Jacques Loeb, James Watson, and B. F. Skinner and on the Rockefeller Foundation's funding of psychology and social science before World War II. The second part, the heart of the book, concerns the encounter between behaviorism and psychoanalysis or, more precisely, behaviorist attempts to translate psychoanalysis into the language of conditioned responses between the 1930s and the 1960s. The third part is centered on the Cold War and includes material on brainwashing, the famous Milgram experiments on authority, and Yale University's Institute of Human Relations. Overall, the material is familiar and the treatment competent but profoundly undertheorized.

One key problem is that the author fails to take seriously the scientific aims of behaviorism, namely to account for learning and memory in terms of the stimulus/response model of the nervous reflex. Properly understood, this was a broad project, which could include much of psychoanalysis (as Sigmund Freud's drawings of reflex arcs in chapter seven of *The Interpretation of Dreams* attests) and aspects of American pragmatism (viz. John Dewey). A second problem is periodization. Lemov focuses on John Dollard, Clark Hull, Hobart Mowrer, and Neal Miller's attempts to create "an all-purpose, American style therapeutic-slash-engineering technique" by reducing psychoanalysis to behaviorism (p. 7). That, in itself, is fine. But she should then have situated behaviorism in the context of nineteenth-century American psychology, without whose spiritualism twentieth-century scientism cannot

be understood. And she breaks off her story just before the rise of cognitive psychology, with its profound connections to molecular genetics and neuroscience—in other words, just as behaviorism gets interesting.

A consideration of the relation of behaviorism to psychoanalysis is long overdue, but Lemov's work also fails because it never characterizes psychoanalysis. In contrast to behaviorism, psychoanalysis was never intended as an empirical description of the human mind. Rather it was devised as a practice of self-reflection: it had a critical or normative goal that empirical sciences such as psychology lack. While this much was clear in *The Interpretation of Dreams*, there was nonetheless a gap between that book's description of the practice of self-reflection (i.e., dream interpretation) and its picture of the psyche (the theory of the unconscious). To put the matter succinctly: the unconscious lacked both the motive and the means for self-reflection. Behaviorism, because it was rooted in a biological conception of the organism, assumed the organism's inborn need to know both itself and its environment. It therefore supplied what psychoanalysis lacked: it took the drive to learn as given. At the same time, it lacked what psychoanalysis had: an account of motivation, and a sense of the mind as a whole, and especially of its internal contradictions. Grasping the history of this interaction potentially sheds light on the great psychological conundrums of the present, those raised by the attempt to describe consciousness and memory as functions of the brain. Because Lemov's book remains merely descriptive, however, the opportunity to shed this light is missed.

Lemov's main theme is a rather tired protest against "human engineering." At one point, she throws out an important suggestion: "the work of human engineers showed that the only method that will bring about a *true* change of being, a moment at which there is a shift, is a cooperative one. . . . There must be some degree of agreement, collusion and consent" (p. 248). In other words, social control works through the individual, not on the individual. In particular, it works through the experience of individuation or "personal life," rather than through the mass techniques described in such classical twentieth-century dystopias as *Brave New World* and 1984. This genuinely counterintuitive interpretation of social control is brilliantly evoked in Kazuo Ishiguro's recent, brilliant masterpiece, *Never Let Me Go*. In Ishiguro's work, cloning—human engineering at the limit point—is maintained through the cultivation of subjectivity in young clones, especially through encouraging them to create works of art. The feeling of being "special" attaches the subjects of Britain's terrible experiment to an oppressive social order in a way that classical conditioning never could. Because it is the only life they know, they cannot help but love it. The history of human engineering teaches us, then, what psychoanalysis also taught us: the enormous seductiveness of denial, the extraordinary lengths to which we go, and the creativity we expend in the service of denial. This insight into social engineering is never developed,

however, in Lemov's witty, engaging, but disappointing work.

ELI ZARETSKY
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KENNETH OSGOOD. *Total Cold War: Eisenhower's Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2006. Pp. xiv, 506. \$45.00.

Kenneth Osgood has produced what I am confident is the definitive history of American propaganda during the Eisenhower presidency. Impressively researched using the widest range of published and unpublished sources available and written in an engaging style, this book offers a fresh and exciting insight into Dwight D. Eisenhower's use of propaganda as a Cold War weapon. The author avoids a one-dimensional approach to his subject that has blemished other studies. Instead Osgood is attentive to its complexity, the bureaucratic architecture, and the complications of addressing multiple themes for multiple audiences while trying to maintain a consistent foreign policy position. This is in many ways a revisionist history that documents how the United States developed a propaganda and psychological warfare strategy that often inflamed and sustained the Cold War. Osgood demonstrates that both American and Soviet diplomacy were influenced by propaganda and that both sides used or avoided negotiations on the most pressing issues of the day, including disarmament, as symbolic gestures. In this way, the "objective became out-maneuvering the opponent in the battle for public opinion; positions were put forward more to win public acclaim than to pave the way for compromise at the bargaining table" (p. 213). This deceptively simple analysis confirms the book as a valuable and significant contribution to our understanding of American propaganda during the Cold War. Contrary to what we think we know about the administration under Eisenhower's leadership—that it was only involved with propaganda as an increasingly blunt instrument for first the containment and then the liberation of Eastern Europe, and entirely divorced from the concerns of foreign policy until the fiasco of the Bay of Pigs invasion under President Kennedy—the American foreign policy establishment was, throughout the 1950s, sentient of the relationship between diplomacy and public opinion. Osgood's argument, pursued in 506 thrilling pages, is captured early in the narrative in a single sentence: Eisenhower, he says, "attached far greater value to waging and to winning the Cold War than to ending it through negotiations" (p. 7).

In particular Osgood argues persuasively that the Eisenhower administration had learned the lessons of previous propaganda campaigns, the most important of which was that actions speak louder than words: that the most effective is propaganda of the deed. To demonstrate this principle in action, the narrative details the activities of the United States Information Services. Its exhibitions, cultural exchange programs, and other "educational" methods of disseminating information

were designed to complement the conventional methods of propaganda such as radio broadcasts, publications, and the careful planting of stories in the local press. This leads Osgood to a crucial conclusion that underpins his analysis: because such activities were also arranged (by government agencies or by ostensibly private organizations on behalf of the government) inside the United States, they constituted a comprehensive propaganda offensive by the government within its own borders, contrary to legislation.

Osgood chronicles how individual lives were deliberately embroiled in this global struggle to demonstrate to foreign audiences the political freedoms and economic prosperity enjoyed by ordinary Americans. At the same time, the propaganda campaign served to remind the Americans themselves of the superiority of their social system. Sometimes this approach backfired, as in the case of publicized protests over educational segregation. Osgood reviews how this essentially negative issue played in global propaganda, along with other potentially damaging events such as the Soviet Union winning the space race and the effects of de-Stalinization. Most illuminating, overturning the idea that propaganda was only an offensive weapon used against enemies, is that the three biggest recipients of American propaganda throughout the 1950s were, in order, Germany, India, and Japan. The author concludes that this was a legacy of President Eisenhower's experience in World War II, when he advocated a rounded approach to its application that recognized propaganda's role in influencing allies and preserving the morale of both combatants and civilians.

Published at a moment in American history when winning hearts and minds is again a core concern of both the military and the foreign policy elite, and when public diplomacy is invoked to secure allies in the war on terror, this book will inspire readers to search for modern parallels and relevance. As Osgood demonstrates, the American political and foreign policy-making communities have sometimes accepted and applied Eisenhower's approaches to propaganda and psychological warfare; at other times they have disregarded them, thus generating rather than solving problems in global and domestic public relations. Osgood's penetrating analysis is the work of an astute and accomplished historian; it is also an opportune and powerful reminder that ignoring history can have painful consequences.

GARY D. RAWNSLEY
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MARY S. HOFFSCHWELLE. *The Rosenwald Schools of the American South*. (New Perspectives on the History of the South.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2006. Pp. xx, 401. \$39.95.

The Rosenwald Fund's school-building program for rural African Americans has long stood as an example of the successes and failures of northern philanthropy in the early twentieth-century South. This new study by

Mary S. Hoffschwelle provides the first comprehensive picture of the evolution of the program from its origins at Tuskegee Institute in the 1910s until its termination in 1932. The division of the book into sections that examine separately the operation of the program at the fund, state, and local levels creates a multilayered analysis that effectively reveals the complexities of race politics as it was filtered through northern philanthropies, southern state officials, and biracial communities. This analysis shows how the racial implications of policies could be visible or invisible, intentional or unintentional, but in all instances consequential for the development of southern communities and their educational institutions.

Although the initial partnership between Julius Rosenwald and Tuskegee's Booker T. Washington was rooted in a shared faith in industrial education as a tool of black racial progress, fund administrators had larger goals that often were at odds with the immediate needs of black communities. For example, the fund's architectural experts wanted Rosenwald school buildings to model modern improvements for public schools by conforming to strict standards of Progressive efficiency, whereas Tuskegee workers were concerned with race uplift and believed such standards imposed an unreasonable hardship on black communities struggling to raise the necessary matching funds. In 1920 Rosenwald Fund administrators tightened control of construction standards by removing the program headquarters from Tuskegee and placing white men in charge, despite the symbolic importance for African Americans of Tuskegee's leadership role. Eventually, white administrators decided to abandon the field of school construction entirely and adopt a wider focus on sources of racial inequality, even though the policy shift left many black communities bereft of assistance.

Despite the negative aspects of Rosenwald's decision to privilege larger goals over immediate needs, his promotion of modern standards did have some positive outcomes, according to the author. The fund did not directly challenge the Jim Crow system of separate schools, but it did strive to make them more equal. School-building program publications asserted an alternative dialogue in which problems and solutions in black communities paralleled those in white communities, and the distribution of free standardized building plans for use by white schools as well as black blurred the hierarchical line of difference established by racial discrimination and segregation. Even the curricular differences initially perpetuated by the fund's emphasis on industrial education began to disappear from the program, as Rosenwald building designs gradually replaced the "industrial room" with a "community room" and the program endorsed a vocational training more typical of mainstream white education. Perhaps most importantly, the fund's close association with the state officials who helped to organize and supervise Rosenwald building projects served to integrate black education into the larger movement for educational re-

form, incorporating its goals into the "professional agenda" of educators (p. 194).

At a time when disfranchisement severely limited the formal political power of black citizens, the school-building program proved to be an alternate avenue of influence, primarily because of the opportunities for interracial cooperation that emerged throughout its bureaucratic infrastructure. The black building agents hired to assist white state agents for Negro schools had to moderate their criticisms of racial discrimination to secure white support, but they also used their state-level connections to put pressure on uncooperative local officials. Similarly, black citizens who found their efforts to found a Rosenwald school stymied by local white indifference (if not outright hostility) could use white state agents to prod county officials into compliance. Blacks still had to endure a double financial burden, paying tax dollars into the local and state funds that mostly went to white schools while also contributing to the communities' portion of Rosenwald school expenses, but their new buildings became important public symbols of their quest for equality.

This meticulously researched study fills an important gap in the literature on the Rosenwald Fund—and on the impact of northern philanthropy in the South—by considering the Fund's role through the full sweep of its building program and by carefully examining the implications of its policies from both professional and grass-roots perspectives. The reader may wish at times to have a more detailed account of the relationship between local blacks and whites who supported the Rosenwald school campaigns, as brief descriptions of financial interest and white paternalism do not seem to capture the full dimensions of southern white motivations. This appears to be a failure of sources rather than analysis, and does not detract from the objective and even-handed manner in which Hoffschwelle assesses the strengths and weaknesses of the program and its larger significance for the status of African Americans and southern race relations in the early twentieth century.

REBECCA S. MONTGOMERY
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R. SCOTT BAKER. *Paradoxes of Desegregation: African American Struggles for Educational Equity in Charleston, South Carolina, 1926–1972*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xxiii, 248. \$39.95.

A carefully researched and original interpretation of the pursuit of educational equity and racial desegregation in the urban South, R. Scott Baker's fifty-year case study of school politics in Charleston, South Carolina, adds much to the literature on this topic. Demonstrating how white officials, faced with legal defeats in a series of desegregation cases, adopted more "rational" standardized-test-based policies to restrict black access to higher education and professional opportunities, Baker's analysis of desegregation efforts in

Charleston has deep resonance for educational policy making today.

The book follows roughly three generations of black students through four racially segregated schools: the Society Corner Elementary School on James Island; the Burke Industrial School in Charleston; the Avery Normal Institute, an elite black high school in Charleston; and South Carolina State College, the state's all-black land-grant college located in Orangeburg. Although segregated, each of these schools benefited from effective teachers and involved parents who prepared black students to join Charleston's protracted struggle for racial justice and equal educational opportunity from the 1930s through the 1960s.

Baker credits not only teachers and parents but also federal programs such as the Works Progress Administration, the National Youth Administration, and later the G.I. Bill with helping black Charlestonians to build schools, raise teachers' pay, and enable black students to continue their education. While federal aid did not challenge Jim Crow (in fact, federal grants may have deepened racial disparities in educational resources), steady enrollment gains in the lower grades eventually led to growing demands for high school and college access, which in turn led to legal battles for more "equal" facilities for Charleston's black students.

Tracing the legal strategies that carried Thurgood Marshall and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from *Missouri ex. rel. Gaines v. Canada* (1938) to *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), Baker focuses on the lesser-known South Carolina lawsuit, *Briggs v. Elliott*, which in 1951 ordered the "equalization" of black schools but, in 1955, after *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), held that school enrollments in South Carolina were not constitutionally required to be racially balanced. Combined with the state's massive resistance to desegregation, this ruling set the stage for various policies designed to preserve white supremacy in South Carolina's public schools.

The most influential aspect of Baker's research is likely to be his close analysis of South Carolina's strategic adoption of standardized testing as a legally acceptable way to limit black students' educational advancement. As early as the 1930s, South Carolina used the National Teachers Examination (NTE) to set teachers' salaries on a "nondiscriminatory" basis, knowing that blacks' lower scores would result in lower pay. In the 1940s, after the creation of a segregated law school at South Carolina State College, legislators required lawyers to pass the state bar exam—a test that ninety percent of white candidates but only fifteen percent of black candidates passed between 1950 and 1973. The use of standardized tests to perpetuate inequality continued throughout this period.

In 1954, shortly after *Brown*, South Carolina required all applicants to state colleges and universities to submit Scholastic Aptitude Test scores—a policy soon embraced by other southern states hoping to restrict black enrollments. In 1956, Charleston adopted the California Test of Mental Maturity to "track" high-school stu-

dents by ability: while high-school enrollment in Charleston was fifty-six percent black, the honors track was seventy-three percent white. Later, federal grants under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) funded remedial programs in Charleston: with placements based on test scores, Charleston launched remedial programs exclusively in all-black schools.

Baker's evidence shows clear discriminatory intent behind such tests and reveals how the state collaborated with experts from the Educational Testing Service (ETS), the Carnegie Foundation, Columbia Teachers College, and other organizations to push for exams that gave whites (and wealthy blacks) a competitive edge over poor blacks disadvantaged by decades of inferior schooling. As Baker observes, "Having systematically underfinanced black schooling for generations, whites now [by the 1960s] attempted to used differences in scores on intelligence and achievement tests to justify continued segregation" (p. 154).

Baker's analysis draws on a wide array of archival collections, government documents, and personal interviews to place Charleston's struggle for educational equity in the context of local, regional, and national civil rights history. The result is a detailed narrative filled with vivid characters who make hard choices and face the unpredictable consequences of their decisions. Millicent Brown, a black student who helped integrate Charleston's public schools in the 1960s, captured the essence of this story when she told Baker in an interview in the late 1980s: "[W]e somehow thought if we could just be with white children that was going to alleviate our ills. Somebody had to do what we did, but it posed new questions and new dilemmas" (p. 165). As Baker shows, present-day policies based on standardized tests are unlikely to solve the enduring dilemmas of racial inequality in American education.

ADAM R. NELSON
University of Wisconsin,
Madison

ADAM R. NELSON. *The Elusive Ideal: Equal Educational Opportunity and the Federal Role in Boston's Public Schools, 1950–1985*. (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 332. \$27.50.

Every once in a while, a book comes along that not only makes a significant contribution to a body of literature but also enlarges the playing field on which future discussions of the issue will take place. Such is the import of Adam R. Nelson's recently released, timely study. When one thinks of Boston and the struggle for equal educational opportunity, hot-tempered public protests to forced busing for the purpose of desegregation usually are the first images that come to mind. Nelson expands the discourse on equal educational opportunity by integrating the struggle to eliminate racial segregation in public schools with the histories of federal educational policies in other areas, such as special edu-

cation, bilingual education, and standardized testing. These issues are often treated separately by scholars as parallel histories, but Nelson weaves them together to create one compelling narrative. In addition, much of the literature understandably assigns a central role to efforts by federal courts to effect equal educational opportunity. While not ignoring the role of the courts, Nelson examines the complex interactions among Congress, successive presidents, leading federal officials, as well as state and local political actors that influenced the direction that federal intervention ultimately took.

What emerges from Nelson's book is a sophisticated understanding of the complexities of urban school reform and a deep appreciation of the various obstacles that stand in the way of achieving the goal of equal educational opportunity for all. Nelson's analysis explodes the simplistic caricatures of these issues that prevail in the media and political discourse (for example, as struggles pitting the "tradition of local control" of public schools against "federal intervention"). Nelson paints a picture of local officials actively *seeking* federal assistance for their urban schools in response to the changing racial demographics of the system and the declining tax base to support it. The momentum for greater federal financial assistance to local schools coincided with a genuine debate over whether equality requires all students to be integrated in the same classrooms or if students with "special educational needs" should be segregated from the general population. Many of the same themes overlapped in debates surrounding racial integration, special education programs, and bilingual education. The fact that these debates occurred concurrently complicates the narrative and made the solutions more difficult to reach.

Nelson's book reveals clearly how federal mandates in these areas often worked at cross purposes; at times, policies designed to remedy racial imbalance actually aggravated it. His analysis is a powerful critique of the pitfalls of the incrementalist approach to policy making—namely, how the goals of one policy can undermine the goals of another. Moreover, federal policy makers frequently failed to precisely define what they meant by equal treatment, giving state and local officials little guidance. Nelson shows how local officials were able to exploit this lack of clarity in order to enlarge their share of federal education dollars despite the fact that the effects of these policies intensified rather than alleviated the very racial imbalance they were designed to remedy. It did not help matters that federal officials charged with enforcing the laws often lacked the resources to monitor compliance within the states.

Meticulously researched and carefully argued, Nelson's book presents a timely, insightful analysis on the struggle to achieve equal educational opportunity in the schools. This book is not light reading; it is meaty and provocative, particularly in view of the looming reauthorization of the No Child Left Behind Act. Nelson's

study goes a long way toward explaining why that ideal has remained elusive thus far.

ALBERT L. SAMUELS

Southern University and A&M College

MARIS A. VINOVSIS. *The Birth of Head Start: Preschool Education Politics in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 205. \$29.00.

Project Head Start was one of the most enduring and popular programs to emerge from the 1960s War on Poverty in the United States. But as Maris A. Vinovskis recounts, the conditions surrounding its conception and early infancy made Head Start a high-risk political baby. Although discussions of poverty in the late 1950s and early 1960s often touched on education, they somehow avoided the subject of early childhood development. It was not until researchers discovered that IQ was environmentally as well as genetically determined that researchers began to see that poverty could be deleterious to learning potential. This insight did not, however, lead directly to policies aimed at young children. The Kennedy administration demonstrated a general interest in the problem of poverty, but it took Lyndon Baines Johnson's political will and savvy to produce the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), and pressure from Congressional Republicans to get its head, Peace Corps veteran R. Sargent Shriver, to zero in on early childhood as a likely site for antipoverty intervention.

Once the idea took hold, however, it all too quickly became a reality. In January 1965, LBJ announced that the first summer programs would be launched in July of that year, and proposals from local sponsors began pouring in—even before the OEO had worked out administrative procedures or clarified the project's goals and standards. As part of the Community Action Program (CAP), one of OEO's chief components, Head Start projects were expected to be locally directed and staffed. Given the shortage of trained preschool teachers, most of the sponsors intended to rely on volunteers and paid paraprofessionals—an approach that not only comported with the spirit of CAP but also promised thousands of jobs to low-income communities. It also allowed OEO to stretch its initial budget of \$84 million to cover some 2,500 projects operating 11,000 centers for eight weeks, with a total enrollment of over half a million children. Emphasizing the program's low cost and grass-roots qualities, Shriver claimed immediate success, but his braggadocio had the unfortunate effect of undercutting the rationale for future budget increases or upgrading the quality of the staff.

Other problems plagued Head Start during its early days. Congressional conservatives (both Republicans and southern Democrats), suspecting that local sponsors were using Head Start for political ends, sought to keep the program—and OEO in general—on a short tether when it came to oversight and finances. To many, the program's goals also appeared anomalous. Shriver and Jule Sugarman, the first deputy director, believed

that Head Start should concentrate on providing medical services and activities designed to enhance enrollees' cultural and emotional development, *not* their cognitive skills. This put them at odds with more conventionally minded politicians and bureaucrats as well as most early childhood experts. The federal Office of Education (OE) repeatedly sought to bring the program under its aegis, a move that Shriver resisted not only because he wanted to avoid giving it a strictly academic focus but also because he feared that the OE would not protect southern projects from segregationist public school administrations. Shriver also fought to hold on to Head Start because its popularity served to deflect criticism of some of OEO's less attractive programs.

As a historian of education, Vinovskis not surprisingly takes a dim view of such tactics: "by prematurely declaring Head Start programs effective and frequently ignoring expert criticism," he concludes, "OEO inadvertently downplayed the need to develop more effective programs. . . . The education and well-being of millions of disadvantaged Americans may have been unintentionally shortchanged. And rather than saving money, taxpayers paid more in the long run because disadvantaged children were not given a real opportunity to become equal and productive citizens" (p. 155). This book supports only the first of these points. It is impossible to know what long-term impact Head Start had on the children who attended, for, as Vinovskis shows, both the OEO and outside evaluators had difficulties assessing the program. Moreover, because the book ends in early 1969, when Richard M. Nixon transferred Head Start to the newly created Office of Child Development within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, we learn nothing about how the program, or its alumni, fared subsequently. Writing as though he is under a strict page limit, Vinovskis manages to pack in a cogent account of what was undoubtedly a very complex political history, but he omits detail about the personalities involved, debates among early childhood educators, and especially the projects themselves, which, we know from other sources, ranged from highly structured Montessori classrooms in New York City to makeshift centers in rural Mississippi. The book gives scholars a good head start on the political origins of this pioneering program, but a more comprehensive history remains to be written.

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GAEL GRAHAM. *Young Activists: American High School Students in the Age of Protest*. Foreword by TODD GITLIN. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 256. \$29.95.

Writing about the 1960s has become a cottage industry. It is the decade that has everything: moral issues centered on civil rights and the war in Vietnam, dramatic demonstrations on college campuses, an emerging fem-

inist movement, the first glimmerings of environmentalism and, well, yes, sex, drugs, and rock and roll. And yet, strangely, there has been little attention paid to the quintessential figure of that time—the high school teenager. That void has now begun to be filled by Gael Graham's contribution to the history of the 1960s.

Graham's research is based on a prodigious survey of primary and secondary sources concerning the specific issues of that decade as well as the literature focused on childhood as "both a biological life stage and a socially constructed category." One of the central arguments she presents is that, during the 1960s, high school students were not only coping with desegregation and protesting against the war in Vietnam but also were waging an "unprecedented and self-conscious effort to redefine their status and roles . . . to shed some of the limitations of childhood and gain greater control over their lives" (p. 9). In addition to traditional sources, the author published letters in newspapers across the country asking readers to contribute their own high school memories, and she received over one hundred replies. Graham inserted these stories into appropriate sections of the book, and they often make the narrative come alive.

The book is divided into chapters focused on desegregation, black and brown power, student rights (including school rules regarding hair length for boys and dress codes for girls), the Vietnam War, and educators' responses to these issues. By covering such a broad range of topics on a national scale, Graham provides a solid foundation for future scholars to build on with more regional or local studies. In serving this laudable purpose, however, the book often reads like a survey. And it is unfortunate, because there are some very interesting stories to be told—just not, perhaps, in this format. The legality of a student wearing a black arm band was decided by the U. S. Supreme Court in *Tinker v. Des Moines* (1969), and a federal court of appeals issued a decision that a boy in high school could wear long hair in *Ferrell v. Dallas* (1968). These points of personal discretion were, in fact, hotly contested items in high school students' campaigns to control their lives in the face of arbitrary decisions from educational authorities. What emerges from this account of high schools in the 1960s is how far we have come from those times to today—and how that journey has translated into diverse interpretations of the state of public schools in the twenty-first century.

In many ways, the journey began with *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) and the subsequent desegregation of public schools during the 1960s and 1970s (despite the Supreme Court's *Brown II* ruling [1955] that declared schools must desegregate "with all deliberate speed"). When public school administrators who taught students to obey authority questioned the Court's authority, the whole structure of authority began to break down. Furthermore, teachers in civics classes began to realize that some of their students took lessons about democratic responsibilities too seriously when they questioned school policies as they read the Bill of Rights and the Constitution. The students were often

supported in their interpretations by the American Civil Liberties Union whose lawyers usually succeeded in supporting their causes.

Graham's account provides evidence that the culture wars of the 1960s ran deep into American society. High school students were not swept up in the revolutionary fervor of campus radicals from Students for a Democratic Society. Nor were they all compliant observers of mainstream American values, although she admits that most high school students were, in fact, quite conservative. The students that Graham chronicles were independent thinkers who tried to blend the lessons they learned in the classroom with the problems they saw in everyday life: in every sense, the personal was political.

What is most troublesome is the final chapter of this book in which Graham argues that the fissures that developed in public high schools in the 1960s foretold the flight of students to private and home schools. As more students (and their parents) questioned the belief that public schools serve the common good, Americans faced the fact that "the lack of a common school experience will fundamentally alter the fabric of American society" (p. 202). This is a dilemma that should concern us all, and Graham's history of high school students in the 1960s might provide a path toward some answers.

MARY ANN WYNKOOP
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LAURA KALMAN. *Yale Law School and the Sixties: Revolt and Reverberations*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 467. \$49.95.

A study of Yale University Law School in the 1960s seems such a natural research topic that it is a wonder no one has undertaken it until now. So many important issues and individuals passed through the school in this period that a seemingly narrow study of legal education expands to a microcosm of much that went on during the era. Bill and Hillary Clinton, whom Newt Gingrich called "counterculture McGovernicks," graduated in 1973. Clarence Thomas took his JD a year later. One of the faculty, Charles Reich, published *The Greening of America* (1970), a decidedly non-legal bestseller that praised the 1960s counterculture as leading to a new state of human consciousness. But, as Laura Kalman impressively demonstrates, there were so many things going on at Yale in this period that this study becomes one of those investigations of a small piece of an era that shows us much about the whole.

Kalman builds on her previous work in legal studies, including a study of legal education at Yale in the first half of the twentieth century. This does tend to weigh down the first part of her work with long, if interesting, discussions of the evolution of legal education, especially the differing approaches of Yale and Harvard. Yale University Law School became the place with the political connections, its graduates ending up in gov-

ernment positions, including the State Department. In the 1950s it emerged as part of the liberal ruling elite, committed to civil rights and the Cold War. By the 1960s, it was filling the Kennedy Justice Department with the likes of Nicholas Katzenbach and Burke Marshall. But 1960s history is also filled with struggles between liberals and radicals, whether over the war in Vietnam, student governance, or diversity debates, all of which would come to Yale.

One can read Kalman's study for the issues that swirled on campus: educational reform, affirmative action, student rights. It can be read for the personalities: Law School Dean Eugene Rostow, a Vietnam hawk from Lyndon B. Johnson's State Department; faculty member Alexander Bickel, once a liberal but decidedly anti-youth, whose views ultimately moved him to neo-conservatism; or Yale's president Kingman Brewster, a liberal who shrewdly avoided the kind of confrontations that racked many campuses, including several of Yale's Ivy League counterparts. There are numerous others. Kalman weaves the personal stories of student leaders, law school faculty, deans, and administrators into a fascinating mix of campus politics, legal education, and social analysis.

There are moments that serve as case studies for important 1960s issues, as they become part of the evolution of the law school. Like much recent scholarship, Kalman also shows how the impact of 1960s issues permeated the culture over time. Many of the events she describes occurred in the late 1960s and early 1970s, suggesting how the sensibility and political consciousness of the era expanded into deeper and deeper corners of the society as the years progressed. Her chapter "The Sixties Comes to Yale" begins with the 1967-1968 academic year. Issues erupted about student life, mirroring the undergraduate critiques that had begun to emerge three or four years before. Yale law students demanded places on governing committees, changing the grading system to pass-fail, and greater diversity among admitted students. The demands of the Black Law Students Union echoed similar requests across the country, from increased numbers of black students, a permanent chair for a black faculty member, and a separate dining hall, to an end to the harassment of black students by campus police (p. 111).

Other 1960s issues found their way to the law school. In 1969, a Yippie-inspired student organization brought counterculture icon Wavy Gravy and the Hog Farm to the law school for a "happening." Women students created their own organizations and lobbied for less sexism and overt discrimination, from admissions policies to the frequent use of an all-male eating club as a site for classes and law firm recruitment. Perhaps the ultimate convergent moment came with the arrest for murder of Black Panther leader Bobby Seale and nine New Haven Black Panthers, bringing together the community, the law school, and the 1960s ethos. The trial, which began in April 1970, found Yale to be a common site for rallies and law school alums and faculty contributing to the defense.

The final chapters of Kalman's study follow the school "After the Fire," the apparent arson at the law school library during the height of the Panther trial. Kalman believes the fire defused the intense atmosphere and led to a more calm tone on campus. She sees subsequent symbolic moments of the turn—Bickel's rejection of the approach of the Warren Court and the legal liberalism of Yale, as well as the failure in the 1970s to tenure six young faculty who had arrived during the period of most intense activism. These last chapters again provide detailed discussions that may weary those not legal specialists. But this should not dissuade 1960s scholars from this work. One learns much from Kalman's remarkable study about legal education, about how 1960s issues permeated campus life, and about individuals caught up in the archetypal generational struggle between liberals and radicals.

ALEXANDER BLOOM
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PREMILLA NADASEN. *Welfare Warriors: The Welfare Rights Movement in the United States*. New York: Routledge. 2005. Pp. xix, 310. \$23.95.

When our students refer romantically to 1960s activism, few if any mention the welfare rights movement, although it was, as Premilla Nadasen argues in her rich and provocative new book, the only time in U.S. history that single mothers organized a nationwide struggle for full citizenship rights. Images of college protesters, tied-dyed hippies, and beret-clad Black Panthers crowd the scene in most descriptions of the fabled decade, leaving little room for a group of middle-aged women demanding such mundane items as furniture vouchers, telephones, and new school shoes for their children.

While other social and political movements—antiwar, civil rights, black power, and the middle-class women's movements, to name the best known—have received abundant scholarly attention, historians have, until very recently, paid almost no attention to the nationwide uprising of poor, mostly African American mothers in the 1960s seeking their share of economic and political empowerment. In the past few years a small but vibrant historical literature has begun to emerge, chronicling poor women's activism in various locales. Nadasen's powerful, exhaustively researched study of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) and of the women who were its heart, feet, and backbone is a vital part of this new literature. Nadasen's work forces us to rethink the 1960s, illustrating how and why this national poor woman's movement was as important in promoting social and political change as any of the better-known struggles of that turbulent era.

As the first author to publish a book-length study of the NWRO in twenty-five years, Nadasen had a lot of ground to cover. She does so with subtlety, analytic sophistication, and lots of revealing detail. Drawing on a wide range of sources—records of local and national welfare rights organizations, government documents,

newspaper accounts from across the country, and the letters of welfare rights activists—Nadasen traces the NWRO's rise and fall, beginning in the 1960s and taking her story through the mid-1970s when the group closed its Washington office. (She also briefly recounts what happened to some of the key welfare rights leaders in the years since that time.)

Nadasen shows how the local recipient-organized groups that sprang up across the United States in the first half of the 1960s provided the foundation for the national organization created in 1966–1967 by former Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) activist and Syracuse chemistry professor George Wiley, social scientists Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, and recipient leaders Johnnie Tillmon (from Los Angeles) and Beulah Sanders (from New York City). From the beginning, Nadasen argues, there was profound tension between the exclusively female and mostly African American recipient activists who painstakingly built up local welfare rights groups and the largely male, white, and middle-class organizers paid by the national organization.

The paid NWRO staff, Nadasen makes clear, shared the prejudices of the larger society toward poor, black single mothers. Wiley and his key allies resisted hiring recipients into any of the paid positions in the movement that would have enabled them to free themselves from public assistance. And the mostly male staff they did hire were loath to trust recipients with any decision-making responsibility within the movement. Nadasen quotes Massachusetts organizer Bill Pastreich stating his belief that "women in general are bad leaders. They have to take a week off to have emotions" (p. 129). Not surprisingly, the feisty, powerful women who were, in the words of Sanders's protégée, Marion Kramer, the field generals who drove the movement deeply resented that sort of condescension. As Nadasen recounts in her touching final chapter, those increasingly bitter resentments would ultimately destroy the national organization.

This book is not primarily a narrative history of the NWRO, however. Nadasen's goal, and to my mind her greatest achievement in this book, is to treat the recipient-leaders of this movement seriously as both practical strategists and as the framers of a unique political ideology: a black, feminist vision forged in poverty and fueled by the experiences of motherhood. Illustrating at every turn how the welfare mothers' movement drew on, diverged from, and ultimately shaped national discourses on civil rights, poverty, and feminism, Nadasen gives this poor mothers' movement and the women who led it the credit they deserve for forcing the American public and its elected leaders to consider, at least briefly, whether adequate minimum income for all should not be a fundamental right of citizenship. These women insisted that mothering was economically as well as socially valuable work and should be adequately compensated. Finally, they demanded recognition as citizens, arguing that they had the right to participate fully in the political institutions of their communities,

cities, and country, drawing on the lived experience of poverty as they ran for and sometimes were elected to serve on school boards, housing and welfare commissions, and city and state government offices. Resurgent racism, sexism, and hostility toward the poor have, since the demise of the NWRO, fueled the legislative evisceration of the right of poor mothers to government aid, as Nadasen reminds us in her conclusion. This book is an important corrective in challenging the stereotypes and historical misconceptions that drove those cuts and continue to justify ever-more punitive poverty policies.

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NANCY MACLEAN. *Freedom Is Not Enough: The Opening of the American Workplace*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, with the Russell Sage Foundation, New York. 2006. Pp. xii, 454. \$35.00.

Taking its title from an address by President Lyndon B. Johnson at Howard University in 1965, this book examines how the American workplace has been culturally transformed over the past fifty years. Looking at a society where the best jobs were reserved for white men, Nancy MacLean documents how the American work force has become much more diverse. "What has occurred," she asserts, "is a veritable revolution in thinking about race and gender and work" (p. 2).

When he spoke over forty years ago, Johnson referred exclusively to the problems of American blacks. Despite the passage of legislation granting legal rights to African Americans, Johnson insisted that they needed to achieve "not just equality as a right and theory, but equality as a fact and a result" (p. 5). Using Johnson's speech as her starting point, MacLean gives ample attention to the black freedom struggle, which she sees as the "prime mover" in the "opening of the American workplace" (p. 4). Detailed case studies of southern textiles and northern construction illustrate this argument. Once this is achieved, however, the author shows how other nonwhite Americans, including Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Asian Americans, were inspired by African Americans to demand better jobs themselves. Drawing on her earlier work in gender studies, MacLean gives generous coverage to women's struggle for a fairer work place. She ably documents how female activists used Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibited discrimination in employment, to bring hundreds of path-breaking lawsuits. "Litigation," she asserts, "became as important a resource for the women's movement as it was for the civil rights movement" (p. 133).

Despite the complex issues raised by debates over affirmative action, MacLean succeeds in portraying much of the human drama involved in the struggle for better jobs. Rather than becoming bogged down in administrative or legal detail, she uses case studies of particular activists to argue that affirmative action was not a "bureaucratic abstraction" but a "realistic remedy for exclusion devised by common citizens" (p. 334). We learn,

for example, of outspoken pioneers such as Sallie Pearl Lewis, a black South Carolinian who forced the local textile companies to start hiring more African American women, and Hector Garcia, a determined physician who spearheaded efforts to bring Mexican American needs to national attention. Throughout the book, MacLean is largely positive about the impact of affirmative action. This is particularly true in the final section, which covers the contemporary era. Despite increasing attacks from conservatives, MacLean argues that cultural beliefs in workplace diversity are so entrenched that they can never be fully reversed.

There are some areas that could have been strengthened further. Readers might find MacLean's conclusions too positive, especially in light of the ongoing decline of manufacturing industries, which is passed over rather quickly here. Minority groups fought for access to these industries, and they have been particularly hard hit by their demise. In her main section on the black struggle for better jobs, MacLean's focus on textiles and construction inevitably means that the battle for better jobs in a wide range of other industries gets largely overlooked. In the book as a whole, the burgeoning public sector and service industries especially need more coverage. MacLean's work is also entirely focused on the United States, and some comparison with other Western societies that have also diversified their work forces over the last fifty years would have strengthened the book's appeal to an international audience. The book would also benefit from a bibliography or concise bibliographical essay, especially to help readers who want to learn more about this contentious and relevant topic. It is difficult to root out sources from within the voluminous notes.

Overall, however, this is a well-written and accessible work that has clear potential to be adopted in courses on U.S. history since 1945. It is a welcome addition to the literature, especially as it contributes to the emerging scholarship on what Jacquelyn D. Hall has termed the "long civil rights movement." MacLean's work is also important because it shows that civil rights scholars have generally overlooked issues involving work and the labor movement, despite the fact that many citizens were (and are) primarily concerned with gaining a fuller share of the economic pie. Finally, the author's willingness to give detailed coverage to Latinos and Asian Americans increases the relevance of this book to the modern-day reader. MacLean should be commended for producing a broad-ranging and cohesive account that manages to pull together more than fifteen years of exhaustive research.

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CLAYTON SINYAI. *Schools of Democracy: A Political History of the American Labor Movement*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 292. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$22.50.

This latest of a recent spate of new histories of the American labor movement promises a bold reinterpretation of familiar events. Clayton Sinyai, a researcher for the Laborers' International Union of North America, knows well the depth of the current crisis facing organized labor, and his writing exhibits the verve of an activist hoping to spark a new upsurge. But inspired writing and bold claims cannot obscure the fact that labor scholars will find precious little that is new in this volume. The interpretation of events is far from a major departure, and the panacea offered for labor's woes is simplistic. That said, there are refreshingly sympathetic portrayals of labor leaders who have too often been disparaged by historians, the analytical focus on unions as schools of democratic citizenship is sustained throughout, and the narrative reads well, making this a useful introduction for undergraduates with little or no prior knowledge of the subject.

Sinyai's history is not the result of archival research or even mastery of the vast historical literature. It is inspired by what he perceives to be the principal obstacle to labor's revival, namely excessive reliance on state laws and regulatory institutions, in particular the legacy of the 1935 Wagner Act. Under this act the rights of workers to organize and bargain collectively were recognized and the great bulk of America's industrial workers were brought into the union fold. Beginning with the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947, this legal framework has been redefined and is now far less favorable to organizing or forcing employers to bargain in good faith. This reversal has gained momentum under conservative administrations beginning with that of Ronald Reagan. For Sinyai, however, the problem is not the hijacking of the Wagner Act by political conservatives but rather the centralized regimentation of trade unionism inherent in the law itself. State regulation sapped the life force of the movement: independent, local unions based on a form of participatory democracy that liberated the combative spirit of working people and served as the bulwark of a vigorous republic. Sinyai's message for labor's future revival is clear: unions should abandon their traditional reliance on the law and the representation election and try to make progress outside this legal framework by reestablishing the democratic ethos of the movement.

From such a perspective, which is not uncommon among labor scholars, Sinyai seeks to rewrite American labor history. Unlike the now aging "new labor historians," he does not find his heroes in the Knights of Labor, whom he finds "psychologically and structurally unprepared for strike action" (p. 23) and too enthralled by the idea of producer cooperatives. Sinyai's heroes are the craft unionists who built and sustained the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in the five decades after its founding in 1886. Sinyai does a creditable job rehabilitating the figure of Samuel Gompers, even suggesting that his attitudes toward the state, democracy, and voluntary associations "aligned rather comfortably with Tocqueville's" (p. 31). Although mindful of the AFL's often narrow organizational focus on

white, male, skilled workers, Sinyai applauds the AFL's tradition of "voluntarism" that allowed local unions to combat corporate control at the workplace and in the body politic. The AFL, the author informs us, represented a "commitment both to American democracy and civic education" (p. 39). And in his narrative, it is the voluntarists of the AFL, rather than socialists or members of the radical Industrial Workers of the World, who are the chief protagonists in the struggle to maintain the best traditions of Jeffersonian democracy in the early twentieth century.

For Sinyai the seeds of labor's present-day malaise were sewn in the 1930s with the birth of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and passage of the Wagner Act. CIO leaders, dependent on the good graces of the White House to organize the mass production industries, "did not abandon the project of civic education they inherited from the AFL, but they fundamentally recast it" (pp. 136–137). For AFL voluntarists there was no reconciling trade union independence with the paternalist protection of the state, but for the CIO leaders there was no alternative to state support for the realization of their ambitions. Thus signaled labor's entry into the snare of state regulation, and Sinyai's narrative from the late 1940s repeats the familiar theme of labor's decline at the hands of Republican administrations and/or hostile Congresses.

The book is at its best when discussing the early AFL and when rehabilitating key personalities such as Gompers, William Green, and George Meany. It is far less valuable when charting labor's decline or positing Progressive-era notions of voluntarism as a panacea for the problems facing labor today, which are international and economic in scope. This volume is not the bold reinterpretation promised on the dust jacket, but it is a lively introduction that will be of use to undergraduates.

CRAIG PHELAN
Labor History

CLAIRE SPONSER. *Ritual Imports: Performing Medieval Drama in America*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 235. \$35.00.

In this thoughtful, sensitive, and wide-ranging book, Claire Sponsler has assembled a truly remarkable panoply of American examples of medieval performing practices, which she recounts for the reader with both nuanced detail and a broad historical perspective. Beginning with a short introduction in which the methodological aims of the book are described, Sponsler continues with analyses of the *matachines* dances of Jémez, New Mexico; the Pinkster Festival of Albany, New York; Philadelphia's Mummers Parade; the *giglio* ritual performed in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn; a variety of American passion plays, including the Black Hills Passion Play of South Dakota; and the multiple academic reconstructions of medieval plays to be found across North American universities. Despite the enormous variety of subjects she takes up, however, a series

of related questions and themes stitches these topics together, making this book a tightly constructed meditation on the relationships between past performances and present rituals, local practices and transatlantic analogues, community cohesion and individual ambition. Each chapter opens up a new world of performance for the reader, not only bringing together the disparate (the *matachines* dances with the dance of the *giglio*) but also showing powerfully how and why the medieval past appeals to American audiences, whether they are comprised of locals or tourists, insiders or outsiders.

Sponsler describes her book as "a study in cultural appropriation," by which she means not the appropriation of a subculture by a dominant group but rather the subculture's appropriation of dominant discourses, forms, habits, and modes of expression as a means of resisting the hierarchy of dominance-subordination inherent in the very idea of "subculture." In particular, she is looking to find a way out of the binary logic of many studies of performance, in which either "containment" or "subversion" is posited as the central meaning of a given theatrical text, and in which power can only be theorized as running vertically, from top to bottom or, in the case of subversion, bottom to top. In the cases she discusses here, however, each performance both reinforces conventional values, often religious, and functions as a nodal point for resistance to the forces of homogeneity within a dominant late capitalist economy, whether they be political, demographic, or otherwise social. So, for example, in her first chapter Sponsler recounts the fascinating history of the *matachines* dance of central Mexico and the American Southwest through the example of one particularly fraught set of performances in Jémez, New Mexico. The dance itself exists in two versions, one associated with the Mexicano/Hispano community, and one linked to the Pueblo Indians; both are performed in Jémez each year. The former believes that the dance was brought by the Spanish and represents the Christianization of the Indians, while the latter interpret the dance as an allegory of Indian resistance to European conquest. With a combination of historical research and dramatic close reading, Sponsler brilliantly shows that these dual interpretations reflect the complex ways in which drama was used as an instrument of both colonization and resistance during the colonial period.

Had I more space, I would describe each of Sponsler's chapters in detail, for in each an entirely new world is conjured and explored; we travel with her from Brooklyn to the Black Hills to upstate New York to Philadelphia, learning in each chapter about their native (but also, crucially, imported) modes of performance. She is rigorously historical, painstakingly tracing the origins of each drama, showing how each ultimately derives from a medieval form, and then analyzing contemporary performances in light of both the medieval past and the present day. In each case, she shows how a variety of forms and practices managed to survive, or to be revived, in such a way that the community's local needs and conditions are reflected

through performance traditions. In all of the instances she describes, the contradiction to be found in Jémez obtains: the dramas work simultaneously to reinforce traditional values while also resisting some aspects of dominant capitalist culture, particularly its globalism.

Sponsler's book will be of interest to a wide variety of audiences, from American historians to literary critics to drama critics to medievalists. Members of these groups will find much to engage them here, and it is my sincere hope that nonmedievalists, in particular, read and respond to it. Of course, medieval drama historians will have a special interest; Sponsler specifically discusses the practice of medieval theater history in her final chapter, questioning some of the paradigms that have become dominant in that field over the past twenty years and showing how dramatic reconstructions, now a commonplace way of gaining insight into medieval performances, should be theorized and questioned perhaps more than they have been. But the remainder of the book is so engaging and so thought-provoking that it should not be neglected by any reader—and with luck, we will soon begin to see further studies of American local performance culture inspired by Sponsler's work.

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KATHERINE C. GRIER. *Pets in America: A History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 377. \$34.95.

Katherine C. Grier's book is an odd one to read. Sometimes exhilarating, sometimes dispiriting, it begs the question of its subject, which is more the material record of American pet keeping from the eighteenth century to the present than it is the cultural history of pet keeping that one expects. Grier tells us that as a graduate student in the 1980s, she and a mentor, having read Yi-Fu Tuan's *Dominance and Affection: The Making of Pets* (1984), agreed that "someone should write a history of pet keeping" (p. 4), and Grier began to squirrel away [my pun] sources on pet keeping that came her way. Into her file went "old magazines, scraps of paper written by people a century ago, weathered little books offering well-intentioned advice, brittle photograph albums, and artifacts that no one bothered to discard." She also "listened to hundreds of stories" (p. 5). It is this record of the (mostly) material history of America's love affair with pets that the book presents, almost in the form of a virtual museum exhibition on the subject. The material fascinates, though its presentation occasionally disintegrates into lists, even trivia, as we are shown the contents of a 1958 Spiegel catalogue (p. 259), snapshots of the Hawes family's dogs from the 1910s, and letters such as Hattie Gould's to her mother in 1884 about the behavior of the parrot, Polly, who had "a good deal to say during the day" but went "to sleep exhausted at night" (p. 51). Between chapters two and three appear two documents: the obit-

uary of a dog named Ponto, who died in 1866, and a short essay by Grier and a colleague on "The Bunnie States of America," a manuscript with drawings describing the rabbit and chicken holdings of a group of children living in turn-of-the-century Albany.

The book has a cutesy feel and a presentist emphasis heightened by frequent references to the author's own pets and her family's memories of pet keeping. For instance, in a section on "over the counter remedies" for pets that traces their history from the 1870s on, Grier reveals that "I once administered small doses of a liquid antihistamine to a cat that had an allergic reaction to eating a butterfly; my mother gives her terrier with itchy skin the same antihistamines that I take for my hay fever" (p. 295). In an earlier section on "home doctoring of pets" (p. 88) comes the information that "My mother recalls that her father, a gentle man who loved dogs, felt compelled to shoot their spitz Chincapin in 1930 because her suffering was so terrible" (p. 89). The reader has already been introduced to Gussie Grier, a basset hound, Snowball, Great Grandpa's cat who liked to attack people's legs, and Buck, the horse the author rode in high school, who liked to brush too close to trees.

When Grier's text is focused on the past, important ideas emerge. A chapter on "Pet Keeping and Its Dilemmas" reminds us that pet keeping is kindness toward only a few favored animals. It implies that the middle-class "ethic of kindness to animals" that develops in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is essentially conservative: It could not "prescribe against the industrialization of animals" and may have enabled it (p. 229). The factory farm is not endangered by the rage for toy poodles, then or now. A second important train of thought is opened up by the suggestion that pet keeping is allied to modern individualism: "By including animals in rituals of everyday life such as writing a social letter in a dog's voice or including a pet in a holiday celebration, pet owners—whether children or adults—acted out their feelings and attitudes, enriching their senses of themselves" (p. 60). Perhaps the power of Euro-American pet keeping lies in this license to cultivate the self?

The confusions of this book are the confusions of animal studies, where three points of view contend. The first holds that the study of attitudes towards animals is a subfield of cultural history. The category "animal" is used to explain something in the past. The second hopes that a history of human and animal interaction will offer, as Grier puts it, a "path into thoughtful and historically grounded public consideration of what our relationships with animals should be like in the future" (p. 320). A third would like to honor animal "agency": to write a history of animals, like Polly, the parrot. This substantial book will not change views on the matter, but it is a welcome addition to the field.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

CAMILLA TOWNSEND. *Malintzin's Choices: An Indian Woman in the Conquest of Mexico*. (Diálogos.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 287. \$23.95.

Can anything new be said about Malintzin (Doña Marina, La Malinche), Hernán Cortés's Nahuatl-speaking interpreter during the conquest of the Aztecs? Ethno-historical research has already recovered the outlines of the remarkable woman who lies beneath popular images of traitor, whore, victim, and mother of the mestizo Mexican nation, and has reevaluated conquest history from indigenous points of view. Yet Camilla Townsend quickly convinced this reader that the traces of the "real" Malintzin merit a book-length elaboration, and she sets these traces into an extensively researched and delightfully absorbing story. Given the limited and often contradictory evidence, it is more a book about Malintzin's "contexts" than a conventional biography, and Townsend dabbles in the "what would she have felt?" speculations that bedevil biographers of poorly documented subjects. But although her conjectures sometimes cross into the fanciful, they are never jarring or absurd, and she often presents multiple possible scenarios.

Malintzin's childhood name is unknown; "Malintzin" is a Nahuatl adaptation of the Spanish baptismal name, Marina, assigned to her after the Mayas of Putunchan gave her and nineteen other girls to Cortés and his party as a peacemaking gesture. In Putunchan Malintzin was a slave, having been sold away from her Nahuatl-speaking home, where she may have been the daughter of a minor nobleman's concubine. Cortés gave this pretty teenager to a high-ranking compatriot, Alonso Hernández de Puertocarrero. She began to exercise the "choices" of the book's title when the Castilians first encountered Nahuatl-speaking emissaries of the Mexica emperor Motecuhzoma, with whom Jerónimo de Aguilar, the Mayan-speaking shipwreck survivor Cortés had picked up in Yucatán, could not communicate. Malintzin could, and did, translating their words into Mayan for Aguilar. Freed from Puertocarrero's bed, and quickly mastering Castilian, she became the vital interpreter and negotiator without whom the conquest would have proceeded quite differently and likely with even more loss of life. Like the many other indigenous people who decided it was in their best interest to ally with these shipborne strangers who brought obviously superior weapons and clearly were going to keep on coming, Malintzin did not "betray" a nonexistent "Indian" side, but made rational choices based on available knowledge.

Townsend traces Malintzin's actions in the long process of intimidating and then forging alliances with the Tlaxcalans and other enemies of the Mexica, the entry into the urban wonder that was Tenochtitlan, and the events culminating in the desperate flight from the city. Malintzin fades into the background as Townsend revisits the brutal siege and destruction of Tenochtitlan,

during which talk failed and violence reigned. After the city's fall in August 1521, she returns to the story. Malintzin lived with Cortés in Coyoacan, assisting with tribute negotiations and collections; she made way for the unloved wife who arrived from Cuba, soon to die (possibly at Cortés's hand); she gave Cortés a beloved son, Martín. Malintzin married in 1524, possibly striking a deal with Cortés when he solicited her help on an arduous expedition to put down a rumored rival in Honduras. Her husband was Juan de Jaramillo, one of Cortés's original captains, a great catch who guaranteed her a level of wealth and status luxurious for a former slave. Malintzin and Jaramillo had a daughter, María, returned from Honduras, and lived prosperously in Mexico City until Malintzin died, around the beginning of 1529. The book's last chapters tell the stories of the two children. María's is *telenovela* material, complete with scheming stepmother, while Martín's chivalric adventures would have charmed Don Quixote; their lives are almost as interesting as that of their famous mother.

Occasional minor errors of fact are less bothersome than Townsend's simplistic explanation (derived from Jared Diamond's 1997 *Guns, Germs, and Steel*) for the technological superiority that underwrote Spanish success: Old World peoples became civilized sooner than New World ones because the Old World harbored more nutritious wild plants for domestication. Hence, it was bad luck, not superstition or stupidity, that delivered America into European hands. This time lag is a factor but not a full explanation: no natural force dictates how long a people must live in the "stone age" or how quickly technologies change; Europeans would colonize most of the Old World as well. As Townsend herself notes, native people could have eliminated these invaders and at least delayed European conquest had they been willing to endure the necessary level of casualties (or had the Aztec Empire been a more solid political unit). As Malintzin knew well, Cortés had more resources at his disposal than cannon and crossbows: a talent for strategizing and exploiting others' rivalries, stop-at-nothing bravado, violent impulsiveness, self-aggrandizement, self-righteousness, and a startling lack of conscience and compassion.

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STEVEN W. HACKEL. *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769–1850*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 2005. Pp. xx, 476. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

This book makes a substantial contribution to the history of the California missions. In the first of the book's three distinct parts, Steven W. Hackel introduces the Indian population of the Monterey Bay region and the history of Spanish exploration and settlement. He then advances one of his central arguments: the "ecological

imperialism" of the Spanish system meant that pathogens, livestock, and weeds spread disease and environmental degradation in a pattern that radiated outward from the missions. This ultimately produced waves of migration into the religious institutions by individuals and groups who could no longer survive in their increasingly frayed communities. As anthropologists have done for the San Francisco Bay area and the Santa Barbara region, Hackel traces these migrations and the fate of individuals thereafter through an analysis of the baptismal, marriage, and death registers of Mission Carmel in the Monterey Bay region. Envisioning the process as a "dual revolution," he identifies environmental destruction and migration on the one side and, on the other, the development of the colonial economy by a mission Indian population that ultimately collapsed through the accumulated effects of disease.

The five richly informative chapters in part two extend beyond the Monterey region and examine older and newer topics in mission history. These include the Franciscan religious program, marriage and sexuality, social control and political accommodation, Indian labor, and the types of punishments imposed by the colonial regime against the native population. Each chapter draws upon a large body of material from the Spanish and Mexican archives. Hackel also explores Indians' relationship to Catholicism and their responses to repressive measures around marriage and sexuality through quantitative analysis. This enables him to deepen our understanding of conversion, for example, by determining how many Indians actually engaged in particular religious practices such as confession. Looking at the native workforce, Hackel broadens the current discussion of Indian labor from one focused on the missions to embrace the contract and private labor performed at the presidios (forts) and in the towns. Speaking to the larger implications of Indian-Spanish relations, he demonstrates the indispensability of Indian workers to the "social and racial identities of the soldiers and settlers" that developed in California (p. 320).

In part three, a final chapter examines the era after Mexican Independence in 1821, when the new nation sought to take possession of church wealth and to extend legal equality to the native population. In 1834, an emancipation and secularization law passed in California that released mission populations from their obligations to the institutions while imposing new restrictions upon them. The law also turned most of the missions' extensive land over to the state, which the government then granted to individuals and towns. Historians have studied the growth of ranchos (private land grants for cattle ranching) and Indian landownership after secularization. Hackel contributes to the latter story. He found that "most Indians of the Monterey region sold or abandoned their land within a decade of receiving it," but he also demonstrates the emergence of a socially stratified Indian population in the town of Monterey by 1836 (p. 404).

Mission scholars have placed native people in prominent positions for over a generation, and Hackel ad-

vances this project through the depth of his quantitative analysis of Mission Carmel, and the breadth of his coverage of Spanish-Indian relations as they unfolded within this colonial setting. But Hackel analyzes Indian history primarily through the lens of Spanish writers. He takes little recourse in the interdisciplinary knowledge and strategies of analysis needed to address, in more substantive ways, indigenous translations of Catholicism, interpretations of new ideas, and the political and cultural reorganization of native society. Events that transpired within native communities and beyond Spanish political control fall largely outside the scope of his analysis.

In the subtitle and at different points in the text, Hackel generalizes his findings about Monterey to the whole of California, but the majority of the Indian population in Alta California did not enter the missions. Their stories do not follow the pattern of change he describes. The precolonial histories of California's native people involved centuries of connection to specific territories, and entailed significant linguistic and cultural differences between regions. That diversity and the varying experiences of native groups during the colonial and Mexican eras make generalizations more difficult and less desirable.

Hackel's history of Monterey Bay poignantly reveals the importance of studying specific regions. If the generalizations he makes obscure dimensions of Alta California's history, they do not weaken the power of his analysis of Indian-Spanish relations within the missions. Hackel provides a clear, multidimensional story of their "rise and fall," and of the grueling, painful, and destructive effects of colonization on native society. He acknowledges the persistence of survivors of the mission Indian population, and in so doing, also enhances our understanding of native history in the Mexican era.

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JONATHAN EARL CARLYON. *Andrés González de Barcia and the Creation of the Colonial Spanish American Library*. (Studies in Book and Print Culture.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2005. Pp. 253. \$55.00.

This book assesses Andrés González de Barcia's contribution to Americanist scholarship, examining his bibliographical, editorial, and historiographical production. Barcia is well known among scholars of colonial Latin America for his role as the eighteenth-century editor of sources on American history that later became incorporated into the literary canon. Distancing himself from studies of the Latin American archive by Roberto González Echevarría and Anthony Higgins, Jonathan Earl Carlyon discusses Barcia's scholarship from the perspective of his *mise en livre* (things such as his editorial choices, printed page composition, and publishing practices), his creation of a *biblioteca* (a physical space, a collection, but more importantly a "forum

where knowledge circulates" [pp. 12, 126–154]), and his production of an editorial paratext (the writing surrounding a text) as a privileged venue of scholarly output. Using approaches developed in the field of textual criticism (including issues of bibliography, editing, and book history), Carlyon seeks to establish Barcia's influence "in shaping the way we study colonial Latin America today" (p. 7).

This novel approach to the cultural and intellectual history of Hispanism has many strengths and certainly helps us gain a more systematic insight into the peculiar nature of Barcia's scholarship. Carlyon focuses mainly on Barcia's *Ensayo cronológico* and his editions of Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's *La Florida del Inca*, Juan de Torquemada's *Monarquía Indiana*, Gregorio García's *Origen de los indios*, Antonio de León Pinelo's *Építome de la biblioteca oriental y occidental*, and Antonio de Herrera's *Historia general*. Carlyon's rigorous and meticulous analysis of these sources is very useful in navigating through Barcia's intricate labyrinth of additions, interpolations, alterations, commentaries, annotations, indexes, and references. He also unravels Barcia's protean scholarly persona, which included sometimes using the pseudonym don Gabriel de Cardenas i Cano (in the *Ensayo cronológico* and prologues to his editions). While Barcia significantly expanded Gracia's *Origen* through bracketed commentaries, he also made substantial modifications to León Pinelo's *Építome* without giving any indication to the reader. Examining Barcia's intervention as commentator, bibliographer, book collector, annotator, and creator of a sophisticated reference system for the use of Americanist sources, Carlyon demonstrates how these various roles come together to articulate a coherent and systematic scholarly agenda: no small feat considering that Barcia not only created a multifaceted critical apparatus to help scholars, but he also designed it to put forth his ideas while concealing his *modus operandi* from the grasp of his readers. Without the help of Carlyon's sharp and rigorous research, it would be impossible to fathom how Barcia managed to weave from the shadows such a complex network of statements into these editions.

Notwithstanding Carlyon's insightful revelations, some of his claims call for further examination. We must first question the claim of his influence in the way scholars read colonial texts. Barcia spent a great deal of effort in demonstrating "the intellectual inappropriateness of calling the New World America" (p. 144) and even desired to do away with name *America* altogether. Yet Carlyon cannot help but to discuss Barcia's work within the terms of "Americanist scholarship, project, editions, or library," precisely because his influence was not decisive enough to define the name of the field. Of more concern is Carlyon's insistence in treating Barcia's scholarship as a contribution. How did Americanist scholarship change after Barcia? What new sources did he present that had been overlooked in previous scholarship? How did Barcia's incursions in bibliography and editing transform the Americanist tradition as it had been established in the works of historians such

as Herrera and bibliographers such as León Pinelo? Carlyon's own study leads to the conclusion that Barcia hardly introduced any new content but rather focused on strengthening the authority of his own ideological position.

It is on the basis of the relationship between scholarship and politics that Barcia's work reveals its most questionable aspects. Carlyon shows how Barcia's 1730 edition of Herrera's *Historia general* included a review claiming that the Verdussen (1728) edition of the same work was defective. The focus of this diatribe, however, was not about textual accuracy but rather Verdussen's inclusion of illustrations from Theodore de Bry's anti-Spanish printings. Carlyon compares their indexes to show that while Verdussen highlights indigenous heroism, Barcia's entries focus on the heroic actions of Spanish conquerors and negative traits of Indians in order to question their "basic ability for reason" (p. 192). How does this example support Carlyon's claim that Barcia was "striving to offer a solid scholarly interpretation of the Conquest of the Indies" (p. 191)? Barcia demeans the historiographical tradition of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, Francisco López de Gómara, José de Acosta, and Antonio de Herrera, for whom the defense of Spanish imperialism did not compromise the integrity of their office as historians. In a similar vein, Barcia altered León Pinelo's *Epítome* with the result that "Many times the bibliographical information . . . provided in the entry was incorrect" (p. 110). Carlyon condones poor editing to commend Barcia's manipulative alteration of this research guide. For instance, in the entry on the *Brevísima relación* by Bartolomé de Las Casas, Barcia undermines the value of this source to direct his readers to Juan Solórzano's *De iure indiarum* and Gabriel Daza de Cárdenas's prologue to the Inca's *Historia de la Florida*. In a guide to Americanist resources where the reader could not make out Barcia's interpolation from Pinelo's original text, Barcia cites himself as an authority under the cover of a pseudonym. It is hard to see how this "attempt to maintain his scholarly objectivity" (p. 117) through deception can be portrayed as a "contribution," even if strictly adhering the scholarly standards Barcia himself is endorsing. Other similar examples discussed in the book evidence that Barcia systematically employed the same procedure to authorize his claims and fashion his writings as authoritative sources on the subject. On this count, Barcia's scholarly contribution is hardly commendable and ought to be treated as a harmful influence on the Hispanist tradition at large. I agree that Barcia created an extraordinary paratextual apparatus to solidify his own stances on the history of America, but I certainly see nothing to admire in questionable, poor, and blatantly tendentious scholarly practice.

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GELIEN MATTHEWS. *Caribbean Slave Revolts and the British Abolitionist Movement*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 197. \$42.95.

Gelien Matthews has written an important book that both makes a contribution to the emerging field of Atlantic history and sheds new light on the British movement to abolish slavery—the latter no small accomplishment given the volume of scholarship on that movement during the past century. Matthews does this with a close study of how the male leadership of the abolitionist movement struggled to interpret the major Caribbean slave revolts of the early nineteenth century (at Barbados in 1816, Demarara in 1823, and Jamaica in 1831–1832). Through a close reading of the leaders' published and private writings, Matthews shows that the revolts pushed the movement to the left; as the leaders slowly shifted from defending themselves against the charge that they were responsible for the revolts to defending the rebels for a natural human reaction to their oppression, the abolitionists abandoned their conservative, gradualist demand for amelioration in favor of an insistence on immediate emancipation. Thus, Matthews shows that the rebels were important participants in the destruction of Caribbean slavery.

Matthews moves easily from the halls of Parliament to Caribbean plantations, demonstrating that our understanding of abolitionism can benefit from an Atlanticist perspective. This study is thoroughly researched, engagingly written, and persuasively argued. It belongs on the shelf of every serious student of the abolition movement. Those who turn to Matthews for information on the revolts themselves will be disappointed. Her work is narrowly focused on the efforts of British abolitionists to explain and interpret the revolts for their audience. Nevertheless, Matthews has an important message for those who study the slave revolts. The revolts generated extensive commentary by critics and defenders of Caribbean slave society. Matthews shows that most of this commentary was ideologically charged as contemporaries worked to make the struggles of slaves serve competing agendas. Thus, that literature cannot be taken at face value and must be used carefully by scholars seeking to make sense of what happened. I regret to report that Louisiana State University Press decided to release this otherwise distinguished scholarly study without an index. Surely we can expect better.

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DINA BERGER. *The Development of Mexico's Tourism Industry: Pyramids by Day, Martinis by Night*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2006. Pp. xvi, 164. \$65.00.

The title of Dina Berger's book promises a depth and breadth of coverage that its brief text fails to convey. She deals only with the years from 1928 through the mid-1940s and focuses on the efforts of federal agencies and quasi-governmental bodies to develop tourism to Mexico from the United States. In 1929 President

Emilio Portes Gil created the first of several federal commissions established over the years that aimed to convince Americans that Mexico was not only peaceful but also possessed the infrastructure, amenities, and historical and cultural attractions that would provide visitors with a satisfying experience. Berger emphasizes the contributions of Luis Montes de Oca, finance minister (1927–1932) and director of the Bank of Mexico (1935–1940), who was active in the Mexican Automobile Association and in the Mexican Tourist Association (AMT). She calls Montes de Oca the “mastermind” behind the 1938 creation of the AMT, a non-profit organization that received private and government funding. “More than any Mexican organization, the AMT remade Mexico’s image” by organizing excursions and by producing tourist brochures, music programs, and press releases “meant to promote a holiday in Mexico as ‘a vacation with a purpose’” (pp. 72–73). In the book’s last chapter Berger shows how by the early 1940s tourist promotions and travel writers had created an image of Mexico City as a cosmopolitan capital with an exciting night life that could also boast of pre-Columbian pyramids nearby.

Throughout Berger presents the promotion of tourism as a project of Mexico’s revolutionary elite, who considered it a vehicle for advancing the nation’s modernization: “These revolutionary elites argued that because the state founded, developed, and regulated its own tourist industry and promoted its own national attributes, Mexicans would act as agents in shaping their own path toward stability, prosperity, and modernity” (p. 2). That Mexico’s efforts were successful, at least in attracting visitors, can be seen in statistics showing that tourist entries (mostly North American) rose from 13,892 in 1929 to 384,297 in 1950.

Berger’s focus on government bodies and on groups such as the AMT probably derives from her research in the ministry of foreign relations and in the papers of Montes de Oca and of several Mexican presidents. She has also read widely in the existing literature on Mexican tourism and on tourism in general. While she appears to accept the argument of some scholars that tourism is a form of imperialism, she also asserts that it “offered the state and the revolutionary elites a means to participate in modern capitalism” (p. 3).

Several lacunae limit the impact of Berger’s account. There are no references to any tourist development that might have occurred before 1928, especially during the *Porfiriato*. Since the emphasis is on national entities and on Mexico City, efforts by states to encourage tourism go unmentioned, yet in Yucatan, for one, in the early 1920s Governor Felipe Carrillo Puerto supported archaeological work at Chichén Itzá and road building for this purpose. Berger also ignores tourism to sites near the U.S.-Mexican border, such as Agua Caliente and Ensenada, respectively three and seventy miles south of Tijuana, where hotel-casinos flourished about 1930. Finally, Berger’s account leaves the impression that Mexico’s tourist promoters were interested primarily in encouraging travel by automobile from the United States.

Such travel increased after the completion of the Nuevo Laredo-Mexico City highway in 1936; according to Berger, the number of North American motor tourists entering Mexico through Nuevo Laredo rose from 14,500 in 1935 to 29,000 in 1937. She does not provide data showing how arrivals by motor vehicle compared to those by train or ship, though her statistical table shows a total of 130,091 entries in 1937.

The book is marred by poor organization and repetition that is especially jarring given the brevity of the text. We are told three times, for example, that the nationalization of the petroleum industry in 1938 produced a drop in tourism (pp. 66, 75, 94). There are also many stylistic infelicities. Despite these criticisms, it should be said that Berger has made a substantial contribution to the rising field of Mexican tourism studies by relating the efforts of government officials and leading figures such as Montes de Oca to create what has become one of Mexico’s leading “exports.”

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JOSÉ ANTONIO FERNÁNDEZ MOLINA. *Pintando el mundo de azul: El auge añilero y el mercado centroamericano, 1750–1810*. El Salvador: Biblioteca de Historia Salvadoreña. 2003. Pp. 367.

When small, hard cakes of indigo first arrived in the West, Europeans knew so little of the dye that they imagined it to be a mineral. But demand grew quickly, and indigo soon figured among the exports of Spanish America. By the second quarter of the seventeenth century, however, population declines and transport problems in Central America allowed dye from India and the French West Indies to dominate European markets. Mainland production, now from South Carolina and El Salvador, rebounded in the second half of the eighteenth century but by 1800 had again fallen behind a revived Indian industry. José Antonio Fernández Molina addresses the rise and collapse of Salvadorian indigo exports in the years 1760 to 1840 and the effects that this had on the broader political and economic development of late colonial and early independent Central America.

The central thesis of Fernández’s book is straightforward. For the first time in two and a half centuries of colonial rule, a crop—indigo—integrated large parts, if not all, of Central America’s economy. During the half century after 1750 El Salvador produced the dye; Nicaragua and Honduras supplied the export districts with food and animals; Guatemala City merchants financed the crop, exported it, and brought in European imports for the growers and workers; and capital artisans manufactured consumer goods for colony-wide markets. Mule trains and ox carts laced this economy together. Only Costa Rica seems to have remained largely isolated by distance.

Fernández finds the revival of Central American indigo to have been rooted in two eighteenth-century

changes: the introduction of "free trade" by the Bourbons, greatly increasing ship traffic to Central America, and the explosion of demand for dyes resulting from Britain's industrial revolution. But war beginning in the 1790s ruined Central America's export trade and the system of domestic exchange it sustained. Fighting greatly limited the availability of Spanish ships and contraband exploded, prompting provincial merchants to bypass Guatemala City and trade directly with foreigners. As a result, when independence arrived, initially in the form of an invading army from Mexico, Central America had relapsed into economic and political fragmentation and isolation, a situation made worse by the isthmus's wars of the 1820s and 1830s.

The first parts of the book focus on the production of indigo, or anil. Though large plantations existed, a crown ban on the use of indigenous workers forced indigo growers to depend on a mixed-blood, free labor force that, because of the availability of alternative employments, remained expensive and difficult to control. Uncertain labor supplies, together with bottlenecks in processing, meant that the larger producers commonly managed only an inferior quality of dye. But many peasants and smallholders also grew indigo, either on their own land or on that rented from indigenous villages. The careful attention these *poquiteros* gave to cultivation and processing allowed them to achieve a high-quality product, which raised the general reputation and price of Central America indigo and allowed it to overcome the isthmus's high transport costs.

These transportation costs diverted a considerable part of the isthmus's commerce to regional fairs, where the activities of peasants and *buhoneros* (itinerant traders) denied Guatemala City merchants a monopoly. Capital city merchants did control most of the commerce and finance of indigo, however, operating at first through local crown officials and then setting up their own networks of *cajeros* ("clerks"), staffed by relatives and newly arrived immigrants. Limited by church usury laws, lenders typically demanded repayment in indigo at a real below-market price, initially an effective return of twenty-five percent but one that fell off as the price of the dye rose. Fernández divides these merchants into three groups: the representatives of Spanish commercial houses, locally established merchant families and partnerships, and independent traders who increasingly arrived after 1750 to take advantage of the indigo boom. But he finds little conflict among them; real problems lay in the countryside, where local courts and competition from crown officials made debt collection difficult. Only in the 1790s did the merchants achieve a corporate identity with the formation of a *Consulado de Comercio*, but by then contraband was overwhelming faltering legal trade, leaving the *Consulado* to defend a failing system.

Had indigo continued to flourish, perhaps it would have overcome centripetal political and economic forces in the region to keep Central America unified. But probably not, and Fernández shows that Costa Rica, for example, was set on an independent path well

before 1822. Most disappointing here is a shortage of sources (pp. 23, 121) that would allow the author to penetrate to the local level, to find out more about the *poquiteros*. The history of archives in El Salvador is a particularly sad one, but improved working conditions there and a new generation of historians may yet turn up material for the colonial period comparable to that used, for example, by nineteenth-century historians such as Hector Lindo-Fuentes and Aldo Lauria-Santiago. At least for now, however, this book provides the best short summary available of Central America's involvement with indigo.

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JOHN LYNCH. *Simón Bolívar: A Life*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 349. \$35.00.

Simón Bolívar poses a formidable challenge to biographers. From his military leadership to his political writings, he was larger than life, and he lived in tumultuous times. He inspired great loyalty in people like General Antonio José de Sucre, his secretary Daniel O'Leary, and his lover Manuela Sáenz, and great hatred in opponents like mulatto caudillo Manuel Piar and Colombian Liberal Francisco de Paula Santander. How to evaluate a man who had no peers?

John Lynch has provided the most successful one-volume account of Bolívar's life to date. While focusing his smooth narrative on the relatively well-known outlines of the Liberator's life and career (1783–1830), Lynch also considers the social and racial context in which Bolívar moved. The Enlightenment thought that inspired him did not address issues of colonialism in a multiracial population, and the Liberator modified those ideas to fit the American context. A reformist rather than a revolutionary, Bolívar remained constant in his commitment to political liberty and legal equality. Although many believe that Bolívar displayed authoritarian and even monarchist tendencies in the latter stage of his career (1827–1830), Lynch argues that the Liberator retained his attachment to liberalism. He differed from his liberal critics primarily in his belief that only a strong central government could implement reforms like the abolition of slavery. Moreover, Lynch argues that Bolívar's lasting legacy was his insistence that personal power must yield to institutionalized authority. His constitutions, however, were not always perfectly fitted to the situation. The Bolivian Constitution he wrote called for a life presidency, a clause that other ambitious politicians could not accept.

Lynch correctly notes that Bolívar did not have the power to do as he pleased, so he cannot entirely be blamed for the failure to establish liberal measures. He advocated abolition of slavery, he freed his own slaves, and he wanted *pardos* (people of color) to have legal equality and opportunity. Lynch asserts that Bolívar was not a racist, but the evidence seems mixed, at least to modern eyes. Bolívar feared the unleashing of a social revolution and believed that only rule by the white

elite could preserve order. He rejected the notion of social equality for *pardos*, for he predicted that *pardocracia*, or political rule by people of color, would lead to the extermination of white people. (The incendiary term *pardocracia* is still used in Venezuela to refer to political power by the lower classes.) In spite of his typical generosity to those who defied him, Bolívar had two prominent mulatto leaders executed allegedly for advocating a race war: Piar in 1817 and José Prudencio Padilla in 1829. Lynch has opened the door, but much remains to be done on the troubling issue of race during the Independence Wars.

Lynch generally views most controversies through Bolívar's eyes, although he points out the Liberator's occasionally flawed judgment. His betrayal of Francisco Miranda to the Spanish at the collapse of the first republic in 1812 was inexplicable and uncharacteristically harsh. Lynch, like General de Sucre, cannot understand Bolívar's lasting admiration for his "eccentric" (p. 282) tutor Simón Rodríguez, who apparently wreaked havoc as director of public education in Bolivia. Some of Bolívar's controversial decisions, like the pronouncement of a war to the death against Spaniards in 1813, might partially be excused as a response to Spanish atrocities. Lynch shares Bolívar's dislike for the Colombian patriot Santander, whom the author describes as a "severe, humourless and touchy man with a strong interest in money and a streak of cruelty" (p. 131). José Antonio Páez's lack of education, inferiority complex, and poor table manners also come in for comment, and Lynch notes that Bolívar resented taking advice from the unschooled *llanero*. Whatever Bolívar's opinions of Páez and Santander, both gave credible accounts of themselves as elected national leaders after Bolívar's death. Colombians revere Santander as the "man of laws," and Páez became a great favorite in the United States when he took up exile there.

Lynch's account reinforces the notion that Bolívar was indeed *sui generis*. He was ahead of his time and cohorts in thinking about race, politics, political propaganda, military strategy, and perhaps even in his views of gender. He continued to revere the unconventional Sáenz in spite of what others considered her outrageous behavior. It is hard to deny his exceptionalism and his magnificent achievements in leading the South Americans to political independence, often with little to sustain him other than his own indomitable will. And yet, must we share the Liberator's frequent judgment that everyone else was wrong and only he was right? As we approach the tercentenary of the Latin American Independence Wars, we are indebted to Lynch for initiating a serious reexamination of Bolívar and his times.

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KENNETH P. SERBIN. *Needs of the Heart: A Social and Cultural History of Brazil's Clergy and Seminaries*. (Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies.)

Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2006. Pp. xix, 476. \$60.00.

Despite the long shadow that the Catholic Church cast over colonial, imperial, and twentieth-century Brazil, historians have shied away from examining its internal dynamics and its role in the larger society. Most histories, both surveys and monographs, include some material on the church, yet there have been no dedicated studies of the role of the church in Brazil for thirty years. Kenneth P. Serbin's superb new study offers a comprehensive look at the church from the colonial period to the end of the military government in the 1980s. He takes the long view in order to demonstrate his central argument: that the "progressive" Catholic Church of the twentieth century, with its political activism and social consciousness, did not emerge out of a void but rather developed out of patterns already set in the colonial period that shifted as they played out against the backdrop of a changing Brazil.

Rather than try to understand the entire institution of the church, the book looks specifically at priests and the seminaries that formed them. Setting the stage for his argument, Serbin begins with a thematic look at different aspects of the church in the colonial period and the first empire. After a general discussion of church/state relations and the *padroado*, the chapter examines the role of priests and the church as landowners, moneylenders, and as part of the slavocratic and racially discriminatory system of Brazil. One reason for keeping indigenous and Afro-Brazilian men out of the priesthood was the fear that they could not be celibate, yet Serbin demonstrates that celibacy was, in fact, a rarity for men of the cloth in colonial Brazil. The chapter closes with a discussion of the active role of priests in the revolutionary and independence movements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and their insertion into the political milieu of the first republic, foreshadowing the activist priests of the late twentieth century.

The next chapters turn their attention toward the belated arrival of Tridentine reforms that came to be expressed in a new kind of seminary, brought to Brazil by the Vincentian Order. These seminaries became the front lines of the battle over Romanization that started in 1840. The book examines the extraordinarily strict discipline to which seminarians were subjected and then turns to discuss the high cost of that discipline. Seminarians ended up both alienated from the populations they were supposed to serve and unable to cope with a repressed sexuality. Serbin documents an all too familiar situation in which the church covered up scandals of sexual abuse in the seminaries while at the same time fervently disciplining students when they expressed their sexuality.

After 1945 a movement formed to change the nature of the seminaries, the priesthood, and the Catholic Church itself. Young priests wanted to move away from the Tridentine model and study the new and what came to be viewed as the more relevant disciplines of the so-

cial sciences. Chapter five examines this shift more generally, while chapter six discusses the little-known psychoanalytic movement within the church that helped to shape the development of a new pedagogical model in the seminaries. Finally, the book looks at the emergence of this new model and the role of liberation theology and the activist church's opposition to the military dictatorship of the 1960s and 1970s. The epilogue brings the reader to the twenty-first century, discussing the ongoing issues of celibacy and abuse in the church and its response to the increasingly fierce competition coming from Protestant evangelical churches.

Despite its broad geographic and chronological scope, the book stays focused and well organized. Rather than trying to do everything, Serbin uses case studies from three regions during chronological periods he covers, looking first at Minas Gerais and its Vincentian seminary Caraça, then at the seminary at Viçosa near Porto Alegre in Rio Grande do Sul, and finally the seminary at Recife. Serbin's overall focus on the priesthood prevents the book from becoming simply an institutional history and personalizes the complexities in the story. Finally, the frank yet sensitively handled discussion of celibacy and sexuality throughout the book helps to shed light onto this dark corner of the history of the Brazilian church. The book is a welcome addition to the field of Brazilian history and the history of the Catholic Church in Latin America.

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MARÍA E. ARGERI. *De guerreros a delincuentes: La desarticulación de las jefaturas indígenas y el poder judicial; Norpatagonia, 1880-1930*. (Colección tierra nueva e cielo nuevo, number 51.) Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. 2005. Pp. 331.

With this book, María E. Argeri has given historians of Argentina a gift. Her study of the spatial and human conquest of northern Patagonia, Argentina's "wild" hinterland, revises our understanding of the specifics of turn-of-the-century Argentine society and helps to correct some persistent misconceptions about Argentina's ethnic past and present. Ambitious in its conceptual scope, the book weaves together an unusually wide range of primary sources, theoretical frameworks, and original thinking. It describes in detail the implementation of the means of social control by the state in the Patagonian states of Rio Negro, Chubut, and Santa Cruz—an area traditionally seen as chaotic, disorderly, and "barbaric"—through both military violence and the imposition of law and other discursive means. This process of forced imposition of oppressive control in northern Patagonia, and the legal/judicial basis for maintaining that control, continued, as Argeri shows, long after the notorious "Conquest of the Desert" of 1879-1880. The state's goal at the turn of the last century, according to Argeri, was to enforce by severe and patriarchal means an imagined state of homogeneity in which the Araucanos and other indigenous groups were absorbed

to the point of extinction. The "invisibility" of native groups, on the one hand, and the supposed homogeneity and European origin of Argentina's population, on the other, are myths that persist to this day, but Argeri's book helps to explode both.

The book is divided into two sections. In the first, Argeri frames her study theoretically. This material comprises nearly one-third of the book, and while it provides an informative summary of historiographical and methodological contributions to the problem, it is not as interesting as the original analysis that follows. The second part of the book, in six chapters, studies in turn the various tools used by the expansionist state in its attempts to pacify, incorporate, and normalize the territories' citizens. Part two uncovers an impressive range of activities, including those exercised in military, legislative, judicial, police, scientific, literary, and family systems. Argeri includes a chapter on indigenous justice customs and resistance to the imposed state practices; in other chapters, her method of analysis allows for the give-and-take between Indians and modern state officials and ideologies. She thus successfully demonstrates the dialectical relationship between the parties; this is not just a study of top-down control.

In this critical revision of the accepted history of a large part of Argentina's backcountry, Argeri brings the native majority of turn-of-the-century northern Patagonia into full view. She then presents evidence of native interactions with state officials who attempted to contain and integrate them into the normative categories and behaviors of supposedly "modern" Argentine citizens. Argeri demonstrates that this state project exhibited deep contradictions: for example, engagement of the Indians in the nation-building project while simultaneously attempting to deny their existence.

Another novel and valuable aspect of this book is Argeri's skillful weaving of gender analysis into her study of the reconquest of northern Patagonia. She illustrates how law and justice were male, patriarchal activities with many long arms—the Rural Code, the Civic Code, legislation, presidential decrees, police practices, and courtroom practices—and how state leaders used them to control Indians and women. In two chapters she takes up the themes of marriage and family law, regulation of prostitution, and sexual violence, describing in detail the legal mechanisms employed to maintain women's subordinate status in the territories. Argeri thus finds in northern Patagonia an all-too-familiar sexual double standard in terms of application of the law.

This thought-provoking study is a fine contribution to our changing understanding of Argentina's complex period of modern nation-building in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It will be appreciated by readers interested in attempts to decenter the white-washed, triumphant, and masculinist narrative of modern Argentine history.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

MARK MUNN. *The Mother of the Gods, Athens and the Tyranny of Asia: A Study of Sovereignty in Ancient Religion*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 452. \$49.95.

This book by Mark Munn sets out to solve a puzzle concerning the circumstances of the introduction of the cult of the Mother of Gods in the *metroon* of fifth-century B.C.E. Athens (where the state archives were kept). There is a strange tale attached to the cult. The Emperor Julian reported in the fourth century C.E. that the Gallus priest of the Mother was driven out by the Athenians, whereas Byzantine Photius in his *Lexicon* intimated that the *metragytes* (priest of the Mother) was actually killed. For this reason, he said, the Athenians established the cult.

Why the story of atonement? Some scholars, such as Robert Parker, think that these late accounts may well be dismissed as fiction, as *topoi* about resistance to a new cult, but Munn opposes such claims, arguing instead that historical events of the greatest importance are hidden behind narratives. The eunuch priest of the Phrygian Mother Goddess (*metragytes* or *gallus*) was in fact the emissary of the Persian King Darius, he argues, who was sent to the Athenians to ask for earth and water right before the Persian war. The Athenians killed him, thus offending the Persian monarch and committing an impiety against the Anatolian Mother Goddess. Many years later, at the end of the Peloponnesian war, Alcibiades tried to redress the wound opened by the Athenians. He mended the relationship with the Persian monarchy and established the Mother Goddess in Athens. This was the Athenian atonement to the East, according to Munn.

Whether one believes this scenario or not, it must be granted that Munn unravels a thrilling tale of relationships between monarchs and religion on the two sides of the Aegean, and that this book opens a new chapter in the study of Greek history. Munn traces the relationships back to the era of Lydian Croesus. Indeed, one must agree with the author that the role of Lydia in the formation of Greek aristocratic culture has been generally underestimated. As well, the degree of ideological homogeneity between eastern monarchs and their counterparts, the tyrants of Greece, has been underplayed. In some ways, Munn continues the tradition of Walter Burkert, who has also repeatedly stressed the importance of Eastern empires for the formation of Greek cultural and religious affairs. Most impressive is Munn's analysis of how Ionian intellectual achievement may best be understood as a result of the patronage of Lydian monarchs. For example, Anaximander's cosmological theory and maps match well what we know about maps commissioned by oriental kings who claimed to be rulers of the world.

As a historian of the archaic period, Munn is brilliant. He is full of insights in minor and major matters; a close reading of this book yields all kinds of little treasures that deal with historiography, monuments, and cults. It

tells the story of imperial Athens and the less imperially inclined Sparta (the latter recognized Delos as the eastern border of Greek territorial sphere of influence but wished no further expansion; p. 278).

As a historian of religion Munn is far less convincing. His reconstruction of the cultic persona of the Anatolian Mother Goddess and her relationship with Phrygian, Lydian, and Persian monarchs is highly speculative and based on erratic data collected from disparate sources. This evidence intimates rather than spells out the erotic side of the goddess and her relationship to the king. The reconstructed Mother Deity seems to have sprung from the pages of Sir James Frazer and Jane Harrison but is less at home with extant Near Eastern and Egyptian literature.

Most serious are two problems. The first is the conflation of diverse roles into one archetype. Often Munn conflates the Phrygian Mother with many of her Greek counterparts, Aphrodite, Artemis Aristoboule (cf. p. 271), Athena, and Hera. What is their common denominator except that they are all female? We must confront the fact that there is no Great Mother Goddess in Greek religion precisely because the role of each of these female divinities remained distinct.

The second problem has to do with the relationship between the Mother Goddess, so called, and the king in the Near East. A close connection between the two is indeed attested in many sources (even more frequently than Munn mentions) but it is not quite what he imagines. As a rule, a major goddess of the pantheon was conceived as the king's mother supporting him and his lineage. In this category we could cite examples from Ugarit, Egypt, the Hittite Empire, Minoan Crete, Mycenaean Greece, Phrygia, and eventually Persia. But the evidence that this goddess was the king's lover is very scarce if it exists at all. In mythical terms it is in fact very rare that a goddess is both the lover and mother of the king. The hymn to Aphrodite (discussed by Munn, pp. 106–112) proves just this point. Aphrodite is the lover of *one* king but a mother of *another one*, his son and successor. In short, mother and lover goddesses are two different categories in the religious tradition of the Near East.

We may return now to the issue that Munn addresses concerning the paradox of the *metroon* as both a state archive of the Athenian state and a house of the Mother Goddess. Given the fact that the Mother of Gods has traditionally been the protectress of monarchs in the East, why not say that this role is transferred to the state? The Mother Goddess is a patroness of Athens. Thus, what may be operative here is "translated" religious ideology from East to West rather than atonement.

No doubt about it: this book makes a major contribution to the field of archaic and classical Greek political history. One becomes more aware than ever that what has survived from the writings produced by partisans of the Athenian democracy erected barriers between East and West, barriers that have obscured our own view of interregional contacts in the predemocracy

era. We must be very thankful to Munn for rewriting a chapter of Athenian history.

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ADRIAAN LANNI. *Law and Justice in the Courts of Classical Athens*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 210. \$60.00.

This book sets out “to uncover the values and concerns that seem to underlie the practices and procedures of the Athenian courts,” chiefly by contrast with the legal system of the United States. Upon encountering this statement, readers might expect Adriaan Lanni to locate Athenian legal practices in relation to Athenian moral values, political ideology, and aspirations to achieve social justice. Yet Lanni’s principal goal turns out to be narrower: to explain why, with two notable exceptions, Athens’s popular courts typically worked with a broad understanding of judicial relevance. Within these limited horizons, Lanni is successful, but her study leaves open many questions concerning the distinctiveness of Athenian jury-courts and the proper moral framework within which to understand them.

At least in outline, Lanni’s analysis of relevance (or lack thereof) in the Athenian courts will be familiar to historians. It was fair game in Athens to attack an opponent’s moral character or to beg the jury for mercy. Unlike their modern American counterparts, the Athenians tended to emphasize equity and flexibility, to rely on the discretion of juries, and to seek just decisions within highly particular contexts. In homicide and maritime cases, however, the Athenians observed more austere rules of evidence and were committed to more formal methods of legal argumentation. Homicide courts, for example, explicitly prohibited irrelevant statements, while maritime law was strictly focused on the *ipsissima verba* of written contracts, as opposed to fairness or decency.

Within this generally accepted framework, Lanni breaks new ground in explaining why homicide and maritime cases were exceptional. She argues persuasively that the Athenians’ strict procedures in homicide cases derived, not from the seriousness of homicide as compared to other crimes, but rather from peculiarities of archaic Athenian history. By contrast, the no-nonsense legalism of maritime law was motivated, Lanni suggests, by the Athenian concern to stimulate trade with non-Athenians, who understandably wanted assurances of a fair hearing in Athenian courts. Most importantly, Lanni shows that, despite their unusual concessions to popular discretion, the Athenians aspired to reach verdicts that were actually *just*. Though they promoted political stability, court procedures were not simply socially useful rituals designed to reduce class tension.

As a law professor, Lanni is an interesting guide to the contrasts between ancient and modern legal systems. Among other things, she explores with confidence

and authority the *disadvantages* of the Athenian commitment to “contextual justice” or equity—in particular, the consequent lack of consistency and predictability in applications of law, and the potential for prejudicial verdicts. Her normative arguments are welcome and will be provocative in a discipline that tends toward moral relativism, if not the unquestioning celebration of difference.

Yet Lanni does not situate the Athenians’ judicial practices within broader Athenian ethical concerns. Significantly, the book’s weakest chapter is the second, which discusses what Lanni calls the “ethical baggage” Athenian jurors brought to their task (p. 25). In unpacking this baggage, Lanni argues implausibly for an evolution toward increasing honesty and fairness in classical Athens; she anachronistically describes Athenians as motivated by “obedience to individual conscience” (p. 26); and she does not take advantage of the fresh, challenging work on shame and guilt published in the 1990s, not to mention recent debates over feuding in Athenian society. A more adequate approach to Athenian morality would emphasize ethical character, the virtues and vices, and the centrality of the “good life” in the Athenian imagination. To the extent that they thought self-consciously about such matters, the Athenians wanted to know how one should live. They answered this question, at least provisionally, by appealing to paramount virtues such as justice, courage, loyalty, generosity, and patriotism. As Aristotle remarked in the fourth century B.C., ethical inquiry into virtue and vice is characteristically imprecise and contextual; consequently, the Athenians’ way of practicing ethics required situational appreciation and judgment.

Lanni’s dubious analysis of Athenian ethics leads her to reach a questionable general conclusion about the courts’ role in Athenian society altogether. Because the courts permitted extralegal argumentation, she argues, an Athenian “jury’s ability to express a clear and precise moral statement, and thus to influence the moral and social values of Athenian society, was limited” (p. 177). If the courts were informed by the Athenians’ broad and imprecise approach to ethics, however, then we should not expect them to provide “stable rules” or a “clear and precise moral statement” (p. 177). Instead, we should be searching for highly contextual judgments about which litigant’s particular narrative best captured the Athenians’ fundamental intuitions about virtue and vice; and such judgments are precisely what the courts rendered. In this way, as the Athenians themselves correctly saw, judicial decisions contributed powerfully to the character formation of democratic citizens. Judicial verdicts expressed authoritative judgments that, over time, amounted to an impressive fund of moral knowledge shared throughout the city.

Altogether, ancient Greeks and Romans interpreted ethics expansively and understood politics as an education to virtue. As a result, it would have been illuminating to compare and contrast Athenian judicial practice with that of other Greco-Roman city-states, in particular that of the Romans, who depended on judi-

cial expertise as opposed to popular judgment. Other ancient Mediterranean law codes, such as those of the Near Eastern kingdoms or the Old Testament, might have been equally interesting to consider, though for different reasons. By contrast, comparing ancient Athens with the United States would seem to require substantial justification. The United States is a gargantuan nation-state with a republican constitution invented during the heyday of Enlightenment liberalism. Ancient Athenians would have been repelled to learn that many self-proclaimed American democrats are intensely grateful for the existence of a Supreme Court, that bastion of elite expertise. Whatever comparisons are in the offing, one needs to explain clearly why they are meaningful and useful. Although this book breaks new ground within its highly specialized subfield, readers will search in vain for an account of larger historiographic issues such as these.

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JOSIAH OSGOOD. *Caesar's Legacy: Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 440. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$29.99.

The "Triumviral Period" of Roman history frequently falls between two stools. Neither quite the "Republic" or the "Empire," it often becomes a brief transitional period hurried over in our passage from one cohesive narrative to another. Yet this was not only one of Rome's great turning points but decisively shaped the Augustan age to follow. Josiah Osgood has written an elegant, engaging, and yet somewhat curious book on this important, though relatively neglected, period.

Elegant, because eschewing the dusty, esoteric voice of most "dissertation books," Osgood has woven together a great diversity of sources—much poetry as well as historical narratives, inscriptions, and some art—into a coherent story with the kind of broad scope of vision, scholarly range, and mature judgment that is rarely found in a first book. This is not a traditional political narrative in the manner of Ronald Syme or, more recently, Christopher Pelling; instead, explicitly acknowledging his debt to Paul Fussell's classic *The Great War and Modern Memory* (1975), Osgood focuses on the human *experience* of this tumultuous age as attested especially in the rich font of Triumviral literature. He by no means ignores the political narrative, but what draw his attention are not so much the moves and counter-moves of the diplomatic and military chess game so well described by his great predecessors but contemporaries' "anxieties" or "traumas" and the ways in which they sought to give meaning to their experience. Following Fussell, Osgood invokes Northrop Frye's "ironic" literary mode and gives it metaphorical shape in the form of the ever-turning wheel of capricious *Fortuna* (pp. 136, 216–218, 220–225, 347). In search of "personal versions" (p. 5) of the story to illuminate "the emotional side of this civil war" (p. 4), he

gives the floor in particular to the early work of those poets who would come to be seen as the greatest ornaments of the Augustan "Golden Age": Virgil, Horace, and Propertius. The book is engaging, then, too, because (for example) the intrusion of the contemporary effects of land-confiscation into Virgil's pastoral scenes, or Propertius's elegy in which we are brought face to face (indeed, in conversation with) "an abandoned corpse lying on the dusty hills of Tuscany" (p. 171) amidst the savagery of the Perusine War of 41 B.C., invests our emotions in what we are invited to ponder as something very much like eyewitness testimony.

So far so good. Yet the book is also somewhat curious. It would be hard to point to any strikingly new scholarly insights here into the history or culture of the Triumviral period. To be sure, the book offers some proper correctives to Syme: the wider incorporation of provincial voices, especially by means of the inscriptions from Aphrodisias which were published only in 1982, a more positive evaluation (but properly nuanced) in chapter six of the extraordinary upward social mobility characteristic of this highly unsettled age. (This chapter is indeed a brilliant example of Osgood's way of drawing on a wide variety of evidence to throw raking light on phenomena from different, even contradictory angles.) But the most distinctive feature of the book, its focus on the literature of the period, especially poetry, to allow us to "come to grips with *what it was like* for the men and women of these years" (pp. 4–5; my emphasis), strikes me as highly problematic, especially as the theoretical and even empirical assumptions on which it is based remain largely undefended. As an example of the latter, Osgood declines, in the face of long and intense scholarly controversy, to mount a serious argument for his understanding of the relationship between Maecenas's circle of poets and Octavian. He employs the contentious label "propaganda" for some of the relevant poems (pp. 383, with n. 128; 357, n. 24; and 375, n. 102) but expends very few words on an explicit defense (pp. 245–246, 346); this leaves some doubt about where he would draw a distinction between his "personal versions" and "propaganda," and thus how far the taint of "propaganda" permeates the poetic voices that are made to speak for their time in this book. Without troubling readers with scholarly polemic on the often controversial dates of poems he weaves into his narrative, Osgood tends to treat poems unproblematically as the product simply of their (sometimes uncertain) original moment of creation rather than of the date at which they were published, often years later. Virgil's *Eclogues* 1 and 9 might well be placed in a post-Nauloclean context, Horace's *Epodes* 7 and 16, in a post-Actian; but while the darker parts of Virgil's *Georgics*, a complex and much-shaded post-Actian poem, are evoked periodically through the account of the correspondingly dark 30s, the same poem's invocation of a resplendent, triumphant Octavian (pp. 398–401) is deployed to convey "a palpable sense of possibility that excited people," along with the sug-

gestion that Virgil released the poem to the public in 29 B.C. “presumably” because of the optimism that was then in the air (p. 398). I worry therefore that, despite the original invocation of the “ironic mode” of Frye and Fussell, by the end Osgood has abandoned this to impose a predetermined and rather conventional narrative arc, in which over the course of the mid-to-late 30s Octavian gradually sheds a narrow focus upon partisan self-interest and comes “to heed the needs of men and women in Rome, Italy and the provinces” (p. 2; cf. p. 140). Many scholars do embrace this framing narrative; but Syme, who in *Tacitus* (1958) complained that “historians know the verdict in advance, they run forward with alacrity to salute the victors and chant hymns to success” (p. 435), took a darker view.

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FERGUS MILLAR. *A Greek Roman Empire: Power and Belief under Theodosius II (408–450)*. (Sather Classical Lectures, number 64.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2006. Pp. xxvi, 279. \$49.95.

Fergus Millar’s 2002–2003 Sather lectures may be read as an attempt by an eminent historian of pre-Constantinian Rome to put his finger on what was most vital in the later empire, given current debates about whether or not it “declined” and whether “late antiquity” was long (stretching into early Islam) or short. His answer: the longest reign in Roman history, that of Theodosius II, saw the formative years of an “orthodox” Christian “Greek Roman Empire”—Byzantium, in other words. There was no single “late Roman Empire.” The East did not go under like the Latin West, and Justinian even managed a limited reunification that was maintained—from the New Rome, not the Old—until the Arab invasions. There is no “systematic evidence” for urban decline in the first half of the fifth century (pp. 25–26). This is late antiquity according to Peter Brown, not J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz (*The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* [2001]).

Chapter one surveys the extent, cohesiveness, laws, languages, and culture of this Greek empire viewed, as is conventional, from the imperial center, but also as an arena in which competing interests manipulated the “rhetoric of persuasion” (the phrase neatly acknowledges Millar’s debt to Averil Cameron as well as Brown). Chapter two looks at the control the center exercised over the provinces, especially through the army and in the heavily militarized frontier regions. How exactly did the emperor communicate with local governors, commanders, and bishops?

Chapter three develops the theme of Latin as the internal language of administration and Greek as the tongue in which rulers and ruled actually communicated. Millar might, here, have explained better the practical reasons for attachment to Latin as something more than just an emblem of *Romanitas*, for Greek was not regarded as un-Roman. He acknowledges later (p.

166) the vast number of Latin loan words that seeped into administrative (and, one might add, sporting) Greek but does not discuss the conservatism of bureaucratism everywhere, whether French in contemporary Tunisia or *katharevousa* in modern Greek legal documents. Confidence and precision are hard to re-establish in another idiom. Conversely, theological subtleties were found easier to express in Greek, and the paradox that the period’s single most decisive theological text, Pope Leo’s *Tome* (449), was in Latin is only apparent, since at this moment of intense crisis clarity, vigor, and compromise were bound to prevail over profundity.

Chapters four and five deal with this very pious administration’s involvement in the titanic struggle to define Christian doctrine culminating at the Council of Chalcedon (451). Special attention is given to the Nestorian controversy, “a more fully documented episode in the history of government than any other from the Graeco-Roman period up to this date” (p. 157). Chapter six fleshes out procedures for approaching the emperor, and analyzes written petitions and the letters issued in reply, which had the force of law (and whence everything in the *Codex Theodosianus* derives). It also describes the pyramid of power at court, and how petitions actually reached the emperor. But the spectacular climax of the chapter and the book is the circumvention of all convention and official procedure that occurred when the monk Dalmatius emerged from forty-eight years’ seclusion to denounce Nestorius in person before an astonished Theodosius. After so many pages on bureaucratic correspondence and consistory politics, there could be no more striking exhibition of one of the new realities of the Christian empire, the holy man’s power to trump everybody. Mere bishops resorted to bribery.

It is intriguing to watch how an expert on the high empire reacts to the post-Diocletianic world. He enthusiastically mines the unprecedentedly vast administrative documentation, especially the *Codex Theodosianus*, which has benefited from quite a lot of attention recently, and the acts of the Ecumenical Councils, for his introduction to which (especially in two helpful appendixes) non-ecclesiastical historians will be hugely grateful. Other neglected semi-historical sources here recommended to students of Greek literature are Nestorius’s *Bazaar of Heraclides*, preserved only in Syriac, and Count Irenaeus’s *Tragoedia*, which we must read in Latin translation. The same open-mindedness marks Millar’s judgment on late polytheism. Unorganized and inarticulate, at least in public, it unsurprisingly succumbed to organized, loquacious, and predatory bishops. Compare the threnodic tone of Liebeschuetz’s pages on the same subject.

For a distinguished Romanist, now retired, to choose to immerse himself in the later empire, and explicitly to privilege “conceptual, social and religious issues” over administrative and military history (p. 50), constitutes a clear judgment about what is likely to be rewarding in this field. One’s appetite is freshened for Millar’s prom-

ised "social and religious history of the Roman Near East in the fourth to sixth century" (p. xiii).

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CHRISTOPHER KELLY. *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*. (Revealing Antiquity, number 15.) Paperback edition. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. 341. \$19.95.

In the recent boom of late antique studies history, administration has been rather neglected. Christopher Kelly's excellent book fills a gap. Compared with the early empire the late empire had a greatly increased bureaucracy. There were far more provinces, each with its staff of officials, and there were far more civil servants in the capital, and of course there were now two capital cities, Rome and Constantinople. As a result the imperial administration was able to assert itself more effectively in the provinces, and there was increasing pressure on the central administration to settle problems that had arisen at provincial level. The basic structure of this system of administration is well known thanks to the work of E. Stein and especially A. H. M. Jones. But many questions remain.

Above all, it is clear that, judged by the standards of a contemporary civil service, the late imperial administration had many faults. The heads of department held office too briefly to learn the job. Promotion was not obviously by merit. Documents signed by the emperor granted illegal exemptions to individuals. Above all officials at every level demanded to be paid by members of the public who needed their services. The system would appear to have been corrupt to the core.

It is generally agreed that it was the bureaucratic administration that enabled the empire to survive the crisis of the third century, but it has also been argued, most fully by Ramsay MacMullen, that these weaknesses ultimately contributed to the decline and fall of the empire. This is where Kelly's book comes in. Basically he shows why the Roman bureaucracy had to be as it was. The system had to retain the support of local elites. Hence the rapid turn over of officials at governor level who were recruited from the civic aristocracies. The bureaucracy had to retain a sense of independence from local ties hence the use of ceremony and formality of procedure, and promotion by seniority rather than by merit. It was important that the emperor was always seen to be in ultimate charge. That is why the emperor so often by-passed his officials to grant exemptions from provisions of the law to individuals, and why he seems to have quite arbitrarily shifted areas of responsibility, and associated earning opportunities, from one department to another. Above all Kelly explains the system's apparent venality: the fact that civil servants, typified by John Lydus, took it for granted that they were entitled to demand payment from those who benefited from the tasks they performed. When Lydus joined the judicial side of the Praetorian prefecture of the East at

the lowest level he drew a salary of nine *solidi* (around a private soldier's pay), but in the same year he had a fee income of 1,000 *solidi*. The imperial government clearly could not afford to pay its civil servants anything like the salary they expected, without raising taxation to a level which would have been unacceptable. The fees meant that those who made use of the civil service also paid the bulk of the cost of it. This, of course, also meant that only the well to do could afford to use the courts. But if the courts had been available to all, business, which was already slow enough, would have come to a halt altogether. The fees were a form of rationing. The fact that money had to be paid for senior posts meant that they became available to individuals who otherwise would have been disqualified because they lacked influential connections.

Kelly has supplemented the excessively pessimistic descriptions of late Roman administration of earlier scholars by bringing out the rationale of the organization, and explaining its *modus operandi* as it has not been explained before. But in accounting for what his predecessors have considered weaknesses, Kelly sometimes comes close to presenting them as advantages. For instance, it is doubtful whether the movement from patronage to purchase significantly widened opportunity. The late antique letter collections suggest that patronage was as important as it ever had been. It is true that the system fulfilled its fundamental purpose, the delivery of the resources upon which the empire's existence depended. But at the same time it had all the disadvantages of a complicated and centralizing bureaucracy. The whole administrative machinery was an impressive achievement. But its detailed working also illustrates the problems involved in establishing an expensive structure of this kind in an underdeveloped economy. In those circumstances a certain amount of what we should still be allowed to call corruption was inevitable. But it is undoubtedly useful to understand why this was so, and is so still. Kelly's theme has contemporary relevance.

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WALTER GOFFART. *Barbarian Tides: The Migration Age and the Later Roman Empire*. (The Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006. Pp. x, 372. \$69.95.

Walter Goffart is one of the most renowned early medieval historians. His books include *Barbarians and Romans A.D. 418–584: The Techniques of Accommodation* (1980), arguing that the late Roman "techniques of accommodation" implied tax shares instead of land distribution to the barbarians; *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (1988), analyzing works of early medieval historiography as "fictions of fact," not as ethnic histories; and the edited collection *Rome's Fall and After* (1989). Rather than establishing new par-

adigms, these books have opened doors and inspired controversial debates.

Goffart, who remained rather aloof from these debates until recently, has now returned to them. Reading the careful narrative section of his new book, an exemplary account of the "Great Rhine Crossing" after 400 A.D. (pp. 73–118), one might wish that he had produced at last a narrative synthesis of the migrations after having avoided narrative history for so long. Or he could have used his discussion of the topic of accommodation (pp. 119–186) as a starting point to look more fully at the fate of the Roman tax system in the successor kingdoms. Instead he has written a book of polemic.

Goffart challenges the paradigm of the largely Germanic character of the migration period: "The nonexistence of ancient Germans is perhaps the most important thing one can say about the barbarians of late antiquity" (p. 20). Contrary to textbook wisdom, there were neither "wandering peoples" nor long-drawn Germanic expansion, but only finite migrations (pp. 13–22); the Roman Empire was not overthrown by the Germans (pp. 23–39); and the early medieval kingdoms in the West were "as pure or impure in their Romanity" as Byzantium (p. 39). It is certainly useful to reiterate these points, which have often been made in recent debates. However, the master narrative against which they are set has long been in decay. The "Germanic contention" that Goffart marks out for annihilation (p. 7, 233) actually consists of several not necessarily linked assumptions variously held or dismissed by different scholars. Goffart never cares to distinguish among them. This is the fundamental weakness of the book: it falls far behind current debates by seeking to re-establish a great divide between Romanists and Germanists. What is Germanic, in the first place? As an ethnonym, it is fictive, and Goffart is right that a "Germanic people" never existed. As a modern scholarly abstraction, it carries a heavy ideological load, but it is hard to avoid when speaking of language, and it may still be useful as a classifying term for the population of the Germania in the imperial age. For the period before the fourth century A.D. the Roman sources consistently speak of *Germani*, but after that the term characteristically fades away; does that not make a difference? What we really need to do is get rid of the misleading idea of the Germanness of the successor states. However, the role of ethnicity after Rome is something different again. Contemporary authors ascribed political agency in the new kingdoms to peoples. This has more to do with classical and Old Testament models than with origin myths, but it did shape political reality. Goffart calls for "less Germanic ethnicity" (p. 4). Ethnicity was not Germanic, but important, otherwise France would still be called Gaul today. Yet another question is whether one believes that the barbarians were responsible for the fall of Rome, and whether Rome did fall at all. Unfortunately, Goffart could not react to Peter Heather's *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (2005), which takes up a completely different stance on this point, or to the massive evi-

dence for the demise of the Roman tax system in Chris Wickham's *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400–800* (2005)—pieces of polemic I would have enjoyed reading.

The curious thing about Goffart's book is his almost missionary sense of urgency, closer to his postwar student years than to the quiet flow of actual debates. In all the issues dear to him, he could have relied on many recent works that have made the same or similar points. Rather than building on their arguments, Goffart seeks to prove most of them wrong all the same, using slips in detail or even blatant misrepresentation of other authors' views. "Pohl is, of course, committed to the existence of his subject, a coherent 'Germanic' people foreshadowing the 'Deutsche' of today" (p. 274) is, for instance, the exact opposite of my real position. Regardless of what they may actually think, a host of scholars find themselves classed under the defenders of the Germanic paradigm, set next to outdated quotes from the 1940s and 1950s to imply they believe the same. Had Goffart chosen to argue against positions actually held today instead of furiously attacking a largely fictive "Germanic contention" he could have written a better book. As it is, I would suggest reading Goffart's earlier works instead, or hope for a more judicious work to follow.

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FELICE LIFSHITZ. *The Name of the Saint: The Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627–827*. (Publications in Medieval Studies.) Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 230. \$40.00.

In this book, Felice Lifshitz renders intelligible a text—the so-called Martyrology of Jerome—that is often referred to by historians but has hitherto been little understood. She does so by locating the history of the text in a series of precise circumstances. Its origins she places convincingly in the period of the Tricapitoline Schism, immediately preceding the Council of Mâcon of 627–628, which dealt with the conflict between Eustasius of Luxeuil and Agrestius: she then turns to the earliest manuscript witness, from Echternach in the days of Willibrord. Her next context is the region of Maastricht at the time of the Saxon missions of 772; then the Carolingian court circle at the time that Carloman was renamed Pippin in 781; and thereafter St. Seine (or rather Flavigny and Autun) and the monasteries associated with Benedict of Aniane, up to the Councils of Aachen in 816–817. By looking at the surviving manuscripts, and at the evidence for their use, Lifshitz is able to reconstruct a history of the reverence for the names of saints (the *sanctorum nominum festivitas*), culminating (after a brief setback caused by the atmosphere of suspicion surrounding the iconodule crisis) with the legislation on their recitation at Chapter Assembly (as opposed to Mass), as prescribed by the canons of Aachen. The argument concludes with con-

sideration of the relatively poor adoption of the legislation.

Lifshitz succeeds admirably in establishing her basic case, which—after the initial exploration of the Council of Mâcon and its background—is largely based on a series of discussions of all the relevant manuscripts: indeed she provides a textbook lesson in how manuscript study can be used to elucidate historical questions. Of course, the argument does not rely solely on discussion of individual manuscripts, and not everyone will follow Lifshitz over some of the tangential facts brought into play. For instance, Columbanus may have arrived in Gaul during Guntram's lifetime, but the king was almost certainly dead by the time Luxeuil was founded. While mention of Plectrude in the Latin glosses of the Calendar of Willibrord is likely to be early, the fact that she was praised by Donatus in the *Vita Trudonis* written for Angilram of Metz shows that she could still be mentioned positively in the later eighth century. To accept the statement (p. 128) that "Salzburg owed its initial erection in 739 to Boniface" is to deny the whole tradition relating to Rupert.

At times one wonders if there are more details to be adduced; there is surely more to be said about St. Seine and its cult (if only about the oddity of the similarity of the name of the saint, Sequanus, and the river, Sequana). More important, there are issues that Lifshitz raises but leaves unsolved that certainly require further elucidation, even if they prove ultimately to be insoluble. Most important, she does not offer any reconstruction to show how it could be that Agrestius's opponents at Mâcon took over his position on the cult of saints' names. This would certainly not be the only issue over which Eustasius rather than Agrestius changed sides, but Lifshitz's reconstruction needs to be integrated further into what we already know of Jonas's misrepresentation of Agrestius, Eustasius, and Luxeuil. And this is not the only aspect of her work that has an impact on other issues. The most obvious area is that of the *Liber Vitae*, which is touched on briefly, and then essentially with regard to Salzburg. There is, however, a wider history that cannot be deduced entirely from manuscripts, but that may impinge on Lifshitz's case: it seems from Gregory of Tours that lists of names were already being kept at the shrine of Martin in his day, and it is thought that the Durham *Liber Vitae* of the ninth century used earlier lists for the names of seventh and eighth-century individuals. In other words, there are related issues that need to be reassessed in the light of Lifshitz's work, and that no doubt will affect her conclusions. Already, however, she has not only unraveled a complicated history of textual development, but in so doing she has cast light on monastic history (above all with regard to Luxeuil and the houses associated with Benedict of Aniane), on the ideology of the Saxon missions, on the renaming of Carloman as Pippin, on Louis the Pious's imperial ideology as expressed at Aachen in 816–817, and on the association of relics and narrative histories in the early ninth century. Although her subject matter is the history of the cult of saints' names as

reflected in a single text, the Martyrology of Jerome, Lifshitz shows that its ramifications are considerably wider.

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ERIC J. GOLDBERG. *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817–876*. (Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. xxi, 388. \$47.50.

King Louis the German of East Francia has been neglected by scholars for a long time, but four new works have been published within the last four years: Wilfried Hartmann, *Ludwig der Deutsche* (2002); Boris Bigott, *Ludwig der Deutsche und die Reichskirche im Ostfränkischen Reich (826–876)* (2002); Wilfried Hartmann, ed., *Ludwig der Deutsche und seine Zeit* (2004); and now Eric J. Goldberg's book. It is because of such works that the idea we have of this East Frankish ruler has finally been adjusted. He was neither an insufficient epigone of Charlemagne nor an imperfect precursor of Otto the Great. He may have used outdated instruments of power. However, within the bounds of possibilities he displayed flexibility, resourcefulness, and aptitude in his actions and reactions to a changing society. While he adapted a rather traditional course of action concerning the neighboring Slavs, demanding only tributes instead of annexing them, even his contemporaries already noted his novel, relatively moderate behavior toward insubordinate noblemen.

Goldberg's thesis contributes to putting Louis's relatively long reign in a more favorable, though by no means massaged, perspective. The king is depicted as someone committed to politics and the military, art and religion, and to providing protection to the population despite the long eastern border, which then was in fact the longest border in Europe, as Goldberg points out. Louis did this with enormous dedication. The protection he provided was the main source of his strength, especially as compared to his brothers in the middle of the Frankish realm (Lotharingia, Italia) and the West Frankish realm, who were less successful in this respect.

Goldberg rightly pays greater attention to the military aspect of early medieval rule than the majority of his predecessors. Compared to Hartmann's biography of Louis, which is structured around certain key topics, Goldberg's more chronological approach succeeds in adequately including the interaction of events, action and reaction, chance and planning. The comprehensive approach in this meticulous study, which also features the first extensive description of the early socialization of the ruler, is novel, as are some ideas concerning detail (for example, regarding policies, size of armies, or life at court). Especially noteworthy is the convincing and innovative argument that Louis's policies did not show signs of a "drive to the east," as had been assumed before, but on the contrary, a "drive to the west." However, Goldberg's basic premise should be questioned:

namely the idea that the East Frankish king not only started fighting for the Frankish empire and the unity of the Frankish *Teilreiche* under his reign in 853 but had long wanted to become emperor, preparing for open conflicts with Lothar I since 828. This premise is, in my opinion, not sufficiently proven, hardly takes into consideration the frail nature of Louis's reign up to the second half of the 840s, and tends to attribute too many actions of noblemen to royal planning. Moreover, as a consequence of the strong focus on politics and military affairs, the importance of mission and the church seems to be neglected; however, keeping in mind the other studies mentioned above, Goldberg may well have done this deliberately. Despite these flaws, Goldberg has succeeded in writing a highly readable, because explanatory, and well-illustrated account of an important stage of the early Middle Ages. It accurately represents the current state of research, even including Roman Deutinger's postdoctoral thesis, *Königsherrschaft im Ostfränkischen Reich: Eine pragmatische Verfassungsgeschichte der späten Karolingerzeit* (2004). Reading this book, which is equipped with reliable bibliography, index, maps, and genealogies, is highly recommended.

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JONATHAN RAY. *The Sephardic Frontier: The Reconquista and the Jewish Community in Medieval Iberia*. (Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 198. \$35.00.

In the years following the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, Christians conquered large parts of southern Iberia from the Muslims, and Christian rulers encouraged their subjects to repopulate the south. Jews from Christian territories played an important role in the resettlement, but their participation has not received much attention, largely because of a shortage of easily accessible sources. Using rabbinic sources and unpublished archives, Jonathan Ray brings Jewish settlement of the southern peninsula into clearer focus. This well-argued book places Jewish frontier settlement into the broader context of Spanish and Portuguese political history, while at the same time calling into question traditional scholarly views of medieval Jewish communities.

Ray convincingly challenges the influential work of Yitzhak Baer, among others, who assume that Iberian Jewish communities were consistent over time in their institutions and sense of cultural solidarity. He also challenges the related assumption among scholars that religious affiliation was the most important source of identity in medieval Spain and Portugal. While confessional identity, Jewish or otherwise, did become increasingly important in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it was not a major consideration on the thirteenth-century frontier. Jews, Ray argues, like Christians, came to the frontier for the economic opportunities and freedom the frontier provided. Building

confessional communities was not the first priority, and in fact Jews were willing to settle in areas that had small or nonexistent Jewish populations and lacked basic institutions such as synagogues, Jewish cemeteries, or kosher butcher shops. Even in areas where large Jewish quarters survived from the Muslim period or were newly established, many Jews chose to live outside of them. Jewish communal leaders had to contend with prominent Jewish families who defied their authority, as well as members of the community who pursued legal actions in Christian rather than Jewish courts or who passed as non-Jews in their dealings with Gentiles.

A related theme Ray pursues is the increasing authority of Spanish and Portuguese monarchs who move in the course of the thirteenth century from ruling indirectly through personal ties with nobles to being heads of state over all subjects, including and perhaps especially Jews, whose property monarchs came to see as a resource to tax or, occasionally, confiscate. Just as monarchs attempted to assert authority over nobles and city councils, they sought to control Jewish affairs by employing prominent Jews as legal and fiscal representatives of Jewish communities. At first glance the actions of thirteenth-century monarchs could be interpreted as intended to enforce confessional boundaries; rulers preferred Jews in frontier cities to live in designated quarters and promulgated rules of dress that seemed to respond to the Fourth Lateran Council's decree that Jews should wear distinctive clothing. In reality, however, considerations of finances and social class, more than religious concerns, were at play. Monarchs wanted their Jewish tax base living in a well-defined area, and most of the clothing restrictions they enforced were in fact sumptuary laws designed to prevent wealthy Jews from dressing like Christians of noble birth. Dispensations from those dress codes could be had for a price. When the interests of the church and Jewish communities conflicted, rulers could not be counted on to side with the church. The church, including the papacy and the Iberian bishops, claimed that Jews living on land they had obtained from Christians should pay tithes on it. Since Jewish land was such an important source of taxes for monarchs, however, they were, not surprisingly, unwilling to support the church's efforts to exploit that resource.

One could wish that Ray had placed his research on the thirteenth and early fourteenth-century frontier more clearly in the context of what came before and what came after. Many of the Christian monarchies' policies toward Jews—rules (mostly not enforced) against Jews holding positions of authority over the dominant religious group, for example, or the practice of controlling Jewish groups through community notables—were continuations of Islamic policy, a phenomenon that Ray points out occasionally but not consistently. It would also be instructive to compare the freewheeling environment of the frontier with what came after; by the fifteenth century, the preoccupation with religious boundaries that Ray convincingly argues was not a major influence in the thirteenth century had

become an important social force. In all other respects, however, this is an interesting and lively book that challenges the image of medieval Spanish and Portuguese society as invariably corporate and religious in its organization. The high medieval Iberian frontier, at least, was a place where the quest of individuals and families for financial and social opportunity took precedence over loyalty to rigidly defined confessional groups.

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GEORGE GARNETT. *Marsilius of Padua and "the Truth of History."* New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 221. \$80.00.

Within the history of medieval political thought Marsilius of Padua has traditionally been viewed as an early exponent of modern secular political theory and an advocate of republican ideas later espoused among Italian humanists in the communes of Renaissance Italy. George Garnett has put forward a different thesis: namely, that Marsilius's antipapal *Defensor pacis* was an interpretation of the Christian past, not a manifesto for a future early modern secular state. In doing so Garnett consciously sets himself in opposition to most modern interpreters, including John Neville Figgis, C. W. Previté-Orton, Alan Gewirth, Quentin Skinner, and most recently Cary J. Nederman. Garnett also emphasizes parallels between *Defensor pacis* and Dante Alighieri's *De monarchia*.

In his introduction Garnett surveys earlier interpretations of *Defensor pacis*, including the imperial context espoused by Georges de Lagarde and Jeannine Quillet, and looks in particular at contemporary responses to *Defensor pacis*. Garnett concludes the introduction with his view that Marsilius saw the conflict between Pope John XXII and Emperor Louis of Bavaria as "the apocalyptic consummation of a struggle which had been developing not just since the pontificate of Gregory VII, but over the preceding millenium." *Defensor pacis* is thus a history of church, papacy, and empire in which the final phase was already underway.

That history is told in the following chapters. Chapter two covers providential history from the fall of Adam to the conversion of Constantine, with particular attention to the purity of the primitive church, the place of law in Christian society after the Incarnation, the relation of empire and church before Constantine, and the role of priests and bishops within the early church. In opposition to claims of papal primacy, Marsilius argued that no bishop, including the bishop of Rome, had any coercive jurisdiction over any other bishop but all were subject to the coercive jurisdiction of the secular *principes*. Chapter three continues this history from Constantine to the fourteenth century, including a discussion of the meaning and implications of the Donation of Constantine, the consequences of Constantine's conversion, and the illegitimate claims of Petrine sovereignty and *plenitudo potestatis*. Chapter four looks at

the effects on the church and society in his own day of what Marsilius viewed as papal greed and claims of temporal sovereignty. Chapter five looks at the role of secular government, especially that of the emperor, and stresses the parallels between Marsilius and Dante. The final two chapters concern Marsilius's knowledge of canon law, his familiarity and use of the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, and his "conscious" neglect of twelfth and thirteenth-century collections of texts and decretals while relying heavily on his antipapal interpretation of the decretals of Boniface VIII, Clement V, and John XXII.

Although not alone in its nonrepublican, nonmodernist view of *Defensor pacis*, Garnett's book is a useful addition to the literature that places Marsilius more directly in the context of early fourteenth-century political thought. Garnett has benefited from manuscript studies on *Defensor pacis* in the last few decades as well as studies on the audience and dissemination of that work as well as the political writings of William of Ockham. With regard to contemporary audience, Jürgen Miethke's edited collection, *Das Publikum politischer Theorie im 14. Jahrhundert* (1992), should have been included in the bibliography, since many of the contributions in that book make use of *Defensor pacis*. And the statement (p. 43) that John of Jandun "had probably been a master of theology since 1316" and attributed (erroneously) to Denifle and Châtelain's *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, should have read "sometime after 1316" or "before 1328."

In place of a concluding chapter, Garnett restates his thesis in the final two pages of his last chapter on Marsilius's use of canon law. That thesis is that *Defensor pacis* is at heart an apocalyptic work that sets forth a providential history of the world in which papal pretensions attempted to pervert the proper historical relationship of church and empire. For Garnett, Marsilius saw himself as ordained to reveal that history and its ultimate outcome. It is probably this eschatological aspect of Garnett's book, more than the nonrepublican, nonmodern context in which he places *Defensor pacis*, that will evoke the most discussion among historians of medieval political thought.

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ROSA MARIA DESSI, editor. *Prêcher la paix et discipliner la société: Italie, France, Angleterre (XIII^e-XV^e siècles).* (Collection d'Études Médiévales de Nice, number 5.) Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols. 2005. Pp. 460. €55.00.

This ambitious collection of essays is the product of a series of seminars at Nice that began in 1998 with a consideration of thirteenth and early fourteenth-century sermons. The focus has expanded chronologically and geographically. Beginning with classical ideas of just war, contributors range across Western Christendom, with some authors reaching the first years of the sixteenth century. Françoise Monfrin identifies two ideas that reappear throughout the volume. In the clas-

sical world an unjust war was a civil war, and thus the distinction between a just and an unjust war depended on the impact the war had on the preservation of the *patria*. Preservation of the fatherland later fused with an idea found in the Hebrew Bible that peace depended upon true religion. The result was an idea of sanctified if not holy war; the phrase *bellum sanctum* was yet to be uttered.

In many respects Monfrin establishes the connections among peace, orthodox society, and conflict that appear again in most of the essays. It would be difficult even to outline the seventeen contributions in a short review. They are divided into two general groups, those dealing with the royal and pontifical monarchies and those dealing with urban (really just Italian) communities.

In the monarchies, discussions of peace generally were an issue of state. Monique Zerner, for example, discusses Pope Innocent III's phrase *negotium pacis et fidei*, which could be related to the Hebrew idea of a true religion. Peace and faith were regularly coupled by the pope and the preachers of the Albigensian Crusade to defend true religion in the same way that crusaders in the East fought the Saracens. By the second decade of the thirteenth century the phrase had largely disappeared from papal letters, but Zerner argues it marked "a grave turning point in the history of Peace in medieval Christendom." One can debate whether the Albigensian Crusade marked a critical turning point in Christian society; after all Christian emperors from Theodosius if not Constantine implied they fought wars to preserve religious orthodoxy. But Zerner does identify a crucial aspect of discussions of peace in the monarchies of Christendom: it was closely tied to propaganda about royal policy or governmental control. In a brief survey of fourteenth and fifteenth-century French sermons, Hervé Martin shows how closely preachers hewed to the changing situation of the Hundred Years' War. Studies of parliamentary sermons in England, royal proclamations, and even threats of excommunication in the papal lands in the south of France show close connections among ideas of peace, just war, and public policy. Jean-Philippe Genet suggests that parliamentary sermons eventually did express a rhetoric of war and peace as a public and not a private good, yet the reader comes away from most essays with the conclusion that the real object was a royal monopoly of force.

I would hesitate to make too strong a distinction between Italy and the rest of Christendom, but these studies imply that discussions of peace had a complexity in the urban communities of Italy that they lacked in the monarchies. Editor Rosa Maria Dessì underlines the difference in approach when she argues that in urban Italy one needs to be sensitive to the social practice of language; she alludes to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* as a way to understand a shift from words of peace in mendicant sermons to the lived experience in the piazza. For Raimondo of Piacenza words of peace became a highly charged critique of aristocratic power.

Raimondo Michetti's reconsideration of the myths about St. Francis comes to much the same conclusion. He concludes that Francis was not the pacifist of later hagiography; peace and war for Francis had to be understood within the realities of political life of the thirteenth-century communes. In Michetti's telling Francis advocated a social peace not unlike the political peace preached in the Great Alleluia Movement of the 1230s.

Social peace within the communes is a topic that appears in almost all of the essays on urban Italy. This is perhaps most clear in Massimo Vallerani's essay on the well-known Flagellants of Perugia in 1260. He argues that Rainero Fasani's letter from the Virgin and the resulting processions offer a vision of peace not unlike that found in the *Ordinamenta populi*, the constitution of the popular commune of the same time. He concludes that Rainero's vision of peace "represents above all the ultimate goal of a government of the Popolo with the institution of a 'Kingdom of Peace'" (p. 350). Jean-Paul Boyer's study of the sermons of King Robert of Sicily makes the distinction between the communes and monarchies even clearer. Robert the Wise was famed for his willingness to preach in all manner of situations. Boyer looks specifically at sermons he preached to the faction-riven Genoese, his sometime allies. Robert's language of peace was in many respects what we might expect, but Robert ignored what Dessì has called a communal *habitus*, or what his contemporaries might have called the *bene comune*. Boyer concludes Robert's sermons were little more than royal propaganda and thus similar to the royal sermons on peace of the first half of the book.

The essays are generally of a high quality and with one exception they stay close to the announced theme. Yet the book does have its frustrations. Writers tend to ignore the differences between the communes and kingdoms. Cicero, Augustine, and the New Testament figure importantly in all the essays, but most authors do not take note of the different ways these texts are used. The most sophisticated essay in this sense is Dessì's on "The Uses of Words of Peace in the History of Urban Italy." She is careful to note the language and the reception of the language in various Italian contexts. None of the other essays really remarks on the different audiences for these discourses on peace. The book introduces the important language of peace in a remarkable number of contexts, but it does not successfully compare the phenomena it describes.

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LYSE ROY. *L'université de Caen aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles: Identité et représentation*. (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, number 24.) Boston: Brill. 2006. Pp. xii, 314. \$161.00.

This much-anticipated book by Lyse Roy fills a void in the history of medieval universities. The author wisely chose to pursue her analysis to the end of the sixteenth century, a crucial period for many universities whose

members took part in the disputes engendered by the arrival of Protestantism. The volume is divided into five chapters devoted to the founding of the university, its corporative structures and its mission, the place of universities in the social space of Caen, the privileged status of university scholars, and, finally, the period of the Reformation.

The author's findings are based almost exclusively on the D series of the departmental archives of Calvados to the exclusion of other archival collections. As Roy is not very familiar with the general history of Normandy in the Middle Ages, this has led to some errors in the identification of some parishes and people. The analysis is centered essentially on university structures and on questions of university "identity and representation." Consequently, one finds nothing on the economic role of the university in the city of Caen. In fact, no financial records for the fifteenth century have survived, and those of the sixteenth century (at least for the beginning of the century), are only fragmentary and do not allow one accurately to evaluate the revenues for all of the faculties. Nonetheless, diversifying the sources would have offered Roy different viewpoints and allowed her to better situate the Caen scholars among the notables of the city. Certain notarial documents (*actes du tabellionage*) show that the university sometimes acted as a credit agent and that the town notables were often asked to support the financial decisions made by the town. What was the place of the university in these deliberations? Comparing the names of the notables cited as witnesses on notarial documents with those of the faculty may have provided some indication. The author furnishes rich prosopographical information on each of the individuals evoked in relation to the history of the university, and there are many. Unfortunately, the index, which is missing many names, does not do justice to this wealth.

The first chapter is devoted to the two foundations of the University of Caen. Created by the English crown, the institution was taken in hand after 1450 by the French royal authority, as Charles VII was determined to repatriate this institution that remained nonetheless strongly regional and, as the author notes, acted as "a factor in the crystallization of regional sentiment." The university's incorporation, described in chapter two, was completed in 1521. From this point until 1560 the university was at its height, even if, after 1521, it was under the tutelage of the Parlement of Rouen. Of the four faculties—arts, medicine, law, and theology—the faculty of arts was the most affluent.

A center of humanism and culture, the university's intellectual influence was, despite constant activity, limited. In the third chapter, Roy ably illustrates how this university was never among the most renowned institutions. The professors who taught there did not have international reputations, and the university had some difficulty, during the reform of the end of the sixteenth century, in attracting renowned scholars. Even so, the number of students trained at the University of Caen was not negligible. Despite the difficulties surrounding

the interpretation of enrolment records (*registres de matricules*)—Caen was one of the only universities, along with Avignon and Dole, to have preserved this form of documentation—documents show a strong increase in the number of students after 1470 and the peace of the War of the League of the Public Good. Since Caen did not have a far-reaching scholarly reputation, the university's students came mostly from the prosperous Normand peasantry. Unfortunately, sources do not permit an exhaustive analysis of the academic path followed by these students, nor of their scholarly history. They do, however, provide the names of those who swore an oath when entering the university body, as well as those of the new Masters of the Faculty of Arts and of the university officers.

Caen academics were fiscally privileged in a population where the notarial acts indicate that notables complained of the tax burden, and for this reason the academics frequently came into conflict with the Caen population. Chapter four analyzes these tensions and underlines the fact that the number of university officers, exempt from taxes, tended to rise more rapidly than the number of students. Moreover, the mercantile activities of the university were also a source of tension with the bourgeois of Caen, who considered them unfair competition. These conflicts of interest led to the university losing its autonomy as the *Cour des aides* (tax court) came to control a portion of university members. The university constantly needed the support of the king to draw attention to and enforce its privileges.

Chapter five is devoted to the period of the Reformation, which profoundly influenced the University of Caen. Caen scholars proved to be very sensitive to Calvinism. Much solicited by the debates over the Protestant crisis, the university was placed under close surveillance. In 1564, Charles of Bourgueville was charged with redressing the situation of a university on the road to ruin. The reform was begun in October 1580. Everything was examined: the university revenues, the programs, and the professors' salaries. Even the existence of the university was called into question. In 1586, a writ exposed in detail the rules to follow for an extensive reorganization.

The volume is completed by two useful appendixes containing an inventory of the university library already transcribed by A. Bénét; a list of the enrolment records from 1440 to 1580; an analysis of the geographical provenance of the students; a list of professors who swore oaths from 1457 to 1533; and an excellent bibliography.

DENISE ANGERS

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KATHERINE C. LITTLE. *Confession and Resistance: Defining the Self in Late Medieval England*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2006. Pp. vii, 196. \$27.50.

This book argues that "Wycliffite writings challenge orthodoxy not only in terms of doctrine . . . but also by reforming the language given to church members to un-

derstand and speak about themselves" (p. 1). More specifically, Katherine C. Little wants to show that "Wycliffite reform sets aside the traditional cultivation of interiority concentrated on the confessional and provides alternative models of Christian identity based on Scripture" (p. 1). No reader will be surprised to be told that Wycliffism rejected traditional modes of confession, nor that Scripture is the touchstone for Wycliffite formation of faith. What will surprise is the assertion that Wycliffism gave rise to much formation of ideas of the *self*.

Although she discusses a few Wycliffite writings long known to deal with the self (such as William Thorpe's famous account), Little's sources are mainly Lollard sermon literature, and herein lies the challenge. Since Wycliffism (as she quite rightly notes) is heavily polemical in its preoccupation, and that polemic is most often directed against large, institutional targets (endowments, religious orders, and the like), trying to tease a language of the self out any of this is hard work. A reader coming to the book looking for the kind of language of interiority we know in influential writers like Augustine, Abelard, or Thomas à Kempis will be disappointed. And there are no Langlands, Julians, or Kempes to be found here either. Of course, different readers may have somewhat different senses of what a language of interiority looks like, but even so, much of what is quoted in these Wycliffite sources does not appear sufficiently *personal* or concerned with inner sensibilities to qualify. What Little's sources have to offer is mainly general moral guidelines. For instance, a passage from a Wycliffite sermon which, for her, "provides a new form of self-examination" refers to the need to "suffre meekely owre owne wrong, but aȝen wrong of God we schulden ben woode to venghen hit," as did Christ and Moses (p. 41). The writer's real interest is not in personal wrongs (mentioned only in passing), but in the project of urgent church reform; inner reform of the individual gets, if one can forgive the pun, short shrift. This is not to say that Lollard or (more broadly speaking) reformist writing is always flat or "impersonal"—I would tend to find more ambiguity, irony, or humor in it than Little does (see, for example, her treatments of "The Sixteen Points," "Twelve Conclusions," and *Piers Plowman*; pp. 3, 60, and 29, respectively). I also do not find Lollard exegesis to be so relentlessly "literal" as she does; nor would I see Arundel's *Constitutions* as nearly so powerful: Little argues for a large-scale literary shift from confessionalism to exemplarity post-1409. These are things about which scholars can disagree, but one might hope to see a more complex Wycliffism than emerges here.

Let me, instead, try to list some of the book's achievements. Little takes on Michel Foucault's "monolithic view" that the "subject is produced in relation to power," which she finds problematic because it "obscures . . . the possibilities for resistance in choosing to tell another narrative" (p. 11). She prefers the term "self-definition" because the latter "recovers . . . the constant negotiation between historical forces that

shape the self and the choices one makes" (p. 12). This makes good sense. Although the difficulty lies in having to make bricks without the straw of evidence for real self-definition (for which moral injunctions are no real substitute), her point that Wycliffism sought to "disrupt" traditional discourses of confession is clear. Another promising avenue Little travels is the possibility that writers such as John Gower, Geoffrey Chaucer, and Thomas Hoccleve, the last especially, had to position themselves in relation to Wycliffite discourse. What one needs, however, fully to judge this positioning, is a bigger and deeper sense of what pre-Wycliffite reformist writings (from the Gregorian Reform up through John Peckham, John Thoresby, and the like) were known to such poets. This short book, working nearly completely within a vernacular Wycliffite canon, cannot go very far in such a direction. But Little is most successful, I believe, with Hoccleve, because here we do indeed have a writer of the post-1401 generation, and one of explicit autobiographical bent. Although I would tend to place the Old Man's discourse in Hoccleve's *Regiment* as much in the *consolatio* genre as in the *confessio* genre, Little's argument, based on the latter, succeeds for that genre. Buried in the footnotes (pp. 174–175) is even a series of passages from Chaucer's "Pardoner's Tale" that have parallels in Hoccleve's text; this is the kind of unexpected gem the book does have to offer, too often in the notes. Someone should have advised Little to bring her most subtle qualifications and evidence *into* the text to make it a richer book (here the publisher's preference for endnotes over footnotes does not help). Given that there are 131 pages of text and nearly fifty of notes, the materials for more nuanced argument are there, if only the reader is willing to dig into the back to find them.

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ANN W. ASTELL. *Eating Beauty: The Eucharist and the Spiritual Arts of the Middle Ages*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 296. \$39.95.

Ann W. Astell's rich new book analyzes several themes in late medieval and early modern spirituality in terms of what she calls "theo-aesthetics," based on an neoplatonist aesthetic set forth most notably in Hans Urs von Balthasar's *Herrlichkeit: Eine theologische Ästhetik* (1961; *The Glory of the Lord: Theological Aesthetics* [1983]). Working as well in terms set out by medievalists Karl Morrison and Caroline Walker Bynum, Astell introduces her project by stating that "[t]he enigmatic link between the natural and artistic beauty that is to be contemplated but not eaten, on the one hand, and the eucharistic beauty that is both seen (with the eyes of faith) and eaten, on the other, intrigues me and inspires this book. One cannot ask theo-aesthetic questions about the Eucharist without engaging fundamental questions about the relationship between beauty, art (broadly defined), and eating" (p. 6). Her book thus refers specifically to the Eucharist and the various styles

of devotion centered on it that the later Middle Ages produced.

Astell identifies four of these, and, after a chapter on the ideal Christian art that theological aesthetic addresses, devotes a substantial chapter to each one. Her analysis focuses on paradigmatic figures and/or works that express these four distinctive styles. Important in such devotions is the role of images and of art, although Astell also (with Augustine as an authority) argues that human actions—such as those of Francis of Assisi and especially Catherine of Siena—can also be analyzed as self-consciously constructed works of “performance art” within the framework she has adopted. Each devotional style is characterized by a typical virtue, four ways of “eating Beauty.” The four are Cistercian, Franciscan, Dominican, and Jesuit. The Cistercians are characterized by special attention to humility, and typified, in Astell’s analysis, by Bernard of Clairvaux and Gertrude of Helfta; the Franciscans by poverty, as articulated in Bonaventure’s *Life of Francis*, analyzed both as a literary work in itself and as the biography of a notably performance-aware saint; the Dominicans by the virtues of preaching, typified by three of their women saints (Catherine of Siena, Catherine of Genoa, and Rose of Lima); and the Jesuits by the virtue of obedience, analyzed as the need for obedience to a *Magisterium* besieged and torn by the doctrinal schisms of the late fifteenth century. The figures selected for this chapter are the order’s founder, Ignatius of Loyola, and its first commissioned architect, Michelangelo. A sixth chapter addresses two modern figures who both held views of beauty that can be characterized as theo-aesthetic, G. W. F. Hegel and Simone Weil.

This is a tall order to fill. Parts of the analysis are more convincing than others, some inspired, others only pedestrian. Astell’s preferred method, as one would expect of an historically minded, literate philologist is close analysis of a series of textual excerpts. She is an accomplished commentator, and these are the best parts of her book. I was convinced by the chapter on the Cistercians, Bernard and Gertrude, between whom she finds much in common with respect to visual images. Astell thinks that Bernard’s iconoclasm has been exaggerated; she makes a good case for doing so from Bernard’s ornate descriptive style, and his penchant for verbal paradoxes, dilated through richly visualized language. Similarly, her analysis of the notably obscure structure of Bonaventure’s *Legenda major* of Francis brings out the “numerology” in its structure, and its *catena* movements proceeding by associative linkage. These are two properly medieval principles, yet can be catastrophically misunderstood by historians who apply post-Romantic canons of structural logic and organic form to these texts. Astell comprehends that what has so often been dismissed (except among Dantists) as arithmetical mumbo-jumbo can indeed govern intellectually serious medieval literature, and she has found a way to use a mensural analysis of literary structure which respects that seriousness. Her analysis of Catherine of Siena as preaching self-consciously via dramatic

action is also convincing, especially with respect to Catherine’s (self-ascribed) behavior during the execution of Niccolò di Toldo in 1375.

Yet Astell’s semiological analysis of lives is on balance less convincing than that of texts. The performance of a life may have a kind of rhetoric analogous to that of a crafted composition, but they cannot be analyzed just alike. The lives of saints who did little writing themselves would seem, on this evidence, to be dry pickings for literary analysis. Her attempt to relate Ignatius and Michelangelo is also forced, nor is the book enriched by its chapter on Hegel and Weil, which is out of place in a book subtitled “The Eucharist and the Spiritual Arts of the Middle Ages.” While I remain unconvinced that an idealizing theory of beauty is the only or even the best way to discuss medieval artistic practices—a discussion too large for a brief review—Astell’s book is an invigorating contribution to the debate.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

ANDREA FINKELSTEIN. *The Grammar of Profit: The Price Revolution in Intellectual Context*. (Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History, number 138.) Boston: Brill. 2006. Pp. 374. \$134.00.

Andrea Finkelstein’s book is less a study of the price revolution in Europe, the dramatic inflation of the cost of living in Europe between 1470 and 1650, than it is a study of the social and cultural consequences of that revolution, and the ways in which people tried to grapple with it intellectually and make sense of it. Although the price revolution was a Europe-wide phenomenon, Finkelstein focuses on England, in part due to the abundance of documentation there.

The fundamental problem for Europeans struggling to understand the steadily rising prices during their lifetimes was that in the dominant world view prices ought to rise and fall seasonally, but always around a stable “just” price that should change little on a long-term basis. Europeans were used to seasonal inflation and deflation related to the normal crop cycle, and to more extreme variations in prices during years of especially plentiful or bad harvests. But they had no underlying experience or discourse with which to describe and comprehend the seemingly inexorable and unending price inflation of the early modern period. The price rise was even more unsettling to Europeans because it took place during a fundamentally unstable era rife with other changes in political institutions and ideas, society, religion, and culture. Finkelstein examines the new “grammar” or discourse of profit Europeans had to devise in response to the new economic situation they were facing.

After an exhaustive study of moral, theological, political, legal, and economic thought about profit, and a chapter at the end of the book on modern theories of profit in the context of capitalism, Finkelstein con-

cludes that although some innovative ideas were beginning to circulate regarding the economic and moral nature of profit, for the most part early modern Europeans were resistant to jettisoning the medieval idea of a "just" price and a "just" profit. A central, if in the early modern period still quite lopsided, conundrum related to profit in the sixteenth century was the debate over usury. By the mid-seventeenth century, Finkelstein contends, the reality, if not the morality, of usury as a fundamental and necessary underpinning of commercial and noncommercial credit alike had been accepted. But with the exception of a few innovative thinkers, most people during the early modern period continued to experience deep moral qualms over usury, and although they accepted that commerce could not function without it, they struggled over whether it was morally acceptable, and what sorts of profits from usury, if any, could be considered just and moral. A related problem, that of just price, similarly preoccupied early modern thinkers as diverse as Martin Luther, Hugo Grotius, and Thomas Hobbes. A more utilitarian point of view echoing Samuel Pufendorf's assertion that the most important factor in price should be supply versus demand rather than "just gain" began to dominate by the end of the seventeenth century. Still, for most of the early modern period, not even the shock of the price revolution seems to have succeeded in shaking the firm belief of most Europeans that usury was morally questionable and, if it could not be eliminated, should be controlled.

And therein lays the central contradiction of Finkelstein's work. As she points out (p. 316), she is able to show in her analysis of the "grammar of profit" *how* the discourse (a word Finkelstein does not use much in this book, but which really best describes what she is studying) about profit changed, and that there was strong resistance to change in the discourse, but she does not make much headway on the problem of *why* the discourse changed in the way and at the slow pace that it did. More importantly, nowhere in the book is she able to show how the price revolution factors into the discourse of profit in the early modern period, or even to what extent rising prices affected that discourse. Although she is likely right to surmise that the price revolution was a central factor in the debates about price, interest rates, and profit in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, she is unable to show how it was a factor in these debates, in a quantitative or a qualitative sense. This is an interesting problem in and of itself, because it suggests that most of the "thinkers" producing the literature that comprises Finkelstein's sources were themselves not yet relating their own ideas about profit in a direct and conscious way to their own experience of the ubiquitous and inexorable price rise all around them, likely a symptom of the very resistance to changing ideas about profit that Finkelstein notes in her conclusion. Although ultimately disappointing in its dearth of links between the price revolution and the "grammar of profit," this book is still an enlightening

and important contribution to the history of economic ideas.

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TIMOTHY BAYCROFT and MARK HEWITSON, editors. *What Is a Nation? Europe 1789–1914*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 377. \$110.00.

Nationalism is one of those perennial topics drawing scholars' attention—and understandably so, in view of its powerful influence on human events over at least the last two hundred years. In European history, the long nineteenth century, from the fundamental redefinition of political community and political participation initiated by the French Revolution to the onset of the age of total war, has generally been seen as the period in which nationalist doctrines were developed, the nation became crucial to political legitimacy, and the sentiment of nationhood spread throughout entire populations. The development of nationalism in Europe has often been conceptualized according to a dichotomy, devised in the 1940s by the historian Hans Kohn, between civic and ethnic nationalism. The former, predominant in Northern and Western Europe, perceived the nation as a political community united by voluntary adherence to common political and constitutional norms, promoted by public education and the institutions of civil society. This civic nationalism was tolerant, inclusive, supportive of liberal and democratic ideas, and perceived the nation in cooperation with other nationalities. In Eastern, Southern and Central Europe, by contrast, the dominant ethnic nationalism conceived the nation as an involuntary community created by a common culture, historical experience, and descent. This form of nationalism was intolerant and exclusive, open to racist ideas, understood the nation in opposition and hostility to other nations, often in bellicose fashion, and was associated with right-wing politics.

This dichotomy, endorsed by social scientists as well as historians, with the works of Rogers Brubaker and Liah Greenfeld being two well-known recent examples, is the target of this book. The editors and contributors criticize it in three different ways. One version of their critique is geographical, showing that different versions of nationalism did not fall into neat east-west and north-south divides. Another is conceptual, demonstrating that civic and ethnic nationalisms were not mutually exclusive. The third is political, breaking the links between different forms of nationalism and their political connotations. The individual contributions succeed in varying degrees, but certainly enough to cast doubt on the validity of Kohn's formulations. Yet the work generally proceeds from the idea that there were two different forms of nationalism—if not civic and ethnic, then perhaps benign and malignant, or admirable and repulsive. What determined the presence of each, and when and where they were prevalent, remains less clear.

The book is divided into four sections: one on the distinction between the civic and the ethnic, one on political participation, one on language and culture, and one on the influence of the state. Each section contains a thematic comparative essay and several case studies, focusing on individual nations, states, or regions. The section on culture, for instance, has an essay on nationalism and language, and then case studies of the Habsburg Monarchy, Scandinavia, and Spain. The mention of the case studies shows a strong point of the work: it does not just follow well-trodden paths in England, France, and Germany, but explores all of Europe, including Scandinavia, the Iberian Peninsula, the Balkans, the Russian Empire, the Low Countries, and Switzerland.

Among the essays questioning the geographical correlations of the different forms of nationalism are editor Timothy Baycroft's piece on France, Stefan Berger's on Germany, Mark Cornwall's on the Habsburg Monarchy, Stephen Jacobson's on Spain, and Chris Williams's on the United Kingdom, especially in regard to Irish nationalism: they all assert that both civic and ethnic forms of nationalism could be found across Europe. Baycroft argues that besides the dominant trend of civic nationalism in the French Third Republic, there was a conservative, clerical, monarchist, militaristic, and chauvinistic counter-trend, which took on a lot of the forms of ethnic nationalism. He admits that such a nationalism was a minority countertrend—a suggestion that leads more toward a modification of Kohn's ideas than a refutation of them. Cornwall, Jacobson, and Williams, by contrast, see a regionally independent trend from more civic to more ethnic forms of nationalism in the course of the nineteenth century.

In regard to the political implications of different forms of nationalism, Mary Hibson's essay on Scandinavia shows the close relationship of increasingly ethnic conceptions of nationhood to the rise of democratic politics and a peaceful foreign policy. Vera Tolz's chapter on the Russian Empire, and David Laven's on Italy, both argue that—perhaps to a greater extent in Russia than Italy—nationalism was a matter for intellectuals and elite groups, with relatively little connection to popular understandings of politics.

Perhaps the most interesting essays are the ones arguing that nationalism was shaped by the interplay between it and other forms of political loyalties—Maiken Umbach's on nation and region, Oliver Zimmer's on Switzerland, and Constantin Iordachi's on the Ottoman Empire and its Balkan successor states. Umbach sees ethnic nationalism developing as a way to mobilize broader segments of the population against elitist, civic forms of local and regional identity. Zimmer shows how a civic Swiss nationalism was shaped by local and cantonal allegiances that were rather more ethnic in nature. Iordachi suggests that both civic and ethnic, and very tolerant and militantly exclusionist—to the point of ethnic cleansing—forms of nationalism developing in the Balkans were closely related to the imperial heritage of the religiously based Ottoman Empire.

Considering the work as a whole, I was left with three questions about its approach. One is the way the authors place religion, along with language, culture, historical tradition, and common descent, as a factor in the involuntary community of ethnic nationalism. Since religious adherence does seem a bit more voluntary than common descent, and also because religious loyalties were a major counterforce to nationalism, the place of religion in the development of nationalism needs further consideration. A second point, which has been brought up by Mark Vick—although not in his essay on language and the nation in this book—is the interpenetration of civic and ethnic forms of nationalism. The supposedly involuntary communities of ethnic nationalism were often the creation of public education and governmental activity, albeit not always intentionally. Conversely, entrance into the ostensibly voluntary communities of political allegiance, characteristic of civic nationalism, was itself implicitly and often explicitly shaped by state policies based on ideas of racial community and common descent.

Finally, the authors, while dismantling the determinants of Kohn's dichotomy, still wish to adhere to a distinction between more positively and more negatively perceived forms of nationalism. One could reject this distinction and decry all forms of nationalism as xenophobic and belligerent, although such a condemnation seems excessively one-sided. In the conclusion, coeditor Mark Hewitson takes a different tack, arguing that before 1914 relatively peaceful and inclusive forms of nationalism were dominant, and that the rise of more extreme, warlike, and exclusionary forms was a result of World War I.

Hewitson's conclusion joins a long-standing argument about the origins of the totalitarian political movements of the mid-twentieth century, one reflected in Kohn's personal biography: he was a refugee from the Nazis whose typology of nationalism was devised during World War II. Here, I am somewhat less convinced. While perhaps only reaching a dominant position in the age of total war, intolerant, exclusionary, and bellicose forms of nationalism were definitely present throughout nineteenth-century Europe and clearly on the rise in the immediate pre-1914 decades. Whatever one's opinions about nationalism, though, this book offers insightful and thought-provoking reading on the topic.

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RICHARD CUST. *Charles I: A Political Life*. New York: Longman. 2005. Pp. xii, 488. \$32.95.

This scholarly and well-written book by Richard Cust is sure to become the standard modern political biography of Charles I. It provides a straightforward, engaging, and readable narrative account of the king's political career that will be accessible to general readers but that also contains much information of interest to specialists. It is based on a very wide reading of primary

sources in many archives, and of recent scholarly monographs and articles. The book argues that from an early date Charles came to fear "popularity," or democratic ideas likely to undermine royal power. Other recurring contentions are that the king was not as incompetent as he has often been portrayed, and that despite his reputation as a tyrant he revered "a mixed and balanced constitution" and "consistently presented himself as a 'constitutionalist' who favoured the rule of law and partnership with parliament" (p. 467).

The bulk of the book is on England, but Irish and Scottish affairs are frequently mentioned, and one chapter is devoted to them. Cust argues that a turning point in Charles's career was his failure to give battle to the Scots at Kelso in June 1639. He was duped into grossly overestimating the numbers of the Scottish forces and missed an opportunity to break the chain of events that led from the Scottish rebellion to the downfall of his regime in England and Ireland. Nonpolitical aspects of the king's life, such as his literary and artistic interests and his personal relationships, are discussed only insofar as they are relevant to his political career.

Charles I is commonly viewed as one of the least successful and most incompetent of kings. Cust questions this interpretation, arguing that in many ways he has been judged too harshly by scholars. The argument is valiantly conducted but not always wholly convincing, for the evidence presented strongly suggests that if Charles was not totally incompetent, he was very far from being conspicuously competent. Cust argues that it is "a considerable exaggeration" (p. 170) to claim that the king was unparalleled in his failure to communicate with his subjects, but he later states that Charles "remained alarmingly insensitive to how his actions appeared to others" and refers to his "poor communication" (p. 195). Cust contends that Charles displayed more skill as a party leader of the royalists in the Civil War than he had earlier done as a king and specifically questions the thesis that during the war the king was a prey to "squabbling court factions" (p. 415). But Cust himself admits that Charles was "inflexible and cumbersome" (p. 414) as a military commander and that although his performance "improved considerably" after the summer of 1644, he "lost his way" after the battle of Naseby a year later. This appears to amount to saying that he had a reasonable record for about one out of the four years of the war. Again, Cust argues that the king's success in controlling court factions during the war was largely the work of his wife, and that it ended when she left (p. 417). The picture that emerges is of an obstinate, duplicitous, insensitive monarch who had few notable political skills, and who was seriously out of touch with reality—to the extent that he still overestimated his position just days before his head was cut off.

Cust claims that Charles revered a mixed constitution and consistently portrayed himself as a king who believed in the rule of law and who wanted to work in partnership with parliament. It is true that Charles stressed his moderation during the Civil War, when he hoped to win supporters. But his commitment to the

rule of law was less evident before the war broke out, when he governed without parliament for longer than any ruler since parliaments began in the 1200s, and when he employed a number of powers widely considered to be illegal, appealing to divine right to justify himself. Cust argues that even in the 1630s the king was careful to distance himself from absolutist thinking, and cites as an example his refusal to license Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha* for publication (p. 169). But we have no detailed evidence on why Charles refused to allow the book to be published, and it is not even clear that he read it. Sentiments similar to those of Filmer were expressed in print in the 1630s in writings of Filmer's friend Peter Heylyn. Arguably, the king was neither as moderate nor as competent as Cust suggests, and this may help to explain why his subjects took up arms against him and cut off his head. Nevertheless, this is a sensitive, sympathetic, and lucid book that deserves a wide readership.

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ALAN FORD and JOHN McCafferty, editors. *The Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. pp., ix, 249. \$90.00.

The late John Whyte once wrote that in terms of words per square mile, academics wrote more about Northern Ireland than any other place in the world. Given the sheer volume of work on "The Troubles," it is surprising that the dynamics of sectarianism have been comparatively underresearched in early modern and modern Irish historical studies. Thankfully, that has changed in recent years. Building on excellent work done in the 1970s and 1980s, a number of scholars have begun to explore the origins and complex evolution of communal identities in Ireland. Alan Ford and John McCafferty's excellent collection of essays on the nature of sectarian division in early modern Ireland reflects the dynamic state of the field and should act as a spur to further research.

In a provocative essay entitled "Living Together, Living Apart," Ford opens the collection by exploring the tensions between coexistence and conflict that structured communal relations in Ireland during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Exploding the casual assumption that sectarian difference in Ireland began with the Reformation and rolled forward, Ford criticizes historians for too often focusing on the "vortex of antagonism," an emphasis that ignores the types of everyday interactions that typified Catholic/Protestant relations for much of the period. At the same time, he stresses that we cannot ignore the reality of violent division; the scholar's task is to create frameworks that explore the interdependence of these seemingly contradictory dynamics. As Ford puts it, it is "the mysterious transition from peaceful coexistence to brutal hostility which poses a standing challenge to all scholars who seek to explain the origins and nature of Irish sec-

tarianism" (p. 23). The essay is a masterful performance, and should be mandatory reading for all interested in the Irish past.

While the collection is inevitably uneven, it does fulfill much of this initial promise. One of the most promising trends in Irish historiography has been the effort to place Irish developments in broader British, European, and Atlantic frameworks. Some of the strongest essays in this volume speak to the fruitful possibilities here. Employing a confessionalization model developed by scholars of early modern Germany, Ute Lotz-Heumann attempts to reconceptualize the periodization of Irish events. While confessionalization works much better for Protestant than Catholic developments (a point made manifest by Brian Jackson's interesting essay on splits within the Irish Catholic community in Drogheda), Lotz-Heumann's creative analysis raises a series of important questions and challenges to conventional periodization. More successful is David Edwards's landmark study of English Catholic emigration to early modern Ireland. Carefully examining English movement into Ireland between 1540 and 1640, Edwards concludes that historians have heretofore underestimated and ignored the size and status of the English Catholic community, a point that raises serious questions about the emergence of communal identities. In short, if religion and ethnicity were "partners in the forging of group identities in the country," religion was much more important; faith was more important than fatherland. This is one essay that will doubtless provoke a response!

Another welcome development in recent work has been increased attention to Irish language sources. While few of the contributors make much use of this material, Marc Caball and Micheál MacCraith's chapters demonstrate the potential held out by close and careful study. Both Caball and MacCraith emphasize the contingent nature of Irish cultural and political belief. Looking closely at the bardic elite, Caball argues convincingly that there was nothing inevitable about their ideological commitment to Catholicism. Caball shows how many key Munster poets were quite ambivalent about Protestantism and that their eventual attachment to Tridentine Catholicism had much more to do with Protestant neglect and Catholic courting than some kind of natural antipathy to Protestantism. Along similar lines, MacCraith's close study of the works of Florence Conry and Hugh McCaughwell also stresses the importance of context and contingency. Examining attitudes toward royal authority in Ireland, MacCraith contrasts Conry's rejection of the claims of James I with McCaughwell's more accommodating attitude, a change explained in part by Hugh O'Neill's intervening death in 1616. The tactical nature of McCaughwell's allegiance is reinforced by the fact that both Conry and McCaughwell were active supporters of Spanish invasion. Clearly, there is much more to be gleaned from a systematic exploration of Irish-language sources.

Given the important roles violence (and critically, violence narratives) played in the sectarian divisions of

early modern Irish society, the absence of any essays on violence seems rather puzzling. While violence lurks in the background of all of these essays, none of the contributors place it at the center of their analyses. If we are to understand "the mysterious transition from peaceful coexistence to brutal hostility," this will have to change. But I do not want to end this review on such a negative note, for the collection's emphasis on the complex and contingent nature of emerging communal identities is welcome indeed. In sum, this is a very strong collection of essays, and a must read for anyone interested in early modern British and Irish history.

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DAVID A. O'HARA. *English Newsbooks and Irish Rebellion 1641–1649*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2006. Pp. 236. \$55.00.

This study, as slim in length as it is in focus, is a "monograph" in the most literal sense, a study of the representation of Ireland, its peoples, and Irish events in English newsbooks from the outbreak of the Irish rebellion in late 1641 to September 1649. Although derived from David A. O'Hara's dissertation, which it closely tracks in structure and words, it is in fact narrower, omitting a useful contextualizing initial chapter of the dissertation.

There are two primary agendas. One is to see the interplay of stereotypes in the English press. Were the Irish seen primarily as savages or as papists? How did the press track the complications posed by the representation of the "native" Irish versus their Old English coreligionists, and by crossover types, such as the Old English but Protestant Ormond. These stereotypes, of course, antedated the outbreak of the October 1641 rebellion, and remained in play throughout the 1640s; the 1641 rebellion, however, with its atrocities, real and alleged, became the benchmark for all that followed. The other task, repeated through the chapters and their subdivisions, is to provide a narrative of internal Irish events, and the diplomatic and military interactions of the other two kingdoms with Ireland, and then see how these occurrences were reflected in or refracted through the English newsbooks, whether parliamentary or royalist, Presbyterian or independent, grandee-allied or radical.

Relying, therefore, largely upon modern scholarship to establish "the facts," and the Thomason films and Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Seccombe's bibliographical masterpiece, *British Newspapers and Periodicals, 1641–1700: A Short-title Catalogue* (1987) to establish the corpus of newsbooks and their authors, O'Hara must do three things. The first is to establish the level of coverage and the accuracy of the newsbooks. The author's summary finding about the newsbooks' coverage is that "75 per cent . . . contained news, rumour, analysis, or commentary that related to Ireland" (p. 205). The question of accuracy is more vexed; it may be that this study's greatest use to future students is its

case-by-case treatment of reliability. The second task is to evaluate the ways in which English preoccupations and perceptions distorted the representations. The third is to examine the internal dynamics of the English periodical press—the back-and-forth of the English journalists—as they treated matters Irish.

In the main, there are few surprises and not a little tedium in all this. The outlines of early modern English and “godly” anti-Irish, anti-Catholic bigotry are only too well known, and not much can be added to the picture. By far the most interesting material is the very little that cuts across the grain: those few writers who resisted the cultural reflex and found some sympathy for the native Irish predicament. The royalist journalist-astrologer George Wharton was one and, most interestingly, the Leveller John Harris was another (both men were linked through Harris’s wife, about whom Wharton wrote an elegy). One problem is that O’Hara simply accepts the principal journalists’ careers and attitudes as they have been well established by other scholars (notably Joseph Frank and Anthony Cotton a generation ago, more recently by Joad Raymond, Jason McElligott, David Underdown, and Jason Peacey), and plugs the “Irish angle” into the existing framework. While specialists will find some points of interest—for example, that the newsbooks of 1641 and early 1642 were more restrained in their treatment of alleged and real Irish atrocities than the “separates”—most of the summary has at most a confirmatory, I-knew-as-much-already value. There is a further, perhaps inevitable, difficulty with the treatment of unfolding events, rather than perdurable attitudes. Newsbooks provided reports, commentaries, and reactions to events in weekly dollops. To take periodical issues serially, as O’Hara characteristically does, is to take a giant step backward from historical insight to relentlessly annalistic reportage. Matters are only made worse when the “event” is itself journalistic—one hack’s weekly “take” on another—which more often than not trades historical understanding for the seventeenth-century analogue of our tiresome nightly television spectacle of squabbling “talking heads.” It is one thing to learn that this sort of thing happened, another to have to replay it.

Regrettably, it seems that the publisher’s editor has done little to help the author move away from dissertation-quality writing. Ham-fisted explication of perfectly obvious quotations surely could have been edited out, even when correct. When the explication is wrong, the effect is deadly, as where (p. 163) “creature” in the clear political sense of “instrument or puppet” (see *OED*, “creature,” sense 5) is glossed as “degenerate beast.” Lord Inchiquin’s name is spelled three ways, McElligott’s (a principal researcher in the same field) name is always misspelled. Trivial as these lapses may be, they are more conspicuous in the absence of countervailing strengths. The author’s own conclusion says as much: “it is difficult to imagine” that the newsbooks’

material on Ireland “failed to have some influence upon English society” (p. 206). Indeed.

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DANIEL SZECHI. *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 351. \$50.00.

On September 14, 1715, a unit of Scottish Highlanders seized control of Inverness. This was the beginning of something potentially momentous, a series of military operations aimed at sparking an uprising across Britain to oust King George and replace him with the exiled son of James II. Over the next few weeks more than 20,000 Scots and approximately 1,200 English took up arms against the king. According to Daniel Szechi’s reckoning, this was a larger insurrection than the subsequent one in 1745. Unfortunately in 1715 the Jacobites had no Bonnie Prince Charlie to lead them, and very little in the way of a coherent strategic plan. Their putative leader, the would-be King James III, did not arrive in Britain until the worst of the fighting was over. He did not stay long.

Historians of Jacobitism have generally loved drama, and they have consequently focused their attention on the rising of 1745. The resulting scholarly neglect of 1715 is unfortunate. As Szechi demonstrates, the outbreak of rebellion in discrete locations in 1715 “can tell us a great deal about the internal workings of society” in each “particular locality” (p. 5). The very aims of the rebels differed depending on their local constituencies. While some Catholics and nonjurors insisted on Britain’s unconditional allegiance to the man they identified as the king, others had a much more reciprocal understanding of monarchy and expected James to redress their specific, often sectarian, grievances once he had assumed the throne. The driving force behind the 1715 rising was in Britain, not in the Jacobite court in exile. As Szechi shows, the ’15 was not simply an attempted coup. It was a failed revolution (p. 77).

Szechi devotes his first two chapters to an overview of social conditions, sectarian relations and party politics in the various parts of the United Kingdom prior to the rising. Next, he examines the Jacobite leadership. Then for three chapters he focuses on military operations, and his field of vision narrows to Scotland and northern England. Finally he discusses the aftermath of the rising, emphasizing shifts in government policy and the ways in which the Jacobites adjusted to the restored political order. Like W. A. Speck in his study of the ’45, Szechi comes to the ironic conclusion that the 1715 rising served to strengthen the Hanoverian dynasty in the long run, and bolstered political stability. His more provocative conclusion is that the effort was doomed from the outset, and that the apparent futility of the undertaking is evidence of the role of religious enthusiasm in motivating the rebels.

Szechi’s work fills an enormous gap in the literature. Because of the scant attention that historians have de-

voted to the '15, this book is less a synthesis than an invitation for more research. After his preliminary chapters Szechi understandably concentrates most of his attention on those parts of Britain where fighting actually took place, but much could be learned from a comparative analysis encompassing the south of England, Wales, Ireland, and the colonies. How did the inhabitants of those regions respond to the rising? What factors, in those diverse places, contributed to maintaining peace?

In general Szechi pays less attention than he should to the linguistic divisions separating the peoples of Britain and Ireland. This is most egregiously true in the case of Wales, which barely gets mentioned except as the junior partner in the region called "England and Wales." Szechi concludes one extended discussion of economic development in "England and Wales" with a one-sentence caveat: "Wales was only lightly touched by any of the new developments" (p. 12). Perhaps he should be forgiven in this case. Historians have been mistreating Wales in this way for generations, and Wales, after all, was not the cockpit of the rising.

Scotland matters more. When he discusses combat operations Szechi acknowledges the distinctiveness of the Gaelic-speaking Highlanders. The Highland units recruited differently, fought differently, and "provided the real punch of the Jacobite army" (p. 130). Szechi asserts that the "rank and file of the Highland units were for the most part monoglot Gaelic-speakers with very strong clan affiliation, but little respect for anyone outside it" (p. 153). Nonetheless when he discusses questions of ideology and motivation, like most recent historians Szechi emphasizes the commonalities of Scottish Jacobitism, placing the greatest emphasis on sectarian allegiances that crossed the linguistic divide. Murray Pittock has warned us against too easily associating militant Jacobitism with the purported restiveness of the Highlands. Still, given their disproportionate share of the fighting, the Highlanders deserve more attention. The next book on the 1715 rising should include a section analyzing in more detail what the Gaelic-speakers thought.

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JAMES P. HUZEL. *The Popularization of Malthus in Early Nineteenth-Century England: Martineau, Cobbett, and the Pauper Press*. (Modern Economic and Social History Series.) Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate. 2006. Pp. xiii, 266. \$99.95.

James P. Huzel, author of several seminal articles on the impact of Malthusianism on British social policy, has brought the various strands together in an authoritative study. Many years of close reading of the works of Thomas Malthus, as well as those of his key supporters and radical critics, allow the author to offer a persuasive account of the reception and impact of the economist's controversial views. Huzel's acuteness in analyzing the primary sources is accompanied by an

equally impressive critique of the work of other scholars in the field. The result is a stimulating and historically well grounded treatment of arguably the most influential social and economic thinker of nineteenth century Britain.

The opening chapter, an overview of Malthus's life and work, is scrupulously fair to the economist. Faulting those scholars who have relied on the first edition (1798) of the *Essay on the Principle of Population*, Huzel points out the many changes in later editions, such as the possibility that "moral restraint," education of the laboring classes, and emigration might mitigate the otherwise dismal consequences of population increase. Malthus also moved away from an insistence that it was essential to abolish the poor law system. Yet in spite of an "optimistic" evolution in his thinking, his contemporary opponents continued to fasten on the negative, determinist emphasis of his early work. This hostility was readily extended to his principal supporters, particularly the popularizer of political economy, Harriet Martineau, to whom Huzel devotes a chapter. The author credits her with rendering Malthus's views acceptable to a widening circle of upper and middle-class readers, but notes that she also served to magnify the assault on Malthusian principles. This is ironic, for Martineau was considerably more open to the possibility of ameliorating the condition of the lower orders than Malthus. Radical and Tory critics alike pounced on the negative and demeaning aspects of her illustrative tales, driven partly, Huzel suggests, by what they regarded as the unseemliness of a relatively young and unmarried woman writing about matters of procreation and sexual morality. The attacks on Martineau became especially pronounced in the turbulent prelude to the passage of the New Poor Law in 1834, especially because of her active role in promoting the measure. The abuse heaped on Malthus himself reached a crescendo during this period, even though he took no part in campaigning for the reform.

The second half of the book is devoted to Malthus's radical critics, with pride of place given to William Cobbett, the subject of a separate chapter. Following the lead of Ian Dyck and other scholars, Huzel accords Cobbett far more intellectual respect than he has traditionally received, even though taking him to task for denying that any population increase had occurred since the Middle Ages. Rather than a nostalgist reacting "emotionally" to Malthusian principles, as some historians have suggested, Huzel's Cobbett was a painstaking researcher, reading numerous theoretical works as well as the voluminous report of the 1832-1834 Royal Commission on the Poor Laws. He was also a master publicist, second to none even in that contentious age for the power of his invective, and certainly did misrepresent some of Malthus's views, for example the economist's alleged endorsement of birth control and abortion. His hostility intensified over time, especially over what he correctly perceived as the key role played by Malthusianism in the creation of the New Poor Law. Malthus never deigned to respond to any of

these attacks by Cobbett, or indeed to those of other radicals. The latter were a diverse lot, and form the subject of Huzel's final chapter. His reading in the radical journals (mostly of the unstamped press) of the day is impressively wide, though inevitably more attention is given to papers like the *Poor Man's Guardian*, and to figures like Thomas Wooler, Richard Carlile, and Robert Owen. Through the 1820s, much of the "pauper press" tended to follow Cobbett's lead, attacking Malthusianism and castigating England's rulers as effete and corrupt, utterly out of touch with the people. While Huzel accepts the contention of scholars like Patricia Hollis and Gertrude Himmelfarb that a "new radicalism," embodying an anticapitalist ethos, was active by the 1820s, he makes a strong case that Cobbett's more traditional radicalism continued to be the dominant strain, up to and beyond the passage of the New Poor Law.

There were of course large areas of disagreement within the anti-Malthusian, anti-New Poor Law radical camp, not least on the vexed issue of contraception. When the author throws into the mix the views of Benthamites like Francis Place and socialists like Owen, the range of opinions becomes so wide that it nearly overwhelms the analysis. This is a minor criticism of a most impressive book, which anyone grappling with the multifaceted early nineteenth-century debate on poverty and social change should read.

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HILARY MARLAND. *Dangerous Motherhood: Insanity and Childbirth in Victorian Britain*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2004. Pp. xii, 303. \$75.00.

The days of uncomplicated narratives about self-interested medical practitioners usurping women's province as healers, at the same time rendering female patients passive objects of the male gaze, seem to be numbered. Hilary Marland's highly readable history of the rise and fall of puerperal insanity in nineteenth-century England contributes to recent studies that challenge the powerful practitioner/victimized patient model, encompassing the intersection of the two areas of medical practice—obstetrics/gynecology and psychiatry—about which feminist historians have been most critical. Marland, however, reveals the complexity of doctors' responses to women's afflictions as well as women's own experiences of mental illness. What she accomplishes is a nuanced account which is sympathetic both to women's struggles with what we now identify as postpartum depression and psychosis, and to obstetricians' and psychiatrists' struggles with a disease that fundamentally challenged ideas about gender and family roles.

Medical men understood puerperal insanity to manifest in both maniacal and melancholic forms, both of which caused women to disdain motherhood and to deny their domestic roles more generally. In this way, the disease threatened not only the home but the so-

ciety, which idealized women's domestic natures. Simultaneously, however, as Marland astutely argues, medical men also imagined all women as harboring the seeds of puerperal insanity, drawing on the assumption that women's bodies rendered them mentally unstable. Puerperal insanity was thus both the antithesis of womanhood and something embedded within it. This paradoxical understanding of women's health and reproduction—where reproductive processes are seen as both the culmination of women's existence and the biggest threat to women's health—has been pointed out by other scholars, such as Ornella Moscucci and Elaine Showalter. Yet by focusing closely on one particular manifestation of ill health, Marland breaks down generalizations, carefully illustrating the anxieties this paradox created for practitioners and patients alike. What is striking is the sympathetic way in which medical practitioners regarded the puerperally insane, seeing the disease as predominantly rooted in moral and environmental causes. Even the most extreme expression of puerperal insanity, infanticide, was viewed with compassion. Like puerperal insanity itself, infanticide committed by the mentally deranged could be seen "as an almost 'normal' side-effect of giving birth" (p. 198), an act by women unable to control the nature of their bodies.

Marland demonstrates that puerperal insanity—like other specifically "female diseases"—was identified at a time in the early nineteenth century when women's bodies and roles became of particular interest to the medical community. Medical treatises, individual practitioners' and lying-in hospitals' case histories, and asylum patient records provide evidence of the ways medical men mapped out the landscape of the disease, with obstetricians and psychiatrists alike claiming puerperal insanity as their territory. Other historians have argued that these two specialties built their professional expertise on the medicalization of women's bodies, but Marland's study of puerperal insanity clearly shows the ways that this was worked out in practice. Doctors were very apprehensive about what to do for sufferers of puerperal insanity, but they also liked the disease because cure rates (determined by women's resumption of their "normal" lives) were high. While both groups of professionals were agreed that the need to return women to their domestic roles and feminine character was paramount, obstetricians argued that this was best accomplished in the home itself, while psychiatrists argued that the asylum was the appropriate venue for treatment. In either location, treatments aimed to calm the women, to give them rest, and for the many severely undernourished poor women suffering from puerperal insanity, to feed them and build up their health.

My own efforts with using medical case histories to represent women's experiences has made me especially sensitive to methodological similarities in other works. Marland warns about the mediated nature of the medical case history as a way to access women's lives, but her language suggests more often than not a direct link between what the case describes and what these women

experienced. I would have liked a more complicated reading of the discursive nature of the cases; Marland certainly addresses this theoretically, but she does not consistently adopt it practically. This is not to deny the very rich and important stories that Marland uncovers from these medical materials, but to underscore her own point about the ways in which puerperal insanity was codified through the theory and practice of the emerging fields of obstetrics and psychiatry. The numerous examples from the case histories, while not always given analytical attention, are important in themselves as rare evidence of compassionate representations of Victorian working-class women and Victorian women more generally.

The diagnosis of puerperal insanity fell out of fashion in the late nineteenth century, as women's mental illness connected to childbirth came to be seen as one more manifestation of hereditary weakness, rather than something unique. The optimistic and compassionate outlook of earlier Victorian doctors gave way to harsher attitudes and regimes. While puerperal insanity's history was brief, Marland reveals its significance both to understandings of Victorian women's health and to our knowledge of medical professionalization.

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DEBORAH COHEN, *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. xvii, 296. \$40.00.

Many cultures have household gods, but few have made the house itself an object of worship. Earlier English generations would have recoiled with horror at the ways the middle classes devoted themselves to home decor from the mid-nineteenth century onward. As late as the 1840s, English Evangelicals regarded all kinds of decoration, whether in the church or at home, as sacrilegious. And yet it was their offspring who were the first to enchant the domestic interior, attributing to ordinary objects a power of personal and collective transformation that still drives the quest for house beautiful to the present day.

Deborah Cohen's beautifully illustrated, finely crafted book tells the story of English home decoration from its mid-Victorian beginnings, taking us through all the subsequent phases up to the present moment of commercial excess. She guides the reader through the various phases of the phenomenon, beginning with the moral concerns of the Victorians, then moving to the aesthetic movements of the later nineteenth century, when a concern with character gradually gave way to an obsession with personality development. A chapter on the rise of antiques, coming as it did only in the 1880s, relates this to the traditionalizing trends evident in public as well as private life when Victorian optimism gave way to personal and national self-doubt at the end of the century.

In the twentieth century, home decorating has be-

come increasing self-centered. Cohen tracks the economic and social developments which supported the vast investment of time and money in household possessions. She has researched in depth the evolution of retailing in London, the impact of suburbanization, and the rise of the professional home decorator. Particularly original is her treatment of the gendering of home improvement. She shows that until the very end of the nineteenth century husbands were still the ordained priests of home decor and that the association of women with homemaking is largely a twentieth-century phenomenon. First-wave feminists regarded their ascendancy in the private sphere as a victory at least as important as gaining the vote, for it confirmed their individuality.

In her epilogue, Cohen provides us with a fascinating glimpse of the current state of the household gods in English popular media. The high priests of the current frenzy of domestic voyeurism are television personalities, who, along with their sponsors from the home improvement industry, prey on mass anxieties about "getting it wrong." In a period when domestic self-consciousness has reached new peaks, conformity threatens to enter the very sphere where individualism previously found expression.

Cohen's grasp of the material detail of each of these phases is impressive, but she does not allow ephemera to obscure the lineaments of the cultural and social developments she is describing. Cameo appearances by significant figures—Mrs. Mary Elisa Haweis, Oscar Wilde, Ambrose Heal, Robert Drane, Syrie Maugham, Ben Frow—help the reader navigate what would otherwise be a bewildering display of changing tastes. Using a variety of public and private archives, drawn largely from the London metropolitan area, Cohen documents not only the feminization of domestic space but also the increasingly visible role of gay men in the emergent home decorating profession. Her obvious personal engagement with her subject does not detract in any way from her scholarly accomplishment. In fact, it enhances the appeal of this book to the general reader as well as the specialist.

This book also lays the foundations for what could be a most interesting comparison of English trends, not only with other parts of Britain but with Europe and North America as well. The worship of household gods was not at all limited to England. Studies of Sweden by Orvar Lofgren and Jonas Frykman and the voluminous literature on French and American domesticity offer possibilities of developing a broader perspective. The trajectories of home decoration also need to be related to changes in family life, especially the growing importance in material objects in the construction and maintenance of personal relationships across the increasingly fragmented times and spaces of modern life. There is also the possibility of connecting Cohen's findings with the growing literature on memory in everyday life. As David Lowenthal and others have shown, the obsession with antiques reflects the increasing power

that the past exercises over all aspects of modern existence.

How does what is documented here relate to larger religious and cosmological developments? It is clear from Cohen's account that the incarnation of the household as the earthly heaven had its origins in middle-class Evangelicalism. How worldly asceticism was transformed into worldly aestheticism is a question that requires further attention, however. It appears that Max Weber was wrong about the disenchantment of the world. For, even as public spheres were emptied of meaning, domestic space became infused with unprecedented significance. The contemporary language of home is quasi-religious. Churches, mosques, and synagogues now accommodate to what was once regarded as sacrilege: acknowledging the power of the household gods. What the early Evangelicals feared most has come to pass: the household is god. Cohen's fine book rescues this important subject from the collectors and connoisseurs, providing us with a stimulating account of one of the most prominent, if often trivialized, dimensions of modernity.

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PAULA L. WYLIE. *Ireland and the Cold War: Diplomacy and Recognition, 1949–63*. Foreword by DERMOT KEOGH. Dublin: Irish Academic Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 305. \$32.00.

The historiography of Ireland and the Cold War is still in its infancy and does not include a general study covering a wide period. Thus, this work by Paula L. Wylie fills a number of gaps. The central research question is "when, in the course of defining Ireland's international interests, does Ireland open the way to bilateral relations by recognizing an entity as a state?" (p. xiii). From the beginning the issue of recognition is placed at the heart of the study. Although the primary focus of the work is the Cold War years, the question is partly answered by Ireland's response to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936. Eamon de Valera, *Taoiseach* (prime minister) and minister for external affairs, noted that "diplomatic relations are primarily between states rather than governments"; therefore, recognition was not withdrawn (p. 3). De Valera fully understood that gaining external recognition strengthened claims to sovereignty and statehood but he was responding also to the common concerns of Catholic Ireland and Spain and the absence of an immediate threat to national interests. The decision, therefore, was based on international legal principles, pragmatism, and national concerns. This delicate handling of Irish foreign policy would characterize future decisions on recognition.

After 1945, in the emerging bipolar world and proliferation of new states arising from decolonization, Irish foreign policy makers were confronted with recognition issues on a daily basis (p. 256). Among the first problematic cases was that of Czechoslovakia, where by February 1948, Communist Party pressure threatened

the democratic elements within the government. Ireland's anticommunist credentials were already well established, and it was no surprise when Ireland suspended diplomatic relations with the Czechoslovakian government. However, it was significant that the ongoing discourse within the Irish Department of External (Foreign) Affairs on recognition suggested a further refining of the relationship, namely that recognition should be "downgraded to *de facto* recognition" (p. 72). This distinction from *de jure* recognition allowed the government to permit the Czechoslovakian representative to reside in Ireland. As one Irish diplomat noted, "we have severed diplomatic relations, but not all relations" (p. 73). Between 1948 and 1950, this flexible approach also informed Ireland's non-recognition of Israel and East Germany (GDR).

During the next five years, few recognition issues confronted the Irish government. However, membership of the United Nations (UN) in December 1955, hitherto denied to Ireland by a Soviet veto, brought new responsibilities and challenges. External Affairs' officials initiated a review of the recognition policy, particularly in relation to communist-dominated and recently decolonized countries. Unfortunately, the outcome confused rather than clarified the policy for diplomats who requested an explanation of the difference between recognition of a state and of a government. Among the inconsistencies raised were that "recognition has not been withdrawn from the so-called Nationalist Government functioning in Formosa" even though one ambassador believed it had been. The position on Poland was that "recognition is still accorded to the Polish government-in-exile as the lawful Government of Poland" (p. 87), even though de Valera refused its consul permission to assume office in mid-1957 and relations with the Warsaw government clearly improved. Despite this lack of clarity, the situation was not challenged again until 1962. Ireland had provided South Vietnam with *de facto* recognition in 1956. This position allowed Ireland to maintain a nonintervention attitude and to hold a neutral position between the U.S. and French governments. When the Vietnamese government requested *de jure* recognition in 1960 and again in 1962, the Irish government informed it that "for the past two years, Ireland has accorded full recognition of Vietnam" (p. 97).

Thus, in 1962, after the embarrassment occasioned by the South Vietnamese example, combined with seven years of UN experience and amid the preparation of an application to join the European Economic Community (EEC), recognition procedures were put in place and policy stabilized. Wylie successfully highlights the unsuitability of the stark recognition/non-recognition choice for a small, young state surviving in the multilateral Cold War world that required flexibility of action in relation to recognition. She argues that depending on national interests, and the level of contact existing (and anticipated) with the state and government in question, the *de jure/de facto* practice operated at different levels and, therefore, the study provides a new model of analysis.

Without wishing to take away from the overall importance of the work, the structure is confusing at times, and some pruning would have reduced repetition. Nevertheless, this work, drawing on law and political science as well as history, further uncovers the nuanced nature of the Irish foreign policy process, the growth of Ireland's bilateral diplomatic network, and the challenges faced and managed by a small group of diplomats, and it offers a new theoretical model. It is a significant contribution to the growing historiography on Irish diplomatic history.

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MARKUS REINBOLD. *Jenseits der Konfession: Die frühe Frankreichpolitik Philipps II. von Spanien 1559–1571*. (Beihefte der Francia, number 61.) Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag. 2005. Pp. 280. €44.00.

VALENTÍN VÁZQUEZ DE PRADA. *Felipe II y Francia (1559–1598): Política, Religión y Razón de Estado*. Navarra: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra. 2004. Pp. xxii, 517. €31.00.

No German historian wrote a biography of Philip II between 1938 (Ludwig Pfandl, *Phillip II. Gemälde eines Lebens und einer Zeit*) and 2001 (Manfred Vasolt, *Phillip II.*), but German-speaking historians have nevertheless published many studies of the king's reign. The best of the recent offerings include two meticulous monographs by Friedrich Edelmayer—the first on Philip's Italian policy (*Maximilian II., Philipp II., und Reichsitalien: Die Auseinandersetzungen um des Reichslehen Finale in Ligurien* [1988]) and the second on those Germans who accepted Spanish pensions (*Söldner und Pensionäre: Das Netzwerk Philipps II. im Heiligen Römischen Reich* [2002])—and one by Regine Jorzick (*Herrschaftssymbolik und Staat: Die Vermittlung königlicher Herrschaft im Spanien der frühen Neuzeit, 1556–1598* [1998]) reviewing the various written, pictorial and ceremonial statements of the king's "majesty." In addition, Edelmayer and Arno Strohmeier edited the first volume in a series that will eventually print the full correspondence between the emperor and his ambassadors to the Court of Philip II.

Markus Reinbold's monograph on Philip II's policy toward France is a useful addition to this German-language corpus. It opens with a short biography of the eight principal "protagonists": the king, four of his councilors particularly concerned with French affairs (the third duke of Alba, Ruy Gómez da Silva, Francisco de Erasso, and Gonzalo Pérez), and two ambassadors who served in Paris (Thomas Perrenot de Chantonnay and Don Francés de Álava y Beaumont). Next, Reinbold considers the context of Spanish policy toward France (including diplomatic protocols and Spain's strategic and ideological priorities) before examining the course of diplomatic relations between the two powers from 1559 to 1571. His description of thirteen chro-

nological "episodes" occupies more than twenty pages, with most space devoted to the outcry over the massacre of French settlers in Florida by Spanish forces in 1565 and to negotiations for a common front against the Turks (culminating in the Holy League of 1571, signed by Spain but not by France). Then comes an eleven-page conclusion, a list of sources consulted, and the Spanish text and German translation of a sustained analysis of French politics written by Álava in 1572, just after he left France (pp. 230–263).

Unlike Jorzick, Reinbold provides no Spanish summary of his argument, although his footnotes include the Spanish and French original texts of the documents he quotes in German. Valentín Vázquez de Prada, by contrast, provides only material in Spanish but, like Reinbold, he begins with sections on the "Protocols and Agents of Spanish Policy": the king and his advisers in Madrid, the structure of the Paris embassy, and each ambassador (including "agents, confidants and spies"). Also like Reinbold, Vázquez de Prada devotes the lion's share of his study to a chronological account of Franco-Spanish relations (pp. 101–446). This he divides into three parts: "The Struggle for Religious Toleration, 1559–76"; "Philip II and the Catholic League, 1576–89"; and "The Struggle for the Crown, 1589–98." Then come a four-page conclusion, two useful maps, and a list of sources consulted.

Philip II's correspondence with his ambassadors in France, now preserved in series *Estado K* of the Archivo General de Simancas (the National Archives of Castile), forms the core source of both volumes. This correspondence has been published virtually in its entirety for the period 1559–1571, the years covered by Reinbold, who in general cites (and reprints in his notes) the published texts; whereas Vázquez de Prada, whether citing passages from a document in print or not, gives only the archive call number. In addition, Vázquez de Prada makes excellent use of unpublished sources on the career of each ambassador (mostly documents collected by them to apply for entry into one of Spain's military orders). He has also used the correspondence of France's ambassadors in Spain to reconstruct Philip II's policies as relayed through official audiences as well as via intelligence gleaned from their "agents, confidants and spies." Reinbold, by contrast, consulted documents in the Granvelle family archive in Besançon concerning Ambassador Chantonnay, as well as a large collection of papers removed from Spain in the nineteenth century and deposited in the archives of the French foreign ministry (in 1943 the German Occupation Forces repatriated the originals of these papers, like the entire *Estado K* series, to Simancas, but photocopies remain in Paris). Both authors also cite a few documents from other sections of the State Paper (*Estado*) series at Simancas.

State Paper collections can only take those who study the history of Philip II so far, however. The king rarely trusted any single adviser, preferring to form policy through a series of bilateral meetings with several ministers, none of whom knew as much as he did because

the king also read a stream of letters from officials and confidants addressed “to the king in his own hands” (or, as we might say today, “For the king’s eyes alone”). Matteo Vázquez, Philip’s private secretary between 1573 and 1591, coordinated both this confidential correspondence and also the king’s audiences with his ministers. Unfortunately for historians, after his death Vázquez’s archive became scattered and disorganized. Thus although the original of a letter from Paris and the minute of the official reply may be in Simancas, Vázquez’s summary of the letter, together with the king’s informal reaction and comments, may be among the Spanish manuscripts in the British Library in London; while letters on the same subject “for the king’s eyes alone” and the drafts of Vázquez’s replies may be in the University Library in Geneva, the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan in Madrid, or the Archivo y Biblioteca de Zabálburu, also in Madrid—for all four archives acquired a part of Vázquez’s papers. Relevant material may also be found elsewhere: thus the *Órdenes Militares* section of the Archivo Histórico Nacional houses several boxes of secret documents concerning Philip II’s policy toward France and England; the private archive of the dukes of Alba contains numerous letters and position papers of the third duke on how to deal with France; and a volume of secret correspondence left by one ambassador, Juan de Vargas Mexía, when he died in Paris may be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (*Manuscrit Espagnol* 132).

Yet even consulting all these sources would not suffice to write a full study of Franco-Spanish relations in the reign of Philip II. As William Hickling Prescott wrote in the mid-nineteenth century in his *History of Philip II, King of Spain*: “The history of Philip II is the history of Europe during the latter half of the sixteenth century.” Prescott worked hard to do justice to his subject—“Philippizing” as he called it—engaging members of the United States Foreign Service and numerous research assistants to locate and transcribe documents. Even so, Prescott’s three volumes—the product of sixteen years’ research—covered only the first two decades of the reign. To do justice to Philip II’s foreign policy toward France would require work on manuscript collections in England, Scotland, the Netherlands, Belgium, Austria, Italy, and the United States, as well as in those of France and Spain. Although the two volumes under review contain interesting information on important events and on the king’s responses to them, they shed little light on how and why he formulated those particular responses. Philip II would have expected more.

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Stuart Carroll. *Blood and Vengeance in Early Modern France*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. 369. \$110.00.

Ever since modern legal and social historians began systematic research in the criminal court records of early

modern France almost five decades ago, they have produced a growing body of scholarship to explain the frequency of violence in that society and the reasons for its eventual diminution. Stuart Carroll’s meticulously researched study of French aristocrats’ vindictive violence, chiefly in the form of feuds and duels, constitutes a remarkable addition to that scholarship.

Carroll skillfully draws on criminal records of local tribunals and the Parlements of Paris, Aix, Rouen, and Toulouse, as well as letters of remission, family papers, and long-neglected works of nineteenth-century antiquarians, to develop a database of aristocratic vindictive violence in central and southwestern France and Normandy that tells us much about aristocrats’ behavior. Their violence was rooted in intrafamilial disputes over inheritance and more general disagreements regarding property, benefices, and written, verbal, or symbolic affronts to honor. Rancor over disputed issues elicited vindictive responses to initial misdeeds carefully scripted by the offended parties to call public attention to an affront, to reassert the victim’s honor and standing, and to facilitate resolution by exacting a cost for the offense. Thus, initial discord frequently escalated into increasingly provocative behavior, including insults, disrespectful gestures, threats of future violence, displays of armed force to intimidate one’s opponent, and attacks on the property, livestock, and servants of one’s enemy, all designed to secure eventual capitulation and humiliation. Only as a last resort did an aggrieved individual risk the legal consequences of a direct assault on a fellow aristocrat in a sword fight, shooting, or private warfare; little about this violence was spontaneous. Disputants proceeded deliberately, carefully calibrating their responses to affronts after marshaling the support of kinsmen and assessing the effect of their actions on local opinion. An aristocratic feud was not the unending cycle of spontaneous blood-letting portrayed by many scholars, but more ritualized violence designed to preserve an individual’s standing in a hierarchical society in which disputants and spectators alike kept score in these contests.

Carroll’s vast research also tells us much about the styles and weaponry of aristocratic violence, the role of gender issues in such conflict, and the challenges of dispute resolution. Indeed, when the feuds Carroll studies did achieve nonviolent resolution, it was often through intrajudicial mediation by various agents. The king sometimes intervened to impose a settlement in a feud, as did the court of honor operating after 1627 under the marshals of France. Additionally, royal governors, local magnates, and clerics also might arbitrate settlements of disputes. Litigation in royal tribunals resolved few feuds, however, because the aristocracy frequently used the courts as alternative fields of combat, where disputants aimed to humiliate their opponents while costing them fortunes in legal fees.

Carroll’s study offers us significantly more than a history of aristocratic violence, however. It obliges historians to reconsider much of the interpretive framework within which they have studied early modern France.

Thus, Carroll finds the “civilizing process” of Norbert Elias that long has informed studies of early modern violence inadequate in explaining the behavior of French aristocrats. Elias ascribed the decline in noble violence to the state-building of Louis XIV, as the etiquette of his court transformed truculent aristocrats with the behavior of medieval warriors into courtiers whose new-found *politesse* gradually was internalized by much of society. Carroll instead suggests that the late medieval and Renaissance monarchy did a creditable job containing aristocratic vindictive violence. Then, amid the social, political, and religious turbulence of the sixteenth century, such violence began to increase and continued at high levels well beyond the point at which the policies of Louis XIV might have been expected to have affected human behavior. Carroll concludes with the hypothesis that the monarchy eventually merely channeled violent, aristocratic behavior in a new direction by enlisting growing numbers of aristocrats in the officer corps of an increasingly militarized late seventeenth and eighteenth-century state.

The author's findings on dueling also illustrate his revisionism. He avers that the dueling phenomenon in France predated by several generations the late sixteenth-century arrival of Italian practices that many scholars allege marked its inception in French society. Moreover, dueling seldom followed the rigid rules laid out in early modern treatises on the subject, and it persisted in France even as the aristocratic feud began to disappear. Indeed, the seventeenth and eighteenth-century monarchy, contrary to much historical scholarship, never managed fully to repress this aspect of aristocratic violence.

This is a book rich in research and extraordinarily provocative in its conclusions. A brief review can but suggest its potential interest to all students of early modern France.

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PIERRE BONIN, *Bourgeoisie et habitanage dans les villes du Languedoc sous l'ancien régime*. Foreword by ALBERT RIGAUDIÈRE. (Collection d'Histoire du Droit; Série “Thèses et Travaux,” number 5.) Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires d'Aix-Marseille. 2005. Pp. 584. €42.00.

Pierre Bonin seeks to and largely succeeds in obliterating what little utility the concept of bourgeoisie still possesses as a category of historical analysis. Trained by the eminent medievalist Albert Rigaudière, Bonin revisits a topic first explored by Alfred Cobban nearly fifty years ago. His exhaustive study examines what juridical and fiscal records reveal about the *soi-disant* bourgeois elites in Albi, Toulouse, Narbonne, and Montpellier, all major towns in early modern Languedoc. Drawing on extensive archival research, Bonin is particularly attentive to the nuances of terminology as he meticulously reconstructs the status and behavior of each town's legal inhabitants, who existed less as a social class and

more as a highly localized and variegated corporate body. A conceptual duality informed Old Regime nomenclature and obfuscated the social reality of these privileged *habitants*, at the pinnacle of whom was an even more privileged and powerful local bourgeoisie. For Bonin, not only is all early modern politics essentially local, but also elite political identity.

Part one delves into the rules governing how a person first became a *habitant*, which was an absolute prerequisite if one wished in time to enter the ranks of the local bourgeoisie. While procedures varied from town to town, residency requirements and proof of moral worthiness supplemented by familial ties and a record of service all became essential qualities that established the conditions of *habitanage*. This group became composed overwhelmingly (and not surprisingly) of merchants and professionals, such as doctors and lawyers. Fiscal privileges set the *habitants* further apart from the rest of the urban community. The exemption from excise taxes levied on wine was the most valuable, even though municipal budgets heavily relied upon this *impôt*. Other such privileges included exemptions from seigneurial and royal taxes. Bonin points out the public nature of such exemptions, as for example when carting in wine scot-free through the city gates. *Habitants* also enjoyed special consideration in judicial affairs. Yet duties accompanied if not legitimated privilege, as *habitants* assumed direct care of the poor and provided support for primary schools in towns. No one model of *habitanage* existed to define how this status became acquired and then displayed; indeed, one's consciousness as a *habitant* and bourgeois made no sense beyond the juridical ambit of a particular town. It defined a mutuality of interest within a specific urban community rather than a sense of “class.” As such, it became expressive of this society's deeply corporate, localized character, articulating in myriad forms a system that became fixed until the end of the seventeenth century. While it underwent changes during the Enlightenment, it would be an exaggeration to argue it was in any kind of crisis as the revolution approached, Bonin argues.

Bonin next considers the political dimensions of *habitanage* where, again, the dynamics of privilege and service shaped the exercise of power in towns in Languedoc. Defense of the town's fortifications through involvement in watch duty and the urban militia represented a substantial investment of time and money for the elite; it also provided ample occasion for public displays of their privileged status in parades and other ceremonies. Despite several instances when bourgeois militia companies actually went into battle in the seventeenth century, Bonin sees a general decline in the quality and standing of bourgeois militias, from which bourgeoisie increasingly sought exemption, leaving such duties to *habitants* lower down the social ladder or even hired mercenaries. While militias thus constituted an important modicum of local power related to but not subsumed by the authority of the royal state, they gradually took on responsibilities of policing towns rather than protecting them from foreign invaders. The per-

sistence of *gardes bourgeoises* and related appellations in the juridical vocabulary thus did not reflect the broader social reality as it developed after 1600, but rather the persistence of an antiquated legal nomenclature.

The book's final section turns to the governing structures found in these towns. While the bourgeoisie controlled the principal levers of power as consuls and leading municipal officers, the secondary and tertiary groupings that made up the *habitants* also fulfilled a variety of ancillary political roles. The prerequisites and practices determining who acceded to the most important municipal posts, the *cursus honorum* so to speak, again varied from town to town. The modalities of such internal mobility tended to ossify over time, thus freezing in place even more the basic incomparability of urban bourgeoisies in Old Regime France. A case could perhaps be made—and probably should—that Bonin's conclusion largely derives from the essential logic of the kinds of sources he consults. Social identity, after all, cannot simply be reduced to its varying juridical expressions. Bonin recognizes the *pis-aller* down which he has gone, but he argues it is a necessary journey if historians hope, once and for all, to discover new ways to conceptualize and then discuss the changing social landscape of the past.

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HERVÉ LEUWERS. *L'invention du barreau français 1660–1830: La construction nationale d'un groupe professionnel*. (Civilisations et Sociétés, number 126.) Paris: L'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. 2006. Pp. 446. €22.00.

Considering the importance of members of the French bar in the history of the French Revolution, and in the public sphere of the kingdom during the years leading up to it, it is surprising how little attention this group has attracted among French historians. All the running has been made in recent times by American scholars. Not so long ago, too, English-language studies of the world of advocacy such as those by Lenard Berlanstein, Michael Fitzsimmons, Sarah Maza, or David Bell would have made little impact in the largely monoglot world of French scholarship. The work of Hervé Leuwers shows how much this has changed. He offers us a full-scale survey of the history of the bar from Louis XIV to Louis-Philippe, deeply researched in scattered, often fragmented, and sometimes semi-private archives, and written making full use of the findings of non-French researchers. The approach has changed, too. Whereas in the twentieth century the subject group would have been exhaustively analyzed in socioeconomic detail, with cultural and organizational activity relegated to introductions and thin supplementary chapters, Leuwers's emphasis is all on cultural values and behavior.

The aim is to trace how the self-confident body of advocates who seemed to dominate the public life of the

early Third Republic, and whose appearance and posturings were so memorably captured by the caricaturist Honoré Daumier, had come together over the course of the preceding two centuries from diverse and fragmented origins. The appeal of the bar under the Old Regime was as much a matter of status as function, and a large proportion of advocates who flaunted the title never thought of practicing. There was a wide variety of local and provincial traditions and habits underpinned (although Leuwers surprisingly does not mention this) by the need to operate under divergent codes and legal customs. None of this rich chaos entirely disappeared until the revolution, but over the eighteenth century it was steadily eroding. Increasingly aware of Parisian models, provincial bars endowed themselves with similar structures of authority, controls on membership, and common institutions from gowns to libraries, as well as seeking to behave in uniform ways and publicly subscribing to common values and ideals. Proudly untouched by the venality pervasive throughout the rest of the legal system, advocates vaunted their autonomy and were increasingly unafraid to defend it, when threatened from the bench or elsewhere, by strikes or “cessations of service.” Among several useful appendixes to the book is a list detailing forty-six strikes of the bar between 1667 and 1787. The biggest single outbreak was in solidarity with the courts struck down by Chancellor Maupeou in the 1770s; and it is perhaps no coincidence that the first use of the term “French Bar” dates from this time.

No such thing truly emerged, however, until after the entire judicial world of the old regime had been destroyed by the French Revolution. The privileges and prerogatives of advocates could not survive when those of all around them were being torn down, and revolutionaries could not see why litigants needed to retain specialized counsel. Another sort of chaos now ensued, a legal free-for-all, but with the return of calmer and more authoritarian times those who remembered an esteemed profession before the cataclysm cautiously sought to put it together again. Napoleon Bonaparte proved increasingly sympathetic, and by 1810 the bar was back in business at courts throughout the country. But Leuwers emphasizes that it was not so much a restoration as a reinvention. Gone forever was the old regional diversity of prerevolutionary times. Gone, too, the noble order whose values the former self-styled orders of advocates had sought to reflect and share—and the venality in whose absence they had been able to glory. Now, a strengthened state operating a single code of law required a uniformity of practice and standards, imposing the sort of professionalization that had been little more than a creeping trend before 1789. Yet professionalization still remained incomplete in the sense that both Napoleon and the restored Bourbons viewed the bar's claims to the autonomy it called liberty with suspicion, and there was no taste among its members for taking strike action to assert those claims. So it was not until after the Revolution of 1830 that advocacy finally emerged autonomous as a self-styled “liberal pro-

fession." In their triumph, its members were the first to produce histories of their professional ancestors in the light of values now irrevocably established; but it has taken the scrutiny of another profession, that of the historian, to demonstrate how complex, unpredictable, and uncertain the path to that confident and complacent status actually was.

WILLIAM DOYLE
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STEVEN KALE. *French Salons: High Society and Political Sociability from the Old Regime to the Revolution of 1848*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Paperback edition. 2006. Pp. x, 308. \$25.00.

The forms of French, and especially Parisian, elite sociability from the Old Regime to 1848 fascinated contemporaries and those who followed them. Steven Kale states that salons emerged in the seventeenth century and persist into the twenty-first century, but that they were most significant under the Restoration and July Monarchy because of the interplay between a restricted wealthy male electorate and high society.

There were numerous aristocratic women with the leisure and desire to compile written accounts of their contemporaries and their social circles. In the case of women with attachments to the royal courts, especially that of the Bourbon Restoration, there were many ceremonial occasions in which to participate or observe. A good example was Henriette Lucie Dillon, marquise de La Tour du Pin Gouvernet (1770–1853), whose published memoirs were in their twenty-first edition by 1920 and were republished in French and English in the 1970s and 1980s. Her unpublished correspondence appeared in 1996. Such women were in attendance at the leading salons of the French capital. Many of their memoirs were translated from French into English and other languages in the decades of the Belle Époque before 1914. Kale has read deeply in this literature and has produced an engaging study of French salons as a focus of political sociability from the Old Regime to the Revolution of 1848. He follows a number of recent authors in being particularly conscious of the place of women in salon culture and of asking about their political influence at a time when even rich and aristocratic females could not vote or hold office. At the same time he argues that the *salonnières* had connections through family relationships with individuals of differing political outlooks and thus brought together in a social situation a variety of viewpoints.

After the French Revolution people who lived under the changing political regimes in France were also conscious of alterations in social prestige. The salon was one form of elite entertainment where people associated in ways that permitted them to express distinction. French writers often stressed the importance of good conversation, politeness, and deportment. The historian cannot recreate the way in which nobles of the Restoration and July Monarchy actually enunciated words, but we know that they were considered to have distinc-

tive speech patterns from those of middle and lower-class individuals. Kale reminds us of the expense involved in running a salon and entertaining recurrent guests. He has little to say of provincial salons in regional capitals like Bordeaux or Grenoble, but Paris increasingly set the tone for French cultural institutions. He is interested in the interactions between intellectuals and high society, the effect of the emigration during the revolution, those members of the elite who collaborated with the First Empire, and the salons of the constitutional monarchies, including what he describes as the decline of salons prior to 1848.

The book has a useful biographical appendix on the best-known aristocratic women involved in salons. Although Kale makes use of some male writers of the period like Charles de Rémusat, his main aim is to make use of the perspectives of female members of the elite. The author might have said more about social life in the country houses of the aristocracy, where they often entertained friends and neighbors during the very period being considered. He also reminds us of other sites of sociability that were more open to men and some women, from clubs to cafés. He makes a shrewd contribution to understanding how a sample of French elite women perceived changes in culture and society from the Old Regime to the Second Empire.

DAVID HIGGS
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ROBERT STUART. *Marxism and National Identity: Socialism, Nationalism, and National Socialism during the French Fin de Siècle*. (SUNY Series on National Identities.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2006. Pp. x, 305. \$85.00.

I cannot recall reading a work that, at one and the same time, so pleased and so exasperated me.

Robert Stuart's book is a much-needed, exhaustive study of French Marxism's late-nineteenth-century encounter with the diverse forces that we heedlessly lump together under the umbrella term "nationalism." The author has a command of the textual and newspaper sources and the secondary literature; the eighty-five dense pages of useful footnotes indeed constitute an awesome tribute to his reading. (But why did he do so little in the National or Police Archives?)

Stuart is right to signal the coincidence in 1882—"a decisive moment in ideological history" (p. 137)—that saw the birth of both Jules Guesde's Parti Ouvrier and Paul Déroulède's Ligue des Patriotes within months of one another. The subsequent dialectic between the new Left and the new Right affords one of the most interesting themes of French politics down to the Great War. On the one hand, the author expertly limns the Guesdists' own dip into nationalism, whether intended or unintended, but on the other hand he convincingly shows that despite sporadic concessions to a "hegemonic" discourse of the era (nation-talk), the Guesdists remained, even at their most patriotic, deep-dyed internationalists "and were often enough genuinely cos-

mopolitan. National socialists—by contrast, and by definition—were not only nationalist, but *integrally* nationalist” (p. 144).

One of the book’s finest moments is the long, rising coda wherein Stuart dilates upon the Parti Ouvrier’s brilliant, if limited, grasp of *fin de siècle* nationalism. The party understood far better than its Conservative or Liberal enemies that *nation* was not an entity but an ideological reification, of great political use in the public arena. This said, the Marxists remained confused. At times, they dismissed the nationalists as troglydtes; at other moments, evincing a perceptible sympathy for the troglydtes’ antiliberalism, they aligned with them in the street or newspapers. The common stance they evolved into was their revilement of nationalism for its anti-Marxism. Stuart wields the analytic scalpel with remarkable dexterity: “Even in this dominant mode, however, the Guesdists were inconsistent. Was national socialism merely an antisocialist plot? Or did ultranationalism embody its own ideological purpose? Guesdists oscillated between these conflicting ‘heteronomic’ and ‘autonomic’ interpretations of the new Right. Nor was this oscillation their only confusion. If national socialism was a plot, who had contrived it? The bourgeoisie? Or aristocratic reactionaries? The Parti Ouvrier advanced both conspiracy theories” (p. 171). The “grandeur and misery” of Marxism, on Stuart’s convincing telling, is that if the POF’s insights laid the groundwork for future interwar theories of fascism, it by and large “reduced ethnicity to class, neglected the ‘inter’ national dynamics of the world system, and underestimated nationalism in its contest with socialism” (p. 173). A more “dialectically sophisticated” grasp of nationalism would have led the Guesdists to synthesize the alternatives: “global uniformity or divisive particularism” (p. 174).

Stuart is right to say that the Guesdists’ most important tactical error lay in ideologically “tightening the hyphen” in the concept *nation-state* until it virtually disappeared. They demonstrated that a material reality (*l’État*) subsumed and deployed an ideal (*la Nation*), but in doing so, they underestimated the power of the idea, and allowed it to fall into the hands of their Conservative opponents, who deployed it to brilliant effect both against them and against the “bourgeois” republic.

For this author, the most valuable contribution of Stuart’s book is its corrective to the onslaught of anti-Marxist historiography of recent years that has Guesdists more or less overt antisemites and nationalists themselves. Stuart’s mastery of the texts is so great that he easily brushes aside these wrong-headed assertions for what they are: “anecdotal foraging[s] in the POF’s voluminous textual legacy” (p. 105). In fact, Guesdist antisemitic statements, as an element of its anticapitalism, were “vanishingly rare” (p. 117). Throughout the entire Panama scandal, for example, the party did not once blame the Jews, while the Guesdists’ hostility to Captain Alfred Dreyfus bore on his military *métier* and bourgeois class affiliation, not on his religion. The party’s refusal initially to take sides in the Dreyfus Af-

fair was a tactical judgment that, right or wrong, should not be judged by posterity in terms of the Nazi death camps.

But the drawbacks of this useful and learned book are also legion. Stuart vastly overestimates the force of certain right-wing organizations (the League of Patriots, the Antisemitic League). To call Bernard-Henri Lévy’s book “scholarly” (p. 139) is nonsense; it is a political tract. Then, too, any scholarly author may state his political views (Stuart, one soon sees, is a Marxist), but Stuart suffuses the book with editorially tilted expressions of dismay at the Parti Ouvrier; e.g., “in one shameful instance” (p. 58); “How indeed!” (p. 67); “sickeningly susceptible” (p. 139). This becomes annoying. He calls integral nationalism a “malign concoction” when it disavows “class war,” as if “class war” were not perhaps also a “malign” idea (p. 150).

More serious is Stuart’s loaded nomenclature in designating the right wing. To telescope men and movements as diverse as Pierre Biétry’s, Déroulède’s, Maurice Barrès’s, Charles Maurras’s, the Marquis de Morès’s, Edouard Drumont’s, and Octave Garnier’s under the anachronistic and tendentious rubric “national socialists” is a serious drawback. And to write that “The Anti-Semitic and chauvinist sects of the French *fin de siècle* are, then, understood not only as ‘national-socialist,’ but as genuine fascist, or at least as genuinely protofascist” (p. 182) is hardly less problematic, especially from an author who acknowledges “Terminology in the study of ideology is itself ideological” (p. 179), and who has bent himself into a pretzel to take every care and nuance in his descriptions of the Left.

Finally, Stuart makes a mistake in pursuing a thematic, not a chronological, analysis. He defends this choice in his preface, asserting that the party’s views underwent no change over time, but in view of subsequent repetitiveness, disorganization, and readerly confusion, this proves unconvincing. There is no question but that evolutions and changes took place in the Parti Ouvrier’s (and in their adversaries’) ideas and actions vis-à-vis the Jews, the antisemites; the regime, and Germany. Stuart places his over-long discussion of antisemitism before his (all too short) discussion of Boulangism: a confusing anachronism for the reader, the more so as Stuart is constantly comparing the movements. He writes, “Urged to support the Dreyfusards, French Marxists remembered that their earlier abstention during the Boulanger years had worked wonderfully well” (p. 113). Yet it will be pages more before we find out about this “abstention,” which, in any case, is the wrong term altogether to apply to the Guesdist stance vis-à-vis Boulangism.

In sum, it would have made for a far better work if the author had elected a historical presentation, and showed the Guesdists becoming unified socialists in the same decades as their adversaries, the *nationaux* of the 1880s, were evolving into the violently anti-Marxist and anti-internationalist *nationalistes* of the 1890s.

STEVEN ENGLUND

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VIRGINIA WEST LUNSFORD. *Piracy and Privateering in the Golden Age Netherlands*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2005. Pp. xvi, 354. \$69.95.

Nothing, it seems, fires the popular imagination like pirates. Made popular by novels and movies, the swash-buckling stories of pirates and piracy find a ready audience in students these days. I need only consider the countless term papers on Henry Morgan, Edward Teach, and even Francis Drake to attest to this. But few students today—few scholars, for that matter—know much about piracy outside the English context. Virginia West Lunsford has produced a well-researched study on Dutch privateering and piracy, paying careful attention to the society and culture that produced them.

Lunsford states simply that privateers and pirates had “complicated and ambiguous identities in Dutch Golden Age culture” (p. 3). This is certainly not an earth-shattering assertion, particularly in light of the scholarship on the often blurred boundary between privateers and pirates. What makes Lunsford’s book unique is its focus on Dutch piracy and privateering in a field filled with books on English and French piracy.

Lunsford begins her book with two chapters that effectively explain the difference between privateering and piracy. While privateering was a crucial component of all early modern navies, Dutch authorities officially viewed piracy as a serious crime. Despite this, many privateers turned to piracy, often when hostilities between the Dutch and the Spanish (or others) ceased, or when new ship technologies, like the *fluit*, developed that demanded fewer sailors per ship. Lunsford points out that the practice of privateers turning pirates within the Dutch Republic was fairly common in the sixteenth century, the period when the republic’s law and order was still in its infancy. But even in the seventeenth century privateers resorting to piracy had become a serious problem for the Dutch as attested to by admiralty court papers. Not all pirates were traitorous privateers. Many of the pirates that show up in the records were “perfidious characters” (p. 57) who had no clear allegiance to the republic.

If the Dutch truly had an aversion to piracy, why did so many Dutch mariners engage in the practice? Lunsford explains that the Dutch relationship with the sea had a profound affect on the “construction of privateer and pirate identity” (p. 72). Referring to Benedict Anderson’s idea of the nation as an imagined community, she sees the development of a Dutch national identity during the Golden Age emerging from society’s close relationship with the sea and with the heroic narratives that emerged about renegade seamen. Lunsford invokes Anderson’s theory, and Maurice Halbwachs’s ideas about collective memory, to show how Dutch attitudes toward privateering and piracy related to the Dutch national identity, especially by highlighting what she calls the “cult of the naval hero” (p. 87). In this regard the quasi-piratical Sea Beggars of the Dutch Revolt became important historical figures for the Dutch and led to the tacit acceptance of piracy. This general

attitude toward piracy came at roughly the same time as depredations on Dutch shipping by pirates operating out of Dunkirk. These seventeenth-century Dunkirk pirates preyed on shipping along the Dutch coast forcing the States General to take harsh action to curtail their activities.

Stories of the heroic Dutch mariners’ conflicts with pirates were very popular with the Dutch reading public. These stories were usually presented with moral overtones, condemning the evil pirates and glorifying the Dutch naval officers and sailors who thwarted them. But individual Dutch pirates were just as often portrayed favorably in popular stories. Indeed, the Dutch courts rarely imposed the harsh penalties on Dutch pirates that the laws allowed.

For Lunsford, the reason for this seeming contradiction between the glorification of pirates on one hand and the general outcry against acts of piracy on the other was the “fundamental tension in Golden Age Dutch culture between the prescribed word of law and the power of patriotic nationalism and historical memory” (p. 175). While piracy was condemned in principle, the practice enriched many, and when directed toward the enemies of the republic contributed to the budding patriotism of the Dutch.

Lunsford concludes by returning to her original contention that the line between privateering and piracy was blurred in the eyes of the Dutch during the Golden Age: blurred because privateers/pirates were a necessary part of the “naval effort” (p. 178) of the young Dutch Republic, both against the republic’s political enemies and to protect the maritime commerce that was so essential to the economic health of the country.

While I liked the book overall, I must say that Lunsford falls into the habit of repeating her argument in almost every chapter. Chapters often seem as if they were independent pieces cobbled together without enough attention to transitions and without regard to what information the author had presented in previous chapters. But stylistic issues aside, Lunsford’s book is an excellent study of Dutch privateering and piracy in the Golden Age.

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PANU PULMA. *Suljetut ovet: Pohjoismaiden romanpolitiikka 1500-luvulta EU-aikaan* [Closed Doors: Nordic Romani Policy from the Sixteenth Century to the EU Era]. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 230.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2006. Pp. 237.

In the historiography of the Scandinavian (Nordic) countries, the focus on society’s underrepresented groups traditionally has rested on class and gender. Panu Pulma’s book represents a growing scholarly interest in Scandinavia’s more recent immigrant groups and historical ethnic minorities.

At the beginning of the book, Pulma emphasizes that he does not seek to present a history of the Roma in Scandinavia, but rather an analysis of public policy to-

ward this small minority group since its arrival in Scandinavia in the sixteenth century. He makes a strong case that the roots of Romani marginality in Scandinavia stem largely from the actions of those who have wielded public power: more specifically, central governments, city councils, and state-supported churches. Pulma makes an equally persuasive case for an examination in a wider Scandinavian context. Public policies toward the Roma have followed similar paths in the Scandinavian countries. The Roma have moved across national borders within Scandinavia, such as the migration of Roma from Finland to Sweden in the 1960s. The growth of Nordic cooperation after World War II created the backdrop for coordination of national policies toward the Roma. Pulma at times weakens his case for a regional framework by treating Finland's experiences in separate chapters. Moreover, Pulma's treatment of Finland is much more detailed than that of the other Scandinavian countries.

Pulma demonstrates that, until the nineteenth century, public policy toward the Roma was guided primarily by economic rather than cultural concerns. Policy makers saw the Roma as a valuable addition to the labor force. However, the peripatetic tendencies of the Roma undermined an economic order that required workers to remain sedentary. Public policy initiatives of the early modern period sought to reconcile this tension. In the Swedish kingdom, where most of Scandinavia's Roma lived in the early modern period, the Roma found work as soldiers and as tradesmen. As tradesmen, Roma could retain mobility by registering with a peasant household or village. The rise of nationalism in the nineteenth century changed the basis of public policy from economic to cultural. Here, too, public policy makers failed to reach their goals of assimilating the Roma through forced settlement. In fact, the rise of nationalism and the growth of policies of cultural assimilation only contributed to the growth of ethnic consciousness among the Roma. Since the 1960s, public policy has shifted from assimilation to the protection of Romani ethnic identity. The success of this more recent policy change remains an open question.

Pulma reveals many conflicts among agents of public power in respect to the Roma. In the two decades after World War II, the cities of Stockholm and Oslo fought with their national governments over the treatment of their Romani populations. In Finland, the central government and the Lutheran Church were at times in conflict over Romani policy during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The conflicts, however, were seldom over the ends but rather the means of economically, and then culturally, assimilating the Roma.

The research for this book rests on an impressive body of archival and published sources from all over Scandinavia. The book has a detailed and well-written English summary. By weaving the experiences of ordinary Roma with public power throughout his study, Pulma does an admirable job of revealing the private impact of public policy. Despite its emphasis on policy, Pulma's study is also a story of cultural resilience. It

challenges the widespread view in Scandinavia of an omnipotent state that can micromanage society.

JASON LAVERY

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DEREK FEWSTER. *Visions of Past Glory: Nationalism and the Construction of Early Finnish History*. (Studia Fennica Historica, number 11.) Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society. 2006. Pp. 555. €34.00.

It is easy—too easy in Derek Fewster's view—to assume that Finnish national identity begins and ends with *Kalevala*. Many are familiar with the iconic late nineteenth-century images—the paintings of Akseli Gallen-Kallela or the symphonic works of Jean Sibelius—that draw on the heroic legends contained in the national verse epic compiled by Elias Lönnrot in 1835. Gallen-Kallela and Sibelius both figure in Fewster's book, but not very prominently, while *Kalevala* is revealed as only one element in a much larger nationalist project. Fewster is less interested in high culture than in the way nationalist images were propagated through popular culture. So postcards, satirical magazines, school wall charts, women's fashions, children's novels, and the Boy Scout movement feature more prominently than paintings or orchestral suites. Employing Michael Billig's concept of "banal nationalism," Fewster observes that, while few may actually have seen an original painting by Gallen-Kallela, thousands would have absorbed images of archaic or medieval Finland simply by staring at a classroom wall, going to scout camp, or buying a piece of *Kalevalakorju* jewelry. Building on his training as an archaeologist, Fewster analyzes the processes by which the preoccupations of a small educated elite became part of the mental furniture of a nation: "how the early medieval imagery was interwoven in the very fabric of national consciousness" (p. 38).

Finland had no previous existence as an independent state: indeed it did not acquire a distinct political identity until it was detached from the Swedish realm in 1809 and became a grand duchy within the Russian empire. To compound the problem, Finnish territory yielded little in the way of written texts or historical artefacts revealing how Finns had lived in "ancient" (i.e., medieval) times. So little, in fact, that those who wished to construct images of national identity were forced to rely on the illustrations contained in travelers' books, however inaccurate these may have been. Engravings illustrating the journeys of travelers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries became the inspiration for enduring national images. Sometimes there were comical misunderstandings (e.g., arm-wrestlers mistaken for folk-singers locked in a trance-like embrace). Other evocations are more poignant, such as the photograph of the interwar Boy Scout wearing the ancient Finnish skull-cap, the *patalakki*, and holding a crossbow, as authenticated by Giuseppe Acerbi's famous illustration of Finnish squirrel-hunters—an image dating back no further than 1799, and perhaps meant to illustrate Lapps (Sami) rather than Finns.

As the nineteenth century advanced, images based on travelers' tales gave way to ones drawn from the findings of ethnographical expeditions to study the Finno-Ugric tribes of Siberia and Russian Karelia, heartland of the *Kalevala* legends. These images were overlaid in turn by ones much closer to home and derived from archaeological excavations of sites within the Grand Duchy itself. This "westernisation" (p. 398) of national identity was intensified after Finland's achievement of independence in 1917 and the brief but traumatic civil war of 1918. Now Finnish nationalism was marked by unrelenting hostility toward Soviet Russia and the "east" more generally. "A Mongolian, eastern, heritage" was no longer acceptable (p. 317). Between the wars, Finnish nationalism hunkered down, cultivating the image of Finland as a bulwark of Western civilization against Eastern barbarism, and acquired a militarized, racist character that had been largely absent from nineteenth-century nationalism. All this took place under "the watchful eyes of the ancients" (p. 309): the ancient Finns who mounted guard from their burial mounds as contemporary Finns refought the perennial battle against the Slavic east. Fewster's conclusion is categorical: there is little or nothing "primordial" about Finnish national identity: it is "unquestionably a creation of the past two centuries" (p. 405).

Fewster's book is elegantly designed and generously illustrated. Six lengthy appendixes catalogue in exhaustive detail representations of nationalist imagery in novels and magazines, on the stage, and on wall charts. There are only a few flaws. Numbering the chapters would have helped the reader navigate what is a very long volume. The illustrations are numbered but never referred to by number in the text, while some images not illustrated are also discussed, adding more potential for confusion on the part of the reader. Fewster has evidently lived in a non-Anglophone environment for many years and this has left traces in his sometimes impenetrable prose, which is marked by a fair number of stylistic quirks, grammatical errors, and spelling mistakes. One of the most unfortunate, because so ubiquitous, is the misspelling of "skull-cap," that classic emblem of Finnish identity. Nevertheless, this is a work of meticulous scholarship, in which text and illustration repay serious attention both for the intrinsic importance of the subject and for what the history of Finnish nationalism tells us about the phenomenon more generally.

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ROGER BERKOWITZ. *The Gift of Science: Leibniz and the Modern Legal Tradition*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 214. \$49.95.

The West is a society predicated upon laws, but although these rest upon a scientifically grounded conception of justice, they are constantly engaged with morality and ethics. This everyday experience—a problem of enormous social relevance—is the starting point for

Roger Berkowitz's intellectual history. Compelled by a sense that "we live through a time unique in history," the author warns against severing the law's bond from ethics by reducing it to a simple mechanism of "legitimate decision-making and justice to fairness" (p. xiii). In its search for historical background to a social problem, this book might (in the sense of Richard Rorty) be characterized as "problem history" (*histoire problème*) focused on two major issues, one practical, the other historical. Berkowitz not only returns to the question of transcendent concepts of justice in modern law; he also wants to show how the separation of law from justice is itself another legal tradition, one that grounds law's ultimate legitimation in human will and not in reason.

Focusing on the origins of the disruption of justice from law, the author depicts the foundation and development of modern legal thought from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. Three steps are supposed to be central for the transformation process of law. First is the outline of the foundation of modern science of law. Berkowitz surprisingly does not refer to the elder tradition of Western and German natural law as delivered by Thomas Hobbes, Samuel Pufendorf, or the law professors in Halle around 1700. In contrast he adduces the hitherto almost unknown legal work of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. A few closely clinched arguments developed in the first part of the book underpin this unconventional choice. Berkowitz points out that Leibniz conceived law as an instrument of a scientifically knowable principal of justice. Leibniz is also supposed to have shifted the inquiry into law from the knowledge of law itself to a knowledge of its justifications. Moreover his conception of the science of law as subordinated to theology is proposed as a distinctly modern understanding, conceptualizing law as something that cannot exist without a transcendental reason. As Berkowitz stresses, this has paved the way for future jurists and legislators to substitute other ends as the grounds of law.

The second part of the book convincingly proves the later idea. When Berkowitz, however, erects a direct line from Leibniz to Carl Gottlieb Svarez and the Prussian codification of 1794, the borders of problem history emerge. Stating that Leibniz "is the force behind the German field of legal science and the drive toward legal codifications that swept through Europe" (p. 69), the author seems to overestimate his influence. Consequently his model of a transformation of early modern legal thought is too simple. It inadequately reflects how the rich tradition of constitutional and legal thought and practice in Germany and Prussia in the second half of the eighteenth century effected a shift from *Recht* to *Gesetz* around 1800. Moreover it might have been helpful to integrate research on codification in Tuscany and other German sovereign states at the same time.

To tell his story of law appearing in its modern form in the nineteenth century, Berkowitz treads a familiar path, from Friedrich Carl von Savigny and the *Historische Rechtsschule*, legal positivism grounded law in will, the transformation of legal science by the German *Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch* (BGB) into a technique, and

ultimately, the end of transcendent justice by reducing it to fairness and equality.

Despite some historical simplifications, this book is both challenging and stimulating. Choosing a topic with enormous social relevance may serve as a provocation for historians, philosophers and sociologists, politicians and lawmen, inciting them to rethink the very nature of modern law. While Berkowitz warns of a reductionist understanding of justice, his book stirs up the question of the consequences of such a perspective. In a time of turbo-capitalism and the reign of shareholder value, it is indeed important to recall that our society draws many of its ethical values from outside the realm of modern law.

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MARY LINDEMANN. *Liaisons dangereuses: Sex, Law, and Diplomacy in the Age of Frederick the Great*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 353. \$35.00.

Mary Lindemann's new book is an innovative work of historical scholarship that reads like a whodunit, one that showcases her trademark detective skills and sensitive reading of the sources. This time Lindemann's starting point is a spectacular murder in eighteenth-century Hamburg. Because the principals of the grisly case were all foreigners, the story offers unique insights into the world of European diplomacy and the many ways it intersected with the more mundane economic, social, and cultural exigencies of the day.

The drama began on a chilly October evening in 1775, when a Prussian nobleman living in Hamburg, Baron Joseph von Kesslitz, reluctantly agreed to accompany a friend on an unpleasant mission. Antoine Ventura de Sanpelayo was the Spanish consul in Hamburg, and he was worried that his mistress, the Italian-French-Polish courtesan Anna Maria Romellini, was about to be abducted by her erstwhile lover. The fiery Italian interloper, a barber's son who passed himself off as a count, was called Joseph Visconti. It was Visconti who died under mysterious circumstances that evening, and Kesslitz who admitted to killing him in self-defense.

A seemingly simple case: since it was self-defense, Kesslitz presumably would go free. But, given the violence of the wounds Visconti endured, the authorities had doubts about the facts of the case, and Kesslitz spent five months in detention before he was released. In order to understand the twists and turns of the investigation, Lindemann painstakingly reconstructs the legal, diplomatic, and economic context of eighteenth-century Hamburg. She shows how the complicated relations between Hamburg's Senat and the lower courts influenced Kesslitz's legal options. Foreign powers, specifically the Prussians and the Spaniards, often bristled at the diplomatic implications of how Kesslitz and Sanpelayo were treated. These legal and diplomatic issues were further clouded by the economic role Ham-

burg played as a broker and shipper of Prussia's Silesian linen to the huge market in Spain and its colonies.

Lindemann is particularly good in explaining how the negotiations over this relatively minor matter "created diplomatic and political situations or shifted existing ones, sometimes radically" (p. 77). Once Kesslitz appealed to his sovereign for assistance, an international free-for-all began. Frederick the Great and his advisors wanted to be sure that Kesslitz, a former officer, had not sullied the honor of the Prussian military, but they wanted to be equally sure that Hamburg treated Prussia with the same consideration it afforded other nations. When Sanpelayo demanded certain concessions because of his status as Spanish consul, Hamburg officials first wanted to ascertain that Hanseatic envoys in Spain were given the same privileges.

The most fascinating parts of Lindemann's study are where she brings to life the world of courtesans and con artists and illustrates how easily such characters moved in and out of aristocratic and diplomatic circles. In the second part of the book she focuses on her four protagonists and their supporting cast, giving a human face to the tragedy. She is also careful to let the reader know how her analysis has been informed by recent historiography, especially "currents in cultural history that explore identity formation, self-fashioning, and narrativity" (p. 280). Although she comments on such issues throughout the book, she relegates much of her theoretical discussion to separate, smaller chapters, which she calls an "Entr'acte" and a "Retrospective." This helps keep theoretical considerations from cluttering the telling of her tale.

Despite the book's many strengths, it falls short of its full potential. Because she wants to give voice to each of the many narratives surrounding the death of Visconti, Lindemann emphasizes the indeterminate nature of "egodocuments" and chooses not to offer a definitive conclusion of her own. As she puts it, "In examining the construction and function of these narratives, we are not seeking to discover 'what really happened,' for in a very real sense we can never know and 'what really happened' was multiple; it happened differently for everyone involved" (p. 39). Inevitably this leads to repetitions within the text and sometimes leaves the reader feeling disoriented.

These are difficult issues for any historian. The reader longs for a coherent and satisfying narrative, but the sad fact is that the historical documents do not line up as neatly as we would like, and a tale often does need to be told from multiple perspectives. Lindemann is aware of this tension, and she resists the temptation to speculate or force the evidence into a predetermined mold. She ends her lively and stylishly written book by wisely reminding us that "history can only approximate past events, and that intelligent extrapolation is the surest measure of the historian's craft" (p. 282). By this measure—indeed by any measure—Lindemann has

written a rich and rewarding work, one that demonstrates how well she has mastered her craft.

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CLAUS-PETER CLASEN. *Weben in schwerer Zeit: Das Augsburger Textilgewerbe im 19. Jahrhundert*. (Studien zur Geschichte des Bayerischen Schwaben, number 35.) Augsburg: Wißner. 2006. Pp. ix, 401.

The theme of Claus-Peter Clasen's book is the development of handloom weaving in Augsburg during the first half of the nineteenth century. It therefore continues his series of works on the Augsburg weavers in the early modern era. He is particularly interested in the consequences for the textile industry of the integration of the Reich town of Augsburg into the Bavarian state, the features of the local production and trading system, and the reactions of the weavers to the gradual mechanization of cotton weaving in the early nineteenth century.

At the start of the nineteenth century the differentiated range of weaving industries—silk, wool, linen, barchent, and cotton—gradually narrowed down to cotton weaving. Augsburg had between 500 and 600 weavers, and the trade employed more workers than any other in the town. At the time its methods of production and organization were dominated by handicraft guilds and it was in a poor economic state. Clasen makes this clear from the small number of journeymen and apprentices per works. His study provides a comprehensive description of the process of decline, whose consequences included a reduction in the number of "masters" to between 150 and 160 by the middle of the century, and the dissolution of the weavers guild in 1862.

The weavers' attempts to stem the decline ended in failure. The policies of the Bavarian state were primary directed toward a gradual liberalization of the economy, and this had a variety of different consequences for the preindustrial textile trade. On the one hand, in 1808 the Bavarian government abolished a controversial regulation introduced in 1794, which stipulated that local dyers and printers had to buy up a certain quota of local pieces for every piece of textile they imported from abroad. The government and the town magistrates were now in favor of liberalizing trade in order to benefit the whole country, and no longer simply the group interests of the weavers. On the other hand, starting in the 1830s, the weavers were able to begin trading in textiles produced in Augsburg. Their attempts to do so met with resistance from the magistrates and the local merchants, but with the help of the Bavarian government the weavers prevailed. That said, they were forbidden to trade in textiles produced outside Augsburg, so that in the end they were barred from taking the last step toward becoming merchants themselves.

In addition the Bavarian state relaxed trading regulations and allowed master weavers to use an unrestricted number of looms and employ as many journeymen

as they wished. In other words, the weavers were allowed to expand their manufacturing potential and entrepreneurial activities by exploiting looms in the town and the surrounding region. This was fine in theory, but in practice nothing changed. The reasons for this included a lack of financial capital and the relatively primitive technical state of weaving. Clasen makes this clear from his intensive exploration of the examinations to qualify for the title of "master," the very unremarkable results, and the easy and sloppily conducted examinations. Attempts to improve the state of the profession by setting up a school of weaving failed for lack of interest. When the weavers guild attempted to set up a small jointly owned factory in 1848, this experiment benefited only a minority and had to be abandoned after only a few years. By contrast the Bavarian state only marginally acceded to the demands of the weavers to raise import duties on foreign textiles.

In other words, all the typical attempts of the pre-industrial textile trade to survive by self-help measures and political demands for support and protection against competition proved unsuccessful in Augsburg. The decisive factor in the decline of the hand-weaving trade was the competition from superior machine-made products abroad, above all from Prussia, Saxony, and Switzerland, and finally in Augsburg itself. The first mechanical cotton mill in Augsburg began operations in 1792, but its production could in no way meet the local need for yarn, both in terms of quantity and quality. Starting in the 1830s there was a gradual increase in the number of new cotton—and to a certain extent worsted yarn—spinning and weaving mills. The "Mechanische Baumwoll-Spinnerei und Weberei," which opened in 1844, grew into one of the largest factories, employing a workforce of 500 and possessing around 30,000 spindles. It was mainly these factories that pushed down unit prices, wages, and the possibility of earning a basic living.

Clasen's achievement in portraying the process of a dying (textile) handicraft in the first half of the nineteenth century can be put down to his intensive work on the various groups (masters, journeymen, apprentices), the organization of the trade, the purchase of raw materials, and the range of production and turnover. It is based on an intensive evaluation of archive materials and keeps very near to its sources. The approach allows few of the specific features of the textile trade in Augsburg to emerge. A discussion of the concept of proto-industrialization is also missing. Clasen fails to shed any light on the contributions of handloom weaving to industrialization: for example, on the relationships among handicraft workers and homeworkers, weavers, and merchants; the existence and forms of purchasing and putting-out systems; the extension of weaving beyond the immediate boundaries of the town; the gradual development of a weaving proletariat; and the recruitment of workers into textile manufacturing and factories. Equally the book only thinly deals with the social situation and political ideas of the weavers apart from their attempts to set up associations. Thus the

value of the work lies mainly in its detailed description of the economic decline of handloom weaving in one of the early German textile centers.

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CORNELIUS TORP. *Die Herausforderung der Globalisierung: Wirtschaft und Politik in Deutschland 1860–1914*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 168.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 2005. Pp. 430. €48.90.

Just when we are getting used to the idea that globalization is changing the future, it turns out that it will also change the past. How much difference does it make to inscribe the tale of German tariffs and economic policy within a narrative of globalization? More than enough to be worth the effort, as it turns out. The effect of globalization in the past as in the present is to relativize the autonomy of the nation-state. Cornelius Torp shows us a Germany that, rather than following any separate or special path to modernity, experienced a particular instance of global processes. Politics was driven neither by the primacy of domestic affairs nor by considerations of foreign policy—the *Primat der Innenpolitik* or *Primat der Außenpolitik* about which historians have long disputed—but rather to a growing extent by international markets. Germany stood out not for its lack of integration into Western modernity but, at least in economic respects, for the reverse: imperial Germany was one of the most trade-dependent, economically integrated countries of modern times. Herein lay reasons for its stormy politics and social-economic tensions.

Torp's basic argument is that Germany's increasing integration into international trade caused internal conflicts and at the same time restricted the freedom of action of the German government. The results included high levels of interest mobilization and ideological confrontation. At least in its broad outlines, the script of German politics was being written by the hidden hand of the market.

The book begins with analyses of international trade and of the German economy, devoting systematic attention to the varying economic situations and hence interests of different branches. The middle sections are chronological analyses of German trade policy and its determinants from the free-trade treaties of the 1860s through the protectionist era preceding World War I. The story of German free trade and protection has been told by historians several times before. Torp retells it well and analytically. He also incorporates new primary research from archives, the press, and parliamentary debates, highlighting the roles of officials and interest groups and the pressures upon them. In so doing, he avoids any simplistic determinism and shows the roles of institutions, organizations, and individuals.

The high point and central interest is, inevitably, the protectionist tariff law of 1902. Torp shows that, gen-

erally speaking, agriculture shared a protectionist interest and orientation; peasants did not have to be duped into supporting tariffs, although the large landowners made sure their interests were best protected. The Agrarian League (Bund der Landwirte) and other interest groups were effective at organizing this constituency. Industry was divided, with heavy industry being protectionist while newer branches and commerce had more interest in access to foreign markets than in protection of the domestic one. But protectionist causes are easier to mobilize than free-trade ones, so the Reichstag was a powerful voice for tariff increases. The executive of government was divided and was the site where advocates of trade did their best to resist the protectionist tide, but compromises were hard to come by. An important side effect of the long-drawn-out controversy was that the Social Democratic Party was able to expand its support, even beyond the working classes, by becoming the voice for consumer interests. The governmental coalition emerged weakened from the tariff decision, and its opponents strengthened. In telling this story, Torp nuances previous accounts by stressing the government's internal divisions and limited options, and by arguing that economic interests more or less alone—not any other considerations of politics or policy—shaped the outcome.

The story of tariff legislation is followed and complemented by a set of two case studies of how German trade policy was actually practiced and implemented after 1900. Torp shows that Germany's ability to dictate terms to Russia and its inability to do the same to the United States can be explained by the respective industrial structures and trade needs of the partners. These case studies reinforce his argument that economic structures and interests were major determinants of trade policy.

Apart from its other merits, this book is well written. Torp develops his ideas carefully, marshals a good deal of evidence, and references the appropriate literature as he goes. Unlike many academics, Torp does not break up his account into short subsections, but sustains an argument and an extended narrative. He also provides a real conclusion that effectively summarizes and draws implications from his work.

Torp's book is not really narrow, covering as it does half a century of significant policy making in one of the world's strongest industrial economies. Nevertheless, some of the implications call out for still wider perspectives. Globalization, according to some of its most interesting analysts, is not only about economics. It encompasses culture, movements of ideas and people, and supraterritorial relations of all types. Torp shows us some of these processes at work, but his is not really a study of mentalities and ways of thinking. Were there changes inside people's heads, and in their relations with each other, that accompanied nineteenth-century globalization? What were the patterns and networks for the globalization of ideas? Can we discern impacts of transnational institutions and movements? A cultural studies approach would nicely complement Torp's pol-

icy orientation. We should hope for more studies in globalization history.

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SHULAMIT VOLKOV. *Germans, Jews, and Antisemites: Trials in Emancipation*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 311. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$24.99.

Shulamit Volkov begins her remarkable volume of essays with a personal reflection about her family, and particularly her father, who escaped Germany and fled to Palestine in 1933. Volkov considers the personal as the beginning of a reflection on what she takes to be a central problem of German Jewish history: how could Jews have been so slow to see the catastrophe? She is careful not to make this the only question, as there is much more to Jewish history. Nevertheless, the question drives her book.

Historians have posed this question before, but Volkov brings fresh insight to it. In part one, "Interpreting the Danger Signs," she deftly considers the issue by moving her frame, first from Central Europe to Eastern Europe and then, for the 1930s, from Europe to Palestine. The result is an engaging tour of the horizon showing internal debates, between German Jews and Russian Jews, non-Zionists and Zionists, concerning the meaning of integration and the possibilities for Jewish communities in a Europe of nations. Volkov's sympathies lie with the marginalized minority whose sharp-eyed apprehensions were borne out, as against what Volkov sometimes considers the smugness of assimilated Jews, comfortable in their civilizational achievements. In her comparison, the east looks to the center, wondering what will come of assimilation, but the reverse does not occur with acuity, as few German Jews draw profound lessons from the pogroms that raged in the 1880s and again in the first decades of the twentieth century. Volkov may be complemented for widening the aperture, and seeing the problem of Jews and antisemitism with a European, even transnational lens. The benefit of this approach is even more evident when she considers the Jews of Palestine, who despite their clear-sighted anguish about events in Nazi Germany in the 1930s nevertheless remained preoccupied with the Zionist projects in Eretz Israel.

The second part of the book addresses antisemitism as "cultural code," the latter term being the most cited concept in the historiography of German antisemitism. Volkov first coined the term in a review article in 1978, and it has been of immense utility to historians grappling with the problem of modern antisemitism ever since. Late nineteenth-century antisemitism, according to this approach, did not express an antagonism, Christians toward Jews, but rather signaled a political identity on the German right. Antisemitism, in Volkov's interpretation, was a cultural way of marking political space. The utility of the "cultural code" as analytic concept lay in showing how antisemitism permeated society even as the political fortunes of antisemitic parties de-

clined. It also supported a contextual explanation for antisemitism, emphasizing its function in given historical constellations as against seeing antisemitism as an unchanging, ahistorical enmity. In the original conception in 1978, and again here in this collection of essays, Volkov argues persuasively for seeing the novelty of modern antisemitism and for explaining it not in timeless categories but in the terms of the concrete historical situation at hand. Finally, these chapters offer compelling reflections on the history of research into the history of German antisemitism, and in brilliant comparisons display the continued utility of the "cultural code." Volkov shows, for example, that in order to achieve distance from the political right, the political left, especially the socialists, became anti-antisemites.

The difficulty comes when Volkov turns to polemics against historians who emphasize continuities, with Volkov insisting, with the authority of Marc Bloch, that those historians tend to see antisemitism as a "necessary and sufficient" (p. 81) condition for the Final Solution, even, in Bloch's words, "a complete explanation." It is not clear against whom Volkov is arguing, or who, save for Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, assumes that antisemitism is a complete explanation for Auschwitz. Yet the stakes are clear enough, for they involve the clean distinction between the older antisemitism of the late nineteenth century and the murderous antisemitism of the middle third of the twentieth. Antisemitism as cultural code explains populist politics, but the question of murder is a question about thresholds of physical violence, and physical violence, unlike late-nineteenth-century politics, does have a long history and a more obviously transnational dimension.

The last part of the Volkov's collection of essays addresses Jewish history proper. These essays offer fascinating insights into the difficulties of assimilation, and sometimes into the genuine chances that marginalized status opened. Volkov shows, for example, that precisely because they did not as easily reach the top rungs of the academic ladder, Jewish scientists could more easily specialize, often with remarkable results. The book ends with an evocation of the murder of Walter Rathenau in the summer of 1922, which is placed alongside the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin on November 4, 1995. The juxtaposition allows Volkov to summon the atmosphere of Weimar, knowing its blindness, as something of a golden age, and to suggest its continuing value for our times. The chapter is called "Closing the Circle."

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WULF KANSTEINER. *In Pursuit of German Memory: History, Television and Politics after Auschwitz*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 438. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$26.95.

This book explores avoidance and silence as well as memory of the crimes of the Nazi past in West Germany. Chapters one through five include conceptual

discussions of collective memory and historiography of these issues in the West German context. Chapters nine through twelve examine the debates about the Nazi past in West German politics. These nine chapters present a competent and insightful, albeit now familiar account of material that, with the exception of discussions of issues since the late 1990s, has been previously examined by other historians of West German memory, including Aleida Assmann, Dan Diner, Helmut Dubiel, Norbert Frei, Charles Maier, Anson Rabinbach, Steven Remy, Rebecca Wittmann, and myself. Wulf Kansteiner's original contribution lies in his examination of the representation of the Nazi era in West German television and its reception by a mass public.

Kansteiner notes that the "relentless pursuit of reconciliation and normalization is easily understood" while "the sustained, collective focus on Germany's crimes, begs explanation." He views the emergence of memory as due to a critical response to the Adenauer-era project of postwar economic and ideological reconstruction, and amnesty and leniency toward Nazi perpetrators, one that "forced their critics and younger competitors to return to the sins of the past and use them as political leverage." Over time "memory activists" among intellectuals and journalists turned the phrases of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* against the practices of silence and avoidance so that coming to terms with the Nazi past became an "ongoing, open-ended obligation." Yet Kansteiner's initial hypothesis begs the question as to why the avoidance of the Adenauer era produced "memory dissidents" rather than yet more avoidance and silence. Here his causal argument would have been more convincing had he examined how the consequences of World War II, the Allied occupation and the "multiple restorations" of past political traditions after 1945 and 1949 contributed to the eventual emergence of memory of the crimes of the Nazi regime in West German intellectual and political life.

The three middle chapters dealing with West German and then German television contain the book's key contribution. Kansteiner examines the historical documentaries produced by West Germany's two public television stations, ARD and even more so ZDF. ARD and ZDF began broadcasting in 1954 and 1963 respectively. From 1963 to 1993, ZDF alone broadcast over 1,200 programs about World War II, the legacy of National Socialism, and the Holocaust. Kansteiner views the programs as further evidence that the history of West German memory is a history of its "normalization," that is, a story of "elaborate avoidance and selective confrontation." In the realm of television that meant "marginalization of self-critical historical representation in off-peak hours, directed at specific, historical minded, minority audiences and ever more sensational revelations about the Führer in more commercially driven prime-time programming." During the 1960s and 1970s, when German historians had begun their study of perpetrators and the bureaucracy of genocide, "television images of the 'Final Solution'

were still 'out of focus' providing only indirect and deflected glimpses of the Holocaust" (p. 114).

The situation changed somewhat in the 1980s, yet despite programs that explored the fate of victims, "according to its television image in the Federal Republic, the Holocaust was a crime without perpetrators and bystanders, at least until the early 1990s" (p. 122). Yet based on audience ratings and market research, Kansteiner also concludes that during the 1980s there were television programs that dealt with the Holocaust itself and that a "considerable portion of the German population" was "surprisingly willing to confront the national legacy of shame and acknowledge the suffering of the victims." Thus, at least for the 1980s and early 1990s, he calls for a revision of an image of a public disinterested in such critical historical works. Kansteiner renders a mixed verdict on the work of Guido Knopp, the most prominent of West German producers of historical documentaries on the Nazi era. He produced works dealing with the crimes of the Nazi regime yet also limited his focus on perpetrators to Adolf Hitler and his high-ranking associates while neglecting to examine the role of other perpetrators and bystanders.

Since the invention of radio and television, and with them the emergence of market research and audience-rating systems, intellectual and cultural historians have had the opportunity, and in my view also the obligation, to incorporate the crude quantitative measures of mass opinion into our conventional tools of close readings of texts and images in order to better address classic questions about text, impact, and reception. Kansteiner's book is a valuable example of an effort at methodological integrations that should play a significant role in the writing of modern and contemporary intellectual and cultural history.

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KLAUS HENTSCHEL. *Die Mentalität deutscher Physiker in der frühen Nachkriegszeit (1945–1949)*. (Studien zur Wissenschafts- und Universitätsgeschichte, number 11.) Heidelberg: Synchron. 2005. Pp. 191. €24.80.

The historian of science Klaus Hentschel applies methods from the history of mentalities, which usually covers long chronological periods, to five years from the recent history of German physics. His approach works despite the short time period because of the extremity of the time in question, the author's broad knowledge of the rich sources, and his subtle interpretation of them.

The book begins with a discussion of external perspectives on German physicists in the immediate post-World War II period, often from former colleagues who had been forced to leave Germany at the start of the National Socialist period. Hentschel emphasizes the gulf between these two groups of scientists, who talked past each other and failed to grasp, let alone appreciate, the other's standpoint. Thus in June of 1945, the physicist Ernst Brüche wrote in his diary, "We do not un-

derstand the Americans, and they do not understand us . . . We will have to continue working and trying to court them, so that they see that we were not all Nazis and that it is in their own best interest not to make the same mistake with the Germans that we made with the Jews" (p. 31; translation by reviewer).

The relationship between German physicists and the four victorious powers was tense and ambivalent, ranging from "fear of the Russians" to resentment of the American policy of bringing scientists and engineers to the United States to work, and including bitterness with regard to the division of Germany. On the ground, the Allied representatives responsible for science policy were often helpful and accommodating—as was the case for the British occupation zone in particular—but this did not change the general rejection of the Allied presence.

The foreign scientists who visited Germany and the local Allied officials were struck (and often depressed) by German scientists' lack of remorse and unwillingness to take much personal responsibility for any part of the excesses, abuses, and crimes of the National Socialist regime. Unpleasant realities were repressed, sometimes with surprising consequences. A common theme among physicists after the war was that the Allies were either now simply doing to Germany what it had done to its neighbors, or indeed were worse than the Germans had been. In particular, scientists like Max von Laue or the chemist Otto Hahn (president of the post-war Max Planck Society), who were respected inside and outside of Germany for their morally upright stance under Adolf Hitler, now took the lead in efforts to facilitate a blanket amnesty for their colleagues, some of whom had significant political "burdens" because of their National Socialist pasts. The few scientists who had been connected to the so-called "Aryan Physics" movement were the exception; they became the scapegoats for physics under Hitler.

Perhaps the most disturbing and depressing aspect of this story is not the whitewashing of past conduct during the Third Reich, but rather how the postwar physics community dealt with the émigrés who wanted compensation or at least respect, and the few members of their own community who criticized the "politics of the past" (*Vergangenheitspolitik*). The same scientists who helped colleagues who had been in the SS, or who had taken their own initiatives in implementing National Socialist political or racial policies to regain a foothold in academia, often refused to make amends to other colleagues who had been driven out by the racial policies of the Third Reich, and squelched the few public or private calls for justice. These all played a role in German physicists' ambivalent relationship with émigrés and foreign colleagues, which in turn made it harder for German physics to reintegrate itself within the international physics community.

The author gives a rich depth to this subject through his sophisticated and restrained treatment of several important themes, including amnesia, repression, silence, deception, shame, lethargy, self-justification,

guilt, self-pity, sentimentality, and self-addiction. Of course, such phenomena were not restricted to physicists in postwar Germany, but then and now, observers often expect more from scientists than from the general population with regard to morality and self-criticism.

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STEVEN PFAFF. *Exit-Voice Dynamics and the Collapse of East Germany: The Crisis of Leninism and the Revolution of 1989*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 333. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

German Democratic Republic (GDR) studies were supposed to have withered away long ago, shrinking into a historical curiosity. Instead, the field has flourished, driven in large part by the near-total availability of sources; like scientists in the Human Genome Project, GDR scholars can aspire to know everything about this state and society across its four decades of existence. As Steven Pfaff's book shows, this rich material furnishes valuable contributions to broader fields of social and political theory.

The book's contributions to our understanding of communist Europe are less obvious. In this, it shares flaws with much recent work on East Germany. That scholarship often displays a willful neglect of context that stunts its reach. At one time, the subject was firmly embedded within the study of East European communism, and scholars moved easily across the Oder River and the Erzegebirge to encounter the rest of the Soviet Bloc (one thinks of the work of Timothy Garton Ash, John Connelly, and Norman Naimark). The same cannot be said today. Laboriously recreating segments of this extinct creature's DNA, scholars fail to situate their work in relation to that which has already been done elsewhere.

Anyone familiar with the events of 1989 will be surprised just six words into the jacket copy: "East Germany was the first domino," Pfaff asserts; of course, it was one of the last. On the very first page, we find one error of fact (a reference to the Solidarity movement of 1979–1980) and two of interpretation (that Hungarian communists "promot[ed] opposition forces," and that Polish "anti-regime forces" sought a political pact, cementing "a transition that had already been in the making"). A flip to the bibliography helps explain the problem: the author has consulted almost no work since 1998 that is not about the GDR. To say the least, Pfaff lacks the evidence to assert that "East Germany stands out as a unique case: an instance of a political order collapsing under the weight of popular pressure without large-scale violence of any kind" (p. 7).

The core of the book is, however, a valuable contribution to social movement theory. Pfaff transforms the somewhat simple "exit, voice, and loyalty" model developed decades ago by Albert O. Hirschman, showing that the availability of exit (emigration) does not necessarily inhibit voice (protest) but can stimulate it, as it exposes regime vulnerability while also lowering the

costs of protest. The dynamics of the exit-voice relationship are indeed complex, and Pfaff delineates them with skill—though he is not the first to notice this effect. The tightly controlled expulsion of malcontents from 1961 onward helped to create a passive, “niche” society. For the most part (Wolf Biermann being a notable exception in 1976), those who left did so quietly. Only in the later 1980s did a growing number “noisily” demand the right to leave. This development centered on Leipzig, where dissidents came to realize, in 1988–1989, that would-be emigrants were not a threat to opposition (as Hirschman, and common sense, would have told them) but its ally. This could happen in part—though Pfaff unfortunately does not recognize this—because dissidents like Wolfgang Templin or Jochen Lässig realized that emigration, too, was a human right, and within their purview. Another key factor unexplored in this book was the effort of Templin, and of Thomas Rudolph in Leipzig, to form cross-border networks with their counterparts to the East. One wishes that Pfaff had looked where his subjects did; the study would have been much the richer for it.

Pfaff's work is typical also of social science work on communism's fall in that it is rather foreshortened. He does devote considerable space to mapping out patterns of emigration across the life of the GDR and explores the emergence of opposition in Leipzig. But very quickly it is October 1989, and we are witnessing the “miracle of Leipzig,” a term Pfaff uses repeatedly to characterize the demonstration on October 9, when expected police/army repression failed to materialize. Had Pfaff devoted more attention to the growth of civic networks as an explanation for Leipzigers' courage on that fateful Monday, the revolution would have seemed less miraculous.

Pfaff's book offers more than its title would suggest. Two chapters near the end move tangentially off from the study of exit-voice dynamics to consider other important questions of the fall of East Germany. First, Pfaff shows why the regime did not (could not) employ a Tiananmen solution on October 9, as exit eroded the confidence of regional bosses. Next, he analyzes the anemic support for GDR opposition groups like Neue Forum in free elections in 1990—the most spectacular failure of erstwhile revolutionaries anywhere in the region. Pfaff argues that Neue Forum represented a loyalist voice, seeking to reform the GDR and fearful of street or factory protests. This conclusion will not surprise GDR scholars, yet the accompanying study of the social composition of Neue Forum lends it new dimensions. A brief comparison to the transformation of Czech dissident elites during the Velvet Revolution, moreover, illustrates the value of placing the belated East German revolution within its proper context. Such a widened scope, employed consistently, would have greatly increased the impact of this study.

PADRAIC KENNEY
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RONALD K. DELPH, MICHELLE M. FONTAINE, and JOHN JEFFRIES MARTIN, editors. *Heresy, Culture, and Religion in Early Modern Italy: Contexts and Contestations*. (Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, number 76.) Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 265. \$49.95.

In the not too distant past, historical treatments of the religious landscape of early modern Italy emphasized broad oppositional categories: reformer and heretic, repression and tolerance, innovation and retrogression, Reformation and Counter Reformation. As the introduction to this collection of essays suggests, its editors see their volume as underlining the inadequacy of such seductively simple visions, and replacing them with “a religious map of Italy . . . full of contradictions, inconsistencies and contestations” (p. 5).

The volume is divided into three parts, comprising twelve chapters, an introduction, and an epilogue. Inevitably, as is the case in these sorts of collections, there is a certain unevenness among the various essays, and in their respective quality. One of the strengths of the collection, however, is that it brings together many of the most important scholars of early modern Italian religion from both North America and Italy, some of whose work appears here for the first time in English translation.

The first section, “Reformers and Heretics: New Perspectives,” examines the appeal of new, heretical doctrines and ideas in Italy and the diverse ecclesiastical responses to their spread. The first essay is by the important Italian Reformation scholar, Massimo Firpo, who discusses the artist Lorenzo Lotto's ambiguous religious identity in the context of the reform tendencies among Venice's artisanal and laboring classes. Firpo has already published a book-length study on this topic, so the chief contribution of this essay is to make his findings available to an English-speaking audience.

Essays by Michelle Fontaine and Paul Murphy complement each other nicely as both challenge the monochromatic image of intransigent ecclesiastics crusading against heretics. Fontaine shows how Bishop Egidio Foscarini confronted heresy in Modena, which was famed as a hotbed of reform ideas in the 1530s and 1540s. He accomplished this not with repressive measures, but rather through conspicuous public acts intended to revitalize civic piety, such as his regular celebration of Mass in the cathedral and the reemphasis of public processions and other rituals, combined with private dialogue with heterodox individuals. In the end this “soft-power” approach was effective in significantly reducing heresy in Modena by 1560. Similarly, Murphy shows how Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga did not rule with the iron rod, but rather used persuasion and negotiation in confronting heretical and unorthodox ideas in Mantua.

The second section, “Culture and Religion: The Contexts of Reform,” is a bit of a grab-bag. It includes essays that range from Ronald K. Delph's treatment of Agostino Steuco and the intersection of humanist ideas

and the culture of reform in pre-Tridentine Rome, to Paolo Simoncelli's general description of the life of the Florentine community in Venice, to Marion Leathers Kuntz's discussion of Saint Mark and Moses as symbolic representations of the doge as the supreme arbiter of Venetian justice. Of special note is Paul F. Grendler's essay on humanist Gasparo Contarini's experience at the University of Padua, which weaves individual and institutional history together seamlessly. Grendler shows the importance of the university in providing a solid and predictable educational environment for the sons of Venice's patrician elite, and the degree to which the Venetian state was engaged in the support, promotion, and oversight of the institution.

The last section, "The Vicissitudes of Repression," is the most coherent and insightful of the book. It examines the growth of both a culture and the institutions of repression in the peninsula in the second half of the sixteenth century and beyond. These essays show how the mechanisms of repression of heretical ideas functioned, and the unevenness and the nonlinear way in which Rome attempted to implement Tridentine reforms.

Gigliola Fragnito, who has published extensively on ecclesiastical censorship, examines the treatment of Cardinal Contarini's works by the Congregation of the Index. She uses the vicissitudes of Contarini's work as a window onto Rome's unsuccessful attempts at creating an *Index expurgatorius*, or a "catalogue of corrections," which would have bowdlerized banned books so that they could be reissued. Her essay suggests the difficulty and confusion faced by local censors in response to shifting directives from Rome, which ultimately led to many books remaining unexpurgated and thus effectively out of circulation in Italy for centuries.

The final essay is a fascinating study by Anne Jacobsen Schutte based on the records of the Congregation of the Council, which was created in the final session of the Council of Trent to address the problem of involuntary monachization. One of her most surprising findings is that, contrary to the extensive historical literature on early modern women religious, more boys than girls were forced into religious orders. Schutte also argues that the persistence of forced monachization is evidence for the survival of patriarchal family structures well into the early modern era, which contradicts the views of Edward Shorter, Lawrence Stone, and others who see in this period the beginnings of more egalitarian families in which children had something of a voice in life choices.

A final highlight of the volume is John Jeffries Martin's excellent introductory essay, which does a fine job of placing the various contributions to the volume into relationship with each other. Beyond this, Martin provides a brief, but valuable overview to the historiographic evolution of the field of early modern Italian religious history.

This is a difficult book to characterize. Although it aims at being an organic and tightly focused treatment of the religious climate of early modern Italy, its col-

lection of diverse essays rather loosely arranged around broad thematic poles give it more the look and feel of a festschrift. Taken as a whole, the essays in this collection complicate the binary view of early modern Italy as carved into clearly defined, oppositional, and unwavering ideological camps, and shows how categories such as *spirituali* and *intransigenti*, heretic and inquisitor, mask a decidedly more complex reality. The book also challenges over-simple chronologies of reform in Italy, and suggests the fits and starts that particularly characterized the pivotal sixteenth century. Rather than introducing new methodologies or radically altering the scholarly consensus, the primary contribution of this collection is to bring together a number of essays that complement the understanding of the varied and fluid early modern Italian religious landscape that has grown out of the scholarly conversation of the past several decades.

ERIC DURSTELER
Brigham Young University

DOUGLAS BIEW. *The Culture of Cleanliness in Renaissance Italy*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. xix, 244. \$35.00.

Cleanliness is next to godliness, maybe. The Old Testament dictates numerous regulations on bodily cleansing, sometimes connected with religious rituals, but these practices among Hebrews and other ancient Near Eastern peoples are not the book's main concern. A better mental preparation for enjoying its riches would be to reflect on dining etiquette in the contemporary American South as portrayed in the recent movie *Borat* (2006).

Douglas Biew's book focuses on secular dirt, crap, *merda*, excrement, effluvia, and scatology. The author flits insightfully and playfully among Renaissance writers who invoked images of filth, carefully choosing precisely the right level of debased language and dirty words to match the subject at hand, just as Dante Alighieri did so artfully in Canto 18 of *Inferno*. A fabulous selection of illustrations greatly enhances the book. For years I have shown images of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's "Allegory of Good Government" and Domenico Ghirlandaio's "Confirmation of the Franciscan Rule by Pope Honorius III" in my Western Civilization lectures, but I totally failed to notice the clean wash hanging out to dry in each of these paintings, precisely the sort of detail my students are likely to recall on examinations. Thanks to Biew's sharp eye and my magnifying projector, history lessons henceforth will be livelier.

The author never lets us forget that this is, indeed, *his* book, with his schoolmasterish warnings that we must read every page carefully, without skipping quickly past the lengthy, convoluted introduction. So, following a preface that boils down to asserting that cleanliness issues are central to the Italian Renaissance, something Jacob Burckhardt observed more than a century ago, and several rather self-indulgent explanations about why the book is structured as it is, we launch into a big

introduction that is fascinating while being anything but an introduction, followed by three relatively coherent chapters. Chapter one visits four major humanists who invoked metaphoric relationships between ordered, pure (no bastards) households and ideal, pure (justly governed) cities: Leon Battista Alberti, Torquato Tasso, Marco Foscarini, and Leonardo Bruni. Biow analyzes the texts both in terms of literary concerns about purity of language and in relation to more historical issues such as Florentine/Venetian rivalries and civic humanism.

Chapter two, on laundresses, opens with a poem now attributed to Lorenzo de' Medici that advocates the use of oil-based soap to ease the friction of anal intercourse, a subject not obviously related to cleanliness, except perhaps for a possible analogy between the lathering penis and a bar of soap as each is rubbed. The remainder of this section includes the most compelling illustrations that enrich the book, as well as an astute interpretation of Giulio Cesare Croce's poem, "La Filippa da Calcara, who goes searching to do laundry." The enterprising Croce strolled around the public squares of his native Bologna, plucking his lyre while reading sections of the poem and stopping frequently to hawk pamphlet copies of his recitations. And there is so much more: the laundress who directed Niccolò Machiavelli to a swinish prostitute, the super clean washerwoman/cook who served the fastidious Benvenuto Cellini, and Nausikaa who cleansed Odysseus in preparation for his return to civil society, to name just three vignettes.

The third and last chapter turns to the literature of latrines and latrine cleaners, opening with Saint Thomas Aquinas's "theodicy of shit" and moving right along to a lengthy tour of Dante's *Inferno*, where of course, filth abounds. Hell is Satan's privy, his personal cesspool, and he wallows in the muck exuding from residents trapped in its bowels, with no hope or intent of ever cleaning up anything. The flatterers, in modern parlance the brown noses and ass kissers, have rendered pure words impure and so they are in for the poet's harshest condemnation, for it is good to use base words for base deeds. Next, we come to Giovanni Boccaccio, a master of latrine literature, who turns Dante upside down as he dumps the recipients of flattery into literal and figurative privies. The latrine's shape, that of the vagina, then leads to the *Corbaccio*, wherein the misogynous fabric of male-authored appeals to cleanliness and purity becomes explicit. The journey continues.

Readers looking for a chronological history of changing attitudes toward cleanliness will not find it in this volume, nor should anyone expect to learn about the wages of real washerwomen or actual latrine cleaners, their numbers, or their quality of life. The book will not serve as a model for the next generation of doctoral dissertations. But it is a brilliant work, an orgy of intelligence and imagination, written by a professor of

languages and literature yet accessible and important for historians of the Italian Renaissance.

RUDOLPH M. BELL
Rutgers University

MARIO BIAGIOLI. *Galileo's Instruments of Credit: Telescopes, Images, Secrecy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. 302. \$35.00.

This book is informed by interpretive frameworks developed in recent decades that view "science" not as progressively attained, universally valid truth but rather as locally constructed, contingent knowledge that acquires validation as the result of social processes. Within such frameworks, theoretical models such as Actor Network Theory (ANT) and the Sociology of Scientific Knowledge (SSK) have shaped wide-ranging discussions and investigations of particular historical cases. Mario Biagioli reexamines several well-known episodes in the career of a canonical figure in the history of science, while carrying on a thoughtful dialogue with such models. He continues and expands his previous work (*Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism* [1993]), by minutely examining Galileo Galilei's early career from his construction of a telescope and discovery of the moons of Jupiter in 1609–1610 to his censure in 1616 by the Holy Office in Rome. Biagioli focuses on issues of authorship, authority, and credit, including an extended discussion of the economy of print.

Paying careful attention to precise chronology, Biagioli investigates the process whereby Galileo acquired credit and authority from his discovery of the "Medicean Stars." The professor of mathematics at Padua quickly sought and received an endorsement of his new discovery from Johannes Kepler before the eminent astronomer, lacking the telescope, was actually able to confirm it with his own eyes. Kepler's endorsement, in turn, facilitated the Medici family's series of partial commitments to the "stars" as commemorative of themselves until they reached the point at which turning back would involve greater risk (of losing face) than going forward. By a careful study of the timing of extant letters and information from other documents, Biagioli shows the central importance of geographic distance to Galileo's ability to acquire authority and credit for his discoveries. He also shows that Galileo was interested in keeping a monopoly on his telescope, and thus on the future discoveries that it promised. To his Galilean discussion, Biagioli appends a treatment of the correspondence of Henry Oldenburg and the Royal Society of London to show that geographical distance (and thus lack of direct knowledge) was crucial to that Society's growing authority. Through these two case studies, Biagioli suggests a revision of the distinction between local and nonlocal knowledge. Distance, he argues, might be considered "neither as a problem nor as a resource, but rather as part of the conditions of possibility of knowledge" (p. 3).

Turning to a much less studied episode, Biagioli mi-

nutely examines the 1612 dispute between Galileo and the Jesuit astronomer, Christoph Scheiner concerning sunspots. He admirably reconstructs their diverse intellectual contexts. The two protagonists spoke to very different audiences, which, Biagioli shows, influenced their argumentation. At the center of this discussion, however, is their very different use of visual images. Scheiner, defending the incorruptibility of the heavens, denied that the black spots were on the sun, and posited that they were the shadows of opaque bodies circling the sun. Galileo, in contrast, declined to speculate concerning the nature of sunspots, but insisted that they were on the sun's surface. Biagioli provides a detailed comparison of the pictorial images that each put forward to support his argument. Galileo's images sought to prove that the spots were "produced, moved, and dissolved continuously on the very face of the Sun" (p. 178). To support this view, he made a sequence of pictorial observations that became a "virtual movie" (p. 184) demonstrating the irregularity of the spots. In contrast, Scheiner's reader-unfriendly illustrations were hard to understand, but this did not detract from his argument, because unclear dots or patterns made them more conceivable as planets. Biagioli's detailed discussion of visual images and how they are used to support arguments is an important contribution to a developing topic on the use of images in scientific discourse.

The final chapter concerns Galileo's concept of the "book of nature" and his use of that concept in his ultimately unsuccessful dealings with the theologians in Rome. This includes the failure of Galileo's "Letter to the Grand Duchess Christina" to convince the theologians of a complimentary relationship between natural philosophy and theology inscribed in a Galilean book of nature. Biagioli provides a close reading of the events and writings leading up to the censure of 1616. His careful attention to issues of status, strategy, and authority provide a fresh view of these important and much-discussed events in the career of Galileo.

Biagioli combines careful empirical investigations and an on-going dialogue with theoretical issues, both within the text and in richly suggestive footnotes. His book is an important contribution to Galilean studies, to issues of credit and authorship, and to broader issues relevant to the history of science and the investigation of knowledge production.

Yet ironically, given the close contextual investigations that characterize this study, Galileo remains the star around which all else circles. In some ways, he retains, in this study, the traditional position that he has held from the early decades of the historiography of science. Plucked from the thick of history and examined with reference only to his own ambitions and fortunes, he is seen in relative isolation. For the most part hidden from view are the significant peers and friends with whom he must have discussed substantive issues, the students he taught, and the rich environment of practical and intellectual life that surrounded him.

PAMELA O. LONG
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MICHELE SARFATTI. *The Jews in Mussolini's Italy: From Equality to Persecution*. Translated by JOHN and ANNE C. TEDESCHI. (George L. Mosse Series in Modern European Cultural and Intellectual History.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 419. \$65.00.

The conventional wisdom that the Italian Fascist regime rejected biological racism and only moved in 1938 against the Jews to consolidate its alliance with Nazi Germany takes a major beating in Michele Sarfatti's important study of the Italian and foreign Jewish community under Fascism. Sarfatti leaves no doubt that Benito Mussolini was antisemitic from the very early 1920s, although his racial views remained quite unsystematic until the mid-1930s. As early as 1919, he ranted against international Jewish bankers and warned the Jews that they would be tolerated only as long as they behaved. Often during the 1920s he put the onus on the Jews themselves to stop antisemitism by rallying to the regime. That the Jews should be perceived as a problem at all is somewhat surprising. The Jewish community in Italy was small, ranging between 40,000 and 50,000. The larger figure included foreign Jews residing in Italy. Italian Jews had a low birth rate, and one-third of marriages were religiously mixed. Jews represented a totally assimilated, highly patriotic minority that had been strongly attached to liberal Italy for offering religious and political equality to all citizens. Under Fascism, however, this religious neutrality by the state began to change. In 1923 and 1924 Mussolini's government moved to give special status to Catholicism. Crucifixes were allowed in classrooms and in public buildings and Catholicism became the basis for public education. The concordat of 1929 further solidified Catholicism as the official religion of the state and relegated other faiths to secondary status. Nonetheless, Italian Jews had joined the Fascist Party much the way other Italians had. The number of Jews holding party cards actually grew from 1930 to 1938 despite the party's increasingly hostile attitude after 1934.

The centerpiece of Sarfatti's study is the long chapter entitled "The Attack on Jewish Rights (1936-1943)." The author gives four reasons for the shift to an all-out antisemitic policy: the realization that Jews were not willing to give up their religious identity or to identify fully with Fascism; the failure of Jewish efforts to block sanctions over Ethiopia, which diminished their international usefulness; Fascist Italy's evolution toward Nazi Germany in foreign policy; and, finally, the adoption of a race-based policy in the African empire. Strangely, Sarfatti omits one other important factor. By the mid-1930s, partly in competition with the more dynamic Nazi Germany, the Mussolini regime wanted to jumpstart the moribund Fascist revolution in a totalitarian direction. A racial policy gave ample means to interfere in private life and paralleled other measures designed to regulate private behavior, such as the mania for uniforms, the use of *voi* over *lei* in personal address, and the imposition of the Fascist salute over the handshake. Early 1937 saw a ban on interracial mar-

riages in the empire, justified as a "defense of the race." The Aryianization of Italians and a definition of Jews as "other" were the next steps needed to extend this legislation to the Jewish community. The pivotal year was 1938. In preparation for their total exclusion Mussolini demanded that the number of Jews in the army and public security services be ascertained. The religious faith of foreigners entering Italy had to be listed, and Austrian Jews were excluded. In April orders went out to exclude Jews from newspapers and journals. By mid-year a Jewish census was undertaken. In July the Aryianist "Manifesto of the Racial Scientists" was published and was followed in autumn by laws officially designating Italians as Aryians and Jews as racially non-Italian. Once embarked on this course, the Fascist regime joined its Nazi counterpart in a convoluted effort to define full Jews, half Jews, quarter Jews, and so on, but the essential characteristic was biological.

From 1938 to 1943 Sarfatti traces the ever more punitive measures taken. Mussolini considered revoking Italian citizenship for all Jews but drew back and hit only the recently naturalized. Echoing Nazi Germany, Jews were eventually excluded from public schools, forced to change names back to more "Jewish" ones, banned from using kosher butchering, forbidden to hire non-Jewish servants, excluded from the entertainment sector, including ownership of dance studios, and from all professions requiring state licenses (medicine, veterinary medicine, law, engineering). Sarfatti finds no indication that these measures created strong resistance on the part of the general public. Christian Italians moved in to take the vacated positions. Only after the fall of Fascism in July 1943 did the struggle against the German invaders merge with efforts to aid Italian Jews. But, as Davide Rodogno's recently translated and equally important *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War* (2006) pointed out, Fascist Italy's protection of Jews during the war, while undoubtedly true, is somewhat misleading. Fascist authorities were reluctant to hand over Jews under their jurisdiction, but they acted from 1940 to 1943 not primarily to save Jews but to defend their rights and prestige against the Nazis, Vichyites, and Croatian Fascists. Despite awareness of the ongoing Holocaust, the military and civilian authorities turned many fleeing refugees to their fate of deportation and death.

ALEXANDER DE GRAND
North Carolina State University

DAVIDE RODOGNO, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War*. Translated by ADRIAN BELTON. (New Studies in European History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xxi, 504. \$99.00.

Davide Rodogno offers an illuminating appraisal of Fascist Italy's ambitions, achievements, and failures in the occupation of Mediterranean Europe from 1940 to 1943. Originally published as *Il nuovo ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in*

Europa (1940-1943) (2003), the book is an ambitious comparative undertaking. Rodogno sets Italian against German policies in Axis attempts to impose a new European order. He then compares and contrasts Italian Fascist experiences in the various occupied European territories stretching from "metropolitan" France and Corsica to Macedonia and Greece.

Rodogno's research, based largely on archival sources, points to the subtle differences in Italian attitudes and approaches that affected the formulation and execution of Italian policies. For Rodogno, the "discrepancy between the regime's ambitions and its actual accomplishments" (pp. 72, 144, 411) serves as the basis for understanding the variety of occupation experiences. Italian actions in Mediterranean Europe sprang from a sense of "moral duty" to transmit the values of a "superior" and advanced Italian civilization (p. 67). Although subordinate status to Germany and limited resources that required a flexibility and willingness to compromise inconsistent with authoritarian control thwarted Italian achievement, involvement in occupied territories fueled competition. Using a strategy based on Benito Mussolini's enlistment of "faithful vassals ready to defend Italy's *spazio vitale* against German encroachment" (p. 142), Italians "sought to carve out a broader role for themselves than their ally was willing to grant" (p. 108).

With respect to racial policies, Rodogno argues that Fascist aims differed from those of the Nazis, that rather than "aiming to annihilate the subject population," the Fascists sought to "affirm a 'natural right to expansion'" and to fulfill "a moral obligation to 'civilize' the territory conquered" (p. 47). He agrees with the findings of comparativists who see the ideologies of Fascism and Nazism as diverging most significantly in the approach to race and makes fine use of the works of Michele Sarfatti, Liliana Picciotto Fargion, and Enzo Collotti in discussing Italian occupation and the Jewish question. His analysis supports challenges to the popular conception that humanitarian instincts inspired Italians to save the Jews from German clutches. Italian authorities' actions are linked instead to political aims to expand and counter German interference.

While the Italian occupiers did not eschew violence, and became involved in a "spiral of violence, reprisal and revenge" (p. 196), Rodogno maintains that their deteriorating position and limited resources particularly in 1942 and 1943 forced flexibility and compromise. In the "economic valorization" and exploitation of occupied lands, Fascism failed due to reliance on Nazi models that were simply beyond Italian capabilities.

Rodogno contends that Italianization of the new territories centered on refashioning local populations by first identifying Italian and Fascist citizens and then developing policies to shape the nation in the occupied territories. This discussion is illuminating; however, emphasis on "Fascistization" and competition with Nazism overlooks the roots of Italianization schemes in Italy's unification policies and irredentism, in particular

the revival of liberal authorities' policies to "redeem" the populations of the former Habsburg lands in the wake of World War I.

Rodogno is perhaps at his best analyzing the occupation of the various territories of the Yugoslav state. Careful to avoid resorting to reified categories of ethnic enmity, he delineates the territories with the aid of well-chosen maps and explains the various conflicts and stages of occupation, painting a complicated picture of competing political loyalties, religious differences, and historical alignments. Particularly enlightening is the contrast between the occupation in annexed provinces of Slovenia and the occupation in the collaborating state of Croatia.

Scholars have long been struck by Italian actions in Greece and France and in the varying receptions afforded Italian and German troops in their occupying zones. Rodogno interweaves memoirs, literature, and military reports to argue persuasively that the Italians benefited from Greek assumptions that Italian ideas of civilization were closer and more sympathetic to their own than German ones were. In France, no such population sympathies emerged to mitigate Italian difficulties.

Although Italy's colonial exploits in Africa fall outside the author's scope, a more detailed examination of colonial policies would have enriched the book. Rodogno includes some material on Africa in his discussion of tactics of repression and violence, but this limits unnecessarily the scope of the impact of Italy's African colonial experience. Experiences in Africa affected wartime occupation policy in Europe and, as several of Rodogno's short biographical sketches demonstrate, Mussolini often assigned officers with colonial experience to administer territories in occupied Europe.

Rodogno intends the book as "a point of departure" with a discussion of themes that should "be deepened" (p. 416). This is too modest a claim for such a superb book. The author's detailed analysis and skillful interweaving of material on Fascist occupation set a high standard. Contributing much to our knowledge and understanding of Italian Fascism, the book is certain to stimulate further comparative study of occupation policy.

MAURA E. HAMETZ
Old Dominion University

MARCIN WODZÍŃSKI. *Haskalah and Hasidism in the Kingdom of Poland: A History of Conflict*. Translated by SARAH COZENS and AGNIESZKA MIROWSKA. (The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization.) Oxford and Portland, Oreg.: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization. 2005. Pp. xi, 335. \$59.00.

Contrary to the expectation created by its subtitle, this book gives little detail about the conflict between the adherents of Hasidism and Haskalah (Jewish enlightenment) in nineteenth-century Poland. Marcin Wodzinski includes short sections detailing "conflict in daily life" between Hasidim and Maskilim (lit.: enlighteners,

i.e., modernizers) and refers to the "daily harassment" that Maskilim suffered at the hands of Hasidim. This book is not, however, a systematic history of the strife between the two camps. It is rather, as the subtitle of the Polish edition (*Dzieje pewnej idei*) implies, the history of an idea. That idea is Hasidism as conceptualized by the Polish Maskilim. Wodzinski traces the evolution of maskilic attitudes toward Hasidism in the territory of the so-called Congress Kingdom of Poland, dating from before its formal creation in 1815 and extending into the early twentieth century. These attitudes were marked by an initial relative lack of attention to Hasidism because it was regarded by Maskilim as a marginal phenomenon in Jewish society. In the 1840s Maskilim saw Hasidim first as competitors in the struggle to replace the institutions of the traditional Jewish community and then as a cultural enemy, primarily responsible for keeping the Jewish people mired in religious fanaticism, social backwardness, and cultural stagnation. In the 1860s this view changed into an appreciation of some positive qualities of Hasidim (e.g., their unity, their devotion to education), combined with the conviction that to win the fight to emancipate and modernize the Jewish people, Haskalah must defeat, through education and rational means, reactionary Hasidism. Next the Hasidim were taken to be a political entity that threatened to win recognition by both Jews and the government alike as legitimate representatives of Polish Jewry. Finally, the modernizers, or—as Wodzinski dubs them post-1860—the integrationists, developed a fin-de-siècle nostalgia, finding in Hasidism an echo of authentic Jewishness, a treasury of Jewish folklore, and a wellspring of uncorrupted values. Presenting these attitudes in their social and cultural context and with sophisticated, critical analysis, Wodzinski utilizes them and their expression (especially in the periodicals *Jutrzenka* and *Izraelita*) as a lever to enable characterization of Polish Haskalah and to make some statements about Jewish society in Eastern Europe in general.

The most significant pronouncement in this book is that there indeed was a "Polish Haskalah." Conventional Jewish historiography has long either ignored or disparaged the Jewish modernizers of the Congress Kingdom. Wodzinski observes that this was because, in contrast to the Maskilim of Galicia or of the Polish territories annexed by Russia, Polish modernizers were concerned mainly with social and economic—not religious and ideological—issues. Their desire to improve the material and social status of Polish Jewry meant that they were essentially in sympathy with the non-Jewish critique of separatist Jewish society and the integrationist policies of the Polish government (Wodzinski emphasizes that there was a Polish government that operated separately from the Russian one to which it was subordinate, maintaining its own approach in Jewish affairs). Seeking to influence government positions and actions, as well as elite and public opinion, Polish Maskilim wrote mainly in Polish (though not neglecting Hebrew), and they welcomed the opportunity

to cooperate in government projects, accepting appointments to official posts. They also favored basing Jewish collective identity on religion (despite many of them distancing themselves from religious practice). All of this made them cultural and political traitors ("assimilationists") in the eyes of Jewish nationalist historians who admired the Galician and Russian Maskilim for their dedication to Hebrew and their attempts to foster a modern secularizing Jewish society that would be open to its surroundings but still culturally distinctive and socially cohesive. Wodzinski shows how the Polish modernizers differed in focus and tactics, but not in motivation or basic objectives, from other Maskilim. He also succeeds in proving that there were varying iterations of Eastern European Haskalah, sharing fundamentals but responding to different social, cultural, economic, and political circumstances.

Another important assertion is that Hasidism was not numerically dominant in Poland in the pre-1830 period. Contrary to accepted opinion that in the early nineteenth century Hasidim already composed a third or more of Polish Jewry, Wodzinski's critique of the mostly impressionistic sources yields a maximum figure of ten percent.

Scarcely less valuable than his closely argued and well-documented monograph are the nineteen primary sources that Wodzinski has appended (in English translation) to the book. This collection of official reports, expert opinions, petitions, pamphlet excerpts, legal documents, and journalistic essays affords an unmediated glimpse at the forces that Wodzinski has succeeded so adroitly in understanding, organizing, and presenting. Finally, cheers to the translators, Sarah Cozens and Agnieszka Mirowska, for producing a text that is both faithful to the Polish and readable in English.

MOSHE ROSMAN
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ANDREI PIPPIDI. *Byzantins, Ottomans, Roumains: Le Sud-Est européen entre l'héritage impérial et les influences occidentales*. (Bibliothèque d'histoire moderne et contemporaine, number 19.) Paris: Honoré Champion. 2006. Pp. 380. €68.00.

As the title he has chosen suggests, Andrei Pippidi has undertaken to confront fundamental issues of identity. His primary concern is with the Romanian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia mainly between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, with occasional references to the Romanians of Transylvania. Pippidi is careful to place the Romanians within broad historical contexts: Southeastern European (Byzantine and Orthodox and Ottoman), Central European (Polish and Hungarian and Roman Catholic), and, intermittently, Western European. But here is the very dilemma he frequently points to: *Romanian identity, while moored in the East, is constantly evolving, open as it is to the most diverse influences*. While Pippidi thus asks big questions, he also eagerly engages in intricate, Holmes-

ian detective work to ascertain the provenance of texts and the identity of authors. His skills at exegesis and synthesis are on view here in fourteen essays published in various scholarly journals since the mid-1980s and in two unpublished essays.

It is perhaps rash to try to reduce such rich and varied fare to two themes. Yet, they keep recurring, and they are crucial. The first has to do with the question of which historical heritage exercised the greatest influence on Romanian identity between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Pippidi argues that the Byzantine heritage, especially through Orthodoxy, was the strongest. He sees the Byzantine framework as largely unchanging and as visible not only in the organization of the autocratic monarchy but also in the way of life and sentiments of the elites, who had had their education from Byzantine sources, whether Slav or Greek. Yet he casts doubt on the long-cherished notion that Moldavian and Wallachian princes were consciously following the Byzantine emperors as models and sought to succeed them. Although the Byzantine imperial idea indeed survived among the Romanians and the princes were determined to protect the spiritual and cultural identity of the Orthodox peoples, Pippidi suggests that their imperial ambitions were more modest than many have attributed to them.

The Ottoman heritage, Pippidi finds, was far less pervasive than the Byzantine and hardly made the imprint it did south of the Danube. Nonetheless, in a number of articles he points to the close relations the principalities perforce had with the Ottomans. The nature of Romanian-Ottoman relations leads him into a stimulating meditation on the relationship between the center and the periphery in Southeastern Europe. He emphasizes the importance of Ottoman Constantinople as a connector in both economic and cultural life, and he shows how Orthodox Constantinople also performed the same function. But the center-periphery relationship was complex, as he makes clear in his discussions of both urban-rural contacts and the Ottoman Empire's own peripheral status toward Western Europe. He pursues the latter thought in a comprehensive piece analyzing the evolution of Western ideas about the "decadence" of the Ottoman Empire.

Pippidi offers intriguing suggestions about the status of the Romanians' Western heritage before the general onset of Europeanization in the nineteenth century. He makes the essential point that they were far from being cut off from the West, as is evident in his examination of power and culture in the Wallachia of Constantin Brâncoveanu at the turn of the eighteenth century. He likens Brâncoveanu's efforts at modernization to those of Peter the Great in Russia and notes that the Romanian prince also had Europe as his model. Nonetheless, he avoids exaggerating the impact of the West. In a major piece he reveals how little prepared Romanian society was to receive the ideas that made and propelled the French Revolution. Pointing to significant differences in social structure and education between France and the principalities, he measures these differences

from the perspective of religious belief among the Romanians. He concludes that neither the petite bourgeoisie nor the intellectual elite, except for a minority, were willing to accept even a part of the ideology of the Enlightenment, unless it could be accommodated by tradition.

The other major theme explored in numerous articles is the evolution of Romanian society between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, which Pippidi characterizes as a period of transition from a local patriotism to a broader consciousness of nation. He investigates the notable shift in culture, the steady, if still modest, growth of a middle class, sexual mores, the nature of religious belief, and relations between the Romanians and the "others."

The author has given us the proper coordinates of a society in a state of flux, a society turning its face slowly from East to West. His approach is many-sided and deep.

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MIKLÓS LOJKÓ. *Meddling in Middle Europe: Britain and the "Lands Between" 1919–1925*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 377. \$49.95.

It is well known that the victorious peacemakers of Paris left numerous issues unresolved in 1919. This substantive study by Miklós Lojkó offers a case in point. The troubled successor states of the Habsburg monarchy—Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, which Lojkó calls "Middle Europe"—faced irresolvable border conflicts that caused severe tensions among them and with their neighbors. Their domestic politics were deeply contentious (Hungary's and Poland's more so than Czechoslovakia's); their economies were in shambles as a result of the war's dislocations, contested new borders, and high tariffs. The currencies of Hungary and Poland faced "utter demoralization" (p. 67) in the early 1920s. The Hungarians lost much of their land and were stuck with a huge reparation debt. The shadow of a resurgent Germany with revisionist territorial demands loomed over all of them. French and British diplomatic engagement in Middle Europe was badly needed to protect its states from themselves as well as from Germany and Soviet Russia.

Lojkó devotes a chapter each to the British role in the political and financial reconstruction of these three succession states. His thesis is straightforward: while the French supported the construction of a security framework with the "Little Entente" to ring in Hungary and protect against German revisionism, the British exerted their role predominantly in the arena of financial and economic reconstruction. Lojkó's principal contribution comes in demonstrating how the Foreign Office was second to the Bank of England and the British Treasury in the complex financial diplomacy of Central European reconstruction. The powerful governor of

the Bank of England, Montagu Norman, masterminded the British loan schemes behind stabilizing the new currencies with newly established central banks. Montagu's ambition was to reestablish the city of London as the preeminent financial center and the pound sterling as the leading currency on the continent with a gold-based stable financial system. He was determined to contest the dollar as the lead currency in the world's financial markets. As the Treasury's R. G. Hawtrey put it: "We do not want to smooth the way for New York to become the financial centre of the World" (p. 111).

The British-dominated League of Nations' Financial Committee succeeded in stabilizing Austria in 1922 and Hungary in 1924. In both cases pound sterling loans were floated by British banks. The loans were mortgaged on national monopolies such as tobacco or railroads. Compared to the generous post-World War II American reconstruction regime of the Marshall Plan, interest rates of eight percent were prohibitive. The loans came with strict supervision of the troubled budgets by international inspectors along with British advisers to the Central Banks. To critics it smacked of "British imperialism."

With its sound Bohemian industrial base Czechoslovakia was much better off than Austria and Hungary. Still, it needed a British loan in 1922 and an American one in 1925 to stabilize its currency and gain financial respectability. Czechoslovakia accepted much less supervision than the Hungarians. The convoluted British efforts between 1923 and 1925 to secure a Polish loan failed because the proud and chauvinistic Poles would not tolerate outside supervision of their national finances. Instead, Poland negotiated a \$71.7 million loan with American bankers in New York in 1927 and stabilized the new zloty.

Lojkó mined British public and private archival collections to paint an elegant portrait of consummate British diplomacy in the first half of the 1920s. He is enamored of gifted British area specialists such as Sir George Clerk, who was the center of British diplomacy in Hungary in 1919 and in Czechoslovakia in the early 1920s. Well-known historians such as R. W. Seton Watson and E. H. Carr played prominent roles as consultants to the Foreign Office, as did Lewis Namier, who pioneered what became known as the "Curzon line" (pp. 259–262). Lojkó frequently mentions the "New Europe Committee" but never explains its role. The book is full with juicy quotations reflecting the condescending British bias vis-à-vis these "brutish" new "little states" (p. 52, n. 43). The Czechs were only "semi-oriental" and "crooked" (p. 161), the Austrians "docile," and the proud Hungarians "the reverse" (p. 83). Whitehall was exasperated with the jingoistic Poles who were "infected with some ineradicable Oriental vice stamping them as a race alien to ourselves" (p. 264).

Lojkó's chapters on financial diplomacy are diplomatic history at its best. Exceedingly well written, they make elaborate schemes of international and public finance understandable to the layman. This is a book that

ought to be a prized possession of every research library.

GÜNTER BISCHOF
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ANDRÁS BOZÖKI and MIKLÓS SÜKÖSD. *Anarchism in Hungary: Theory, History, Legacies*. Translated by ALAN RENWICK. (East European Monographs, number 670; CHSP Hungarian Studies Series, number 7.) Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Monographs. Center for Hungarian Studies and Publications in association with the Institute of Habsburg History, Budapest. 2006. Pp. ix, 364. \$50.00.

Anarchism in Hungary? One looks in vain for mention of Hungarians in the histories of anarchism by George Woodcock, Daniel Guérin, Marshall Shatz, or Peter Marshall. During the heyday of anarchism, which may be dated from Mikhail Bakunin's activities in Italy in the 1860s to the Spanish revolution and civil war of 1936–1939, the centers of the anarchist movement were in Latin Europe. This may have been because of small production units, lingering guild traditions, or even the lack of an experience of Reformation, which gave special effect to anticlerical and atheist propaganda. Despite his early enthusiasm for German philosophy, Bakunin the anarchist came to consider it natural that Latin Europe should be the most fertile field for anarchist propaganda. The Latin (and Slavic) peoples were lovers of freedom, as opposed to the Teutonic passion for regimentation, metaphysics, and state worship. He thought it no accident that in the northern European countries Social Democratic and Marxist parties won the allegiance of the trade unions. Farther east, Tsarist Russia made any labor movement an impossible dream, while at the same time it contended with the peasant socialism of the *narodniki*. But in East Central Europe where, aside from peasant socialism, there was not much of a mass movement, all the anarchist intellectual tendencies seemed to be present in some degree. András Bozöki and Miklós Sükösd therefore hang this sprightly and thoughtful study on the notion of a special *Mitteleuropa* anarchist sensibility, something that offers unique perspectives to our interpretation of the European radical tradition. The authors also put it in more contemporary terms, calling the anarchism that emerged in the 1990s an alternative to the libertarian neo-liberalism of the West and the Tsarist-Communist statism of the East.

Bozöki and Sükösd provide a comprehensive review of the variety of anarchist ideas and influences on the European intellectual tradition, with Hungarian anarchist writers and their works interspersed, in rather the same way that Leszek Kołakowski injected Polish thinkers into the history of European Marxism in his *Main Currents of Marxism* (1978). Thus we get Jenő Henrik Schmitt as the editor of the Feuerbachian and Gnostic periodical devoted to Christianity, *Die Religion des Geistes*, and as a prophet of a peasant socialism of the *narodnik* type. Kropotkinist anarcho-communism is rep-

resented by Ervin Batthyány, anarcho-syndicalism by Ervin Szábo. The authors give no suggestion of the extensive anarchist critique of Marxism or the economic analysis of what some anarchists called "intelligentsia Socialism." For this they refer only to Roberto Michels and the "iron law of oligarchy" (p. 241). They make no attempt to assert any rigorous distinctions between the schools of thought. Anarchism is everywhere and nowhere. Some anarchists are materialists and atheists; others advocate spirituality and prayer. Sometimes anarchists are described as part of a larger socialist tradition. At other points anarchism is not even necessarily a phenomenon of the left, and the authors cite the influence of its critiques of socialism on neo-liberalism as evidenced in the works of János Kornai.

The book does not trace any anarchist continuity in Hungary. In fact, the authors admit that, aside from the peasant movement of the late nineteenth century, anarchism has never had any hold on the masses. Nor do they make any claims for a continuity of Hungarian anarchist thought over the period they cover. The climax of anarchism before the long night of Miklós Horthy's authoritarianism and the Soviet regime was the Hungarian Soviet Republic led by Béla Kun in 1919. During those days Kun and his associates tolerated anarchism and made no attempt to suppress it. That is, a kind of confluence of anarchism and Bolshevism in revolutionary events took place in Hungary as it did in Russia. No doubt things would have been different, as they eventually were in Russia, had Kun's regime lasted more than a few months. At the end of the nineteenth century, anarchism defined itself as an alternative in the labor movement to social democracy. Bolshevism was a kindred alternative, or so thought many anarchists. It is no accident that many of the key figures in the Communist International had started out as anarchists or syndicalists.

The last part of the book takes up the role of anarchist ideas in the Gorbachev era and the transition from communism, with attention to the anti-politics of György Konrád and the idea of anarchism as the "conscience of democracy" (p. 248). The reader who may regard anarchism as the reduction of political thought to a confused morality play is confronted with the well reasoned claim of a *Mitteleuropa* anarchist contribution to the evolving world civil society.

ANTHONY D'AGOSTINO
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MARIA N. TODOROVA. *Balkan Family Structure and the European Pattern: Demographic Developments in Ottoman Bulgaria*. (Pasts Incorporated: CEU Studies in the Humanities, number 3.) Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 249. \$41.95.

Maria N. Todorova's book, first published in 1993 but not then reviewed in the *AHR*, has been corrected and extended by an additional chapter. The book's structure

remains unchanged, but so does its particular relevance for the field.

The book relates to the study of family and household structures in the European past, which have been debated since the beginnings of comparative family history in the 1970s. While the author stresses that research in family history has contributed strongly to questioning traditional myths about historical family and household forms, her criticism is directed against inappropriate generalizations that accompanied the mapping of a "typology" of the variation of household structures in the individual parts of preindustrial Europe. Particularly for the Mediterranean and for Eastern Europe, there were only a limited number of empirical studies available, but the results were generalized for whole areas. Todorova's specific interest is in Bulgaria, whose family structures have simply been classified as "Eastern European" or "Balkan" by the general literature. The book's criticism of this "traditional stereotype" (p. 5) is of particular relevance, as family history is not the only subfield in which the use of inappropriate generalizations characterizes some of the literature and historical surveys.

The other major discussion of the book refers to the image of a particular form of complex family in the Balkans, the *zadruga*. According to the author, it would be wrong to assume that the *zadruga*—the term itself being a neologism—was the traditional and dominant family form in the historical Balkans. Apart from the need for regional differentiation, her own hypothesis links the occurrence of complex households and family forms in certain areas of the Balkans with rather recent changes in the rural economy and the agrarian structure during the Ottoman Empire (the rise of the so-called *çiftlik* system) and, as others have also suggested, with patterns of rural pastoral economies (pp. 144–149).

Chapters two to five introduce the demographic characteristics of nineteenth-century Ottoman Bulgaria. Generally speaking, female age at marriage was lower than in Western and Northern Europe, while male age at marriage was comparable; higher fertility levels were matched by higher mortality until mortality decreased (at the latest) in the 1890s. All empirical results, in particular the case studies of family forms of selected rural and urban areas of nineteenth-century Bulgaria, are highly relevant and welcome, as they fill an important gap. Todorova emphasizes the need to accept empirical variation, and highlights, as many surveys fail to do, the multi-ethnic, multireligious, and multilingual background of the areas she studies.

Yet, this reader is struck by the obvious ambition of the volume to place Bulgaria's family and household structures firmly into one of the Western European patterns (p. 109) despite its original—and fully justified—criticism of such structural generalizations. By contrast, new approaches would understand models of "European" marriage and household patterns as a reservoir of "adaptable systems." Thus, some of the assumptions Todorova follows for the characterization of Western patterns have been proven wrong or rest on theoretic-

cally particularly dubious foundations (pp. 53, 122–123). Similarly, some of the few available in-depth studies (in Western languages) that analyze household and family structures in Russia and Eastern Europe (and would, in fact, help to strengthen her original criticism) are not cited. To judge by the index and bibliography, Todorova does not refer to some of the extensive new research on historical family and household structures in the Balkans published in the later 1990s and early 2000s. It is most regrettable that the author did not set her empirical results into the context of these recent studies, which would support different interpretations.

The book is an important contribution to major discussions in the area of historical demography. Its basic criticism of structural and historical generalizations fits well into ongoing research efforts to question their theoretical and empirical foundations. Its skepticism of using historical concepts of family history to strengthen "the myth of the individualistic European . . . Sonderweg" (p. 163) is highly welcome. Even if such images, to my mind, were never intended by authors like John Hajnal, there has been a tendency in parts of the literature to ignore the fact that they can gain a momentum of their own. This book suggests, as do many others on topics such as "serfdom" or "economic backwardness," that current surveys in Western-language historiographies should be checked carefully for stereotypes about the social and economic history of Southern, Southeastern, and Eastern Europe.

MARKUS CERMAN
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RONALD PARK BOBROFF. *Roads to Glory: Late Imperial Russia and the Turkish Straits*. New York: I. B. Taurus. 2006. Pp. xi, 251. \$74.95.

Ever since the late 1980s, when virtually all the pre-Soviet state papers housed in Moscow's and St. Petersburg's superbly organized archives became readily available to foreigners, diplomatic historians, who deal with imperial Russia-related topics, no longer can claim inaccessibility as a legitimate reason for failing to use these repositories. Nevertheless, the welcome monograph under review here is one of relatively few to date that relies throughout on a combination of Russian and Western (in this case, British and French) archives as well as published material. Ronald Park Bobroff's book revisits the key question of Russian policy toward the Turkish Straits after the Bosnian crisis of 1908–1909, and takes the rare approach in such studies of examining a specific topic from the run up to World War I through most of the war itself.

The author's analysis of Russian foreign policy formation leads him to prefer, for normal times, if not a strict *Primat der Aussenpolitik*, then the same basic independence of *gosudarstvennost'* (state-ness), which specialists have identified for Britain during this period. He finds that Sergei Sazonov was perhaps the key Russian diplomatic figure for most of his tenure as Foreign

Minister (1910–1916). During World War I, moreover, Russia was like Britain and France, with continued civilian control over policy, rather than like Germany with its ascendancy of the military. As for the Straits, Bobroff shows that despite Russia's long-term goals and the interruption of maritime commerce occasioned by Italo-Turkish War of 1911, Russian policy consistently and cautiously promoted the status quo until World War I afforded the possibility of revision in Russia's favor. Indeed the unpublished Russian state papers confirm the now established position, stemming from the analysis of Bernadotte Schmitt (*The Coming of the War, 1914* [1930]), that Russia's ambitions toward the Straits did not constitute a primary cause of the Great War, as opposed to Sidney Fay's once popular contrary view (*Origins of the World War* [1928]).

The archival sources consulted by Bobroff prove especially useful in elucidating Sazonov's thinking on a variety of matters. These include the brief closing of Straits during the Italo-Turkish War; the Bulgarian (territorial) and Greek (maritime) advances during the Balkan Wars; the prospects and dangers of hypothetical, precipitous Russian action at Constantinople during these conflicts and the preliminaries of Turkey's entrance into World War I; and plans to incite an Armenian rising during that war. The addition of naval archive papers enables the author to present the interplay of Sazonov and the Ministry of the Marine regarding the Liman von Sanders affair, naval rearmament in general, and dreadnaught acquisition in particular. The Russian and French Foreign Ministry documents also show the degree to which neither the memoirs of the French ambassador Maurice Paléologue nor those of Sazonov are completely reliable concerning the importance of the Straits in the latter's calculations during World War I and French-Russian negotiations at that time regarding a possible Russian occupation of Constantinople. The endnotes are replete as well with useful information with respect to the voluminous published diplomatic sources, some of which are incomplete.

The reader need not agree with all of Bobroff's conclusions to appreciate his effort. Without raising the parallel problem of whether the Russian high command made its essential mistake in World War I by dividing its forces on the Eastern Front evenly, rather than concentrating at the start on either Germany or Austria-Hungary, Bobroff contends that the Straits-driven diversion of Russian forces against the Ottoman Empire had a fatal effect upon the Russian war effort and thus helped to bring down the empire. In this regard, "what most scholars have seen as one of his [Sazonov's] greatest successes—obtaining [via the 1915 Treaty of London] British and French agreement for Russia to acquire the Straits and Constantinople at the end of the war—was, in fact, his greatest failure" (pp. 152–153). I would think that such a bold assertion might require evidence that the Entente had a genuine chance to obtain a separate peace with the Porte or that the deployment of all of Russia's available troops and resources on the Austro-

Hungarian and German fronts could have prevented Russia's collapse from within during the war. However, Bobroff clarifies that his strategic judgments are just that. His organization is tight, his writing crisp, and his source base massive, thorough, and meticulously documented. His book is an excellent addition to our the historical literature on early twentieth-century Russian foreign policy, for which the Turkish Straits, as well as the Austro-German Alliance, the Balkan cauldron, Central Asia, East Asia, and the military and naval arms races proved to be such difficult issues.

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MICHAEL OCCLESHAW. *Dances in Deep Shadows: The Clandestine War in Russia, 1917–20*. New York: Carroll and Graf. 2006. Pp. xxiii, 360. \$26.00.

Russia in the period from 1917 to 1920 was in chaos, suffering from a number of crippling events: the aftermath of World War I, the upheaval of revolution, and the complications to the latter caused by the Allied intervention. This has led to an odd historiography. For those interested in World War I, the events in Russia after 1917 emerge only briefly, in the context of the impact of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on the battles on the Western front. For specialists interested in the Bolshevik Revolution, after 1917 World War I is increasingly irrelevant to the story of the establishment of the Soviet state. It is only the question of the Allied intervention that brings these two separate worlds into contact, and this only for the period until the end of World War I. After that time, the intervention is subsumed in another historiography dealing with the creation of a new world order in the aftermath of the war.

This is unfortunate, for the reality of the situation in Russia was all of one piece, and the fragmented nature of the historical studies dealing with it does not permit it to be understood in all its complexity. Michael Occleshaw provides an innovative way of tying these matters together by examining Britain's covert operations in Russia from 1917 to 1920.

Occleshaw's focus is the action of the various British intelligence services in Russia. As such, he does not engage with the literature that deals with the higher levels of Anglo-Soviet relations, the province of such scholars as Richard H. Ullman and Richard K. Debo. Instead, he looks at the efforts of British agents and their campaigns, first, to create an Eastern Front after the collapse of tsardom and, subsequently, to overthrow the Bolsheviks and restore a Russian government (of whatever stripe) more compatible with British interests. The efforts of relatively well-known figures of intrigue, Sydney Reilly and Sir Paul Dukes, as well those of such lesser-known people as Francis Cromie and Reginald Teague-Jones, take center stage. However, Occleshaw is at pains to show that these James Bond-like figures were part of a coordinated effort (albeit one whose aims were unclear and often contradictory) by British intelligence. Here he adds color and detail to those portions

dealing with Russia of Christopher Andrew's pioneering study, *Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community* (1985). However, Occleshaw's belief that the central role with respect to Russia of the Military Intelligence Operations (MIO) section of the British War Office under Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Steel has gone unnoticed by other historians is incorrect. Indeed, he seems unaware of the fact that A. J. Plotke's *Imperial Spies Invade Russia: The British Intelligence Interventions, 1918* (1993) spends an entire chapter dealing with MIO. Despite the topical and chronological overlaps of these two books, the fact that they are based on largely separate primary sources indicates just how much more there is to do with this sprawling topic.

Occleshaw's conclusions are interesting, if not always convincing. He contends that fear of Bolshevism and its consequences was the unifying theme in the Allied intelligence interventions (although his evidence is mainly about the British effort). He dismisses the generally held argument that the intervention was designed to prevent the Allied munitions store in Russia from falling into German hands, arguing instead that this was only a pretext for intervention. While he cites testimony from several of the intelligence operators in Russia to this effect, his lack of focus on the higher levels of the British government, where concern was genuine, does not make this a convincing conclusion to me. There is more, however, in favor of his argument that the continuing British intervention after the war was due mainly to the threat that communism posed to the British Empire, particularly India (here a point that he does not make, although it is clear from his useful sketches of the personnel of MIO, is that many of them had strong Indian connections).

Occleshaw's principal conclusion, that the Allied intervention was ill conceived and badly supported, is true, although it smacks of being wise after the fact. During the war, the intervention was a gamble—something similar to the ill-fated Dardanelles campaign—that promised good things if it were successful, cost little in terms of resources and would, it seemed at the time, have little downside if it were unsuccessful. The latter belief proved to be incorrect, and the intervention had the effect of lengthening the Civil War, increasing the suffering of the Russian people, and ensuring that Allied relations with the Bolsheviks were permanently hostile. In the wartime circumstances of 1918, however, such possibilities carried little weight.

KEITH NEILSON

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SCOTT W. PALMER. *Dictatorship of the Air: Aviation Culture and the Fate of Modern Russia*. (Cambridge Centennial of Flight.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xx, 307. \$40.00.

Historians have long been used to thinking of the Russian past in terms of Russian backwardness in comparison to the West and the repeated and mostly unsuccessful

attempts of Russian rulers to catch up with and surpass their Western rivals. This motif is central to Scott W. Palmer's book and pursued persistently throughout. But by focusing on Russia's aeronautical development between 1909 and 1989, Palmer has taken this venerable theme and given it a fascinating new twist, producing an exemplary work based on an impressively wide array of sources. A finely crafted combination of political, technological, military, and above all cultural history, the book surprises, informs, enlightens, and at times provokes but never fails to engage.

Russian leaders, like the Grand Duke Aleksandr Mikhailovich, were not slow to grasp the importance of Louis Blériot's 1909 Channel flight or its implications for an empire of vast distances that eyed apprehensively its adversaries to the west and sensed the approach of war. One advantage of the airplane was that it appeared to offer a relatively cheap and rapid means of overcoming the military advantages of richer and more economically advanced rivals. At the same time, not to acquire an aerial fleet entailed the risk of following even further behind in an arms race that was increasingly being driven by technology. Although Palmer concedes that the Russians joined with Western Europeans in viewing the airplane as a symbol of modernity and triumph over nature, he insists on the distinctiveness of the Russian interpretation of powered flight. Already during the imperial period and continuing through the period of communist rule, the goal of primacy in aeronautics was viewed as holding out the hope of transforming Russia by a "single, transcendent event" from an underdeveloped and backward country into a leading, if not dominant, world power. "The prominence of this peculiar trait in Russian technological culture," Palmer argues, "would have a recurrent, deleterious impact on the nation's long-term aeronautical fortunes" (p. 34).

Russian hopes for a technological breakthrough in aeronautics in the pre-1914 period came to be focused on the efforts of the talented engineer Igor Sikorsky's attempts to create multi-engined aircraft, culminating in the *The Russian Warrior* (1913) and the *Il'ia Maromets* (1914), the world's largest airplanes up to that date. But although the *Il'ia Maromets* was a "stunning achievement" and proved itself in combat during World War I, the "world's first heavy bomber" could not be produced in sufficient quantities to countervail the weaknesses of the imperial aviation program and the Russian aeronautical industry. Sikorsky's genius soon would be put to work in the more promising circumstances of the American aviation world.

From Palmer's point of view, the Soviet period represents not so much a rupture in Russian attitudes toward aviation as a continuation of tendencies that had emerged clearly during the imperial years: the attempt at mobilization of support for aviation by the state and the discouragement of individual initiative; the search for the "transcendent event" that encouraged a debilitating dependence on Western technology and led to the imitation of Western aeronautical achievements, industrial espionage, and the promotion of spectacular

exploits rather than the development of a sound infrastructure; the “colossal impulse” or propensity toward the development of large aircraft of questionable utility that reached its climax in the development, promotion, and fatal crash in 1934 of the eight-engined *Maxim Gorky*; the emphasis on the self-sacrificing, non-materialistic, and collectivist virtues of Russian aviators as opposed to the self-interest of Western pilots; and the tendency of the Soviet regime to draw on Russian folklore (or “fakelore”) and the iconography of the Russian Orthodox Church when extolling the exploits of Joseph Stalin’s “proud falcons” and “eagles” to legitimate the Communist Party’s claim to represent the modernist future toward which the Soviet Union was inexorably moving.

Palmer carries his story up through World War II and its aftermath; but despite his appreciation of the Soviet Air Force’s miraculous rise from the ashes of its defeat, his theme remains what he calls “the lasting legacy of dependence” on the West. The survival of the Soviet Air Force from the debacle of 1941–1942 and its subsequent rebirth, he claims, owed much to Western aid; and beginning in 1945 the Soviets recognized their aeronautical backwardness by borrowing, buying, or stealing more advanced technology from Germany, Britain, and the United States. Palmer’s final verdict on the history of Russian aviation is resoundingly negative. “Although not without noteworthy achievements, the history of Imperial and Soviet aviation culture epitomizes the debilitating limitations imposed by the Russians’ visions of development and reveals recurrent patterns in the history of the nation that have worked to forestall its parity with the West” (p. 286).

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MARY SCHAEFFER CONROY. *The Soviet Pharmaceutical Business during Its First Two Decades (1917–1937)*. (American University Studies.) New York: Peter Lang. 2006. Pp. viii, 377. \$77.95.

Mary Schaeffer Conroy’s latest work proves the old axiom: don’t judge a book by its cover. Or, I would add in this case, by its title. Once past the generic cover and the dull, if accurate title, one finds a rich and well-researched study at the nexus of history of medicine, business history, and political and social history. At first glance, the pharmaceutical industry might seem a topic of marginal interest, but the health and well-being of a nation’s workforce lies at the center of any state’s ability to thrive. Refreshingly free of jargon and of awkwardly imposed theory, Conroy’s study offers a fascinating prism through which to view not only the early years of Soviet economic history, but the position of Soviet light industry in an international context.

The author presents her examination of the pharmaceutical industry in eleven chapters organized chronologically. With the addition of some new sources, the first three chapters largely summarize the story told in

her book *In Health and In Sickness: Pharmacy, Pharmacists and the Pharmaceutical Industry in Late Imperial, Early Soviet Russia* (1994). The author then moves through discussions of the New Economic Policy period (1921–1927), the First Five-Year Plan (1928–1932), and the Second Five-Year Plan (1932–1937). Conroy covers pharmaceutical research and development, domestic production, distribution at home and abroad, drug imports, and consumption. She relies on professional pharmaceutical journals, publications of the Soviet economic planning apparatus, a variety of published pamphlets, catalogues, and memoirs, as well as ample documentation from both Soviet and American archives. In U.S. archives, she did an excellent job uncovering sources on Soviet-U.S. trade relations and American observations about Soviet pharmaceutical industrial development.

Conroy mobilizes these diverse sources to make a persuasive case that the poor performance of the Soviet pharmaceutical industry in the postwar era was not strictly a product of World War II’s devastation of pharmaceutical personnel and infrastructure. Though the war’s impact was dramatic and undeniable, the industry had already fallen behind its Western counterparts prior to the USSR’s 1941 entry into the war. Conroy attributes this growing gap, both in terms of consumer satisfaction and of industrial innovation, to the failures of economic centralization, as “the concentration of the Soviet industry . . . magnified mistakes and made it difficult for pharmacy administrators and final consumers—the Soviet people—to look for other alternatives” (p. 257). Hamstrung by an overly centralized economic machine that was unresponsive to consumer demands and resistant to innovation, the pharmaceutical industry failed despite the best intentions of caring professionals.

The central state leadership’s own choices in terms of investment priorities, decision-making, and import/export sealed the industry’s fate and, in turn, the nation’s physical well-being. Among other decisions that came at the expense of the domestic consumer, the regime chose to continue and expand the export of pharmaceutical botanicals as a source for the hard currency needed to fuel Joseph Stalin’s industrial revolution. Prior to the revolution, Russia maintained a global monopoly on Santonin, a drug effective in treating roundworm. Though Russian export fluctuated for both political and economic reasons throughout the late 1910s and 1920s, production and export increased in the 1930s. But while these exports helped satisfy a foreign market and generate revenue for the state, supplies of Santonin and other drugs remained inadequate at home. The case of Santonin illustrates well how the regime set priorities detrimental to its own population’s health. The lack of market forces to regulate supply and demand combined with the state’s choices to leave the Soviet people undersupplied in everything from aspirin, to bandages, to Lysol.

A few minor editorial issues mar this book. There is a certain amount of repetition, as the author unneces-

sarily tells the reader the pre- and postrevolutionary names of various pharmaceutical factories nearly every time these institutions are mentioned. Pharmaceutical terms frequently go explained. For example, Santonin is defined repeatedly as a "vermifuge," but this term, which refers to an agent that causes the expulsion of a worm or parasite, itself deserves clarification if this study is to be accessible to a wider audience. A glossary that included various drug names and pharmaceutical terminology would have been helpful.

But these criticisms are minor and do not detract from a book that makes an important contribution to a slim scholarly literature on Soviet medical history and Soviet business history. The work's greatest strength is its effective integration of the Soviet pharmaceutical industry into a picture of international trade relations, and its frequent examination of the Soviet case in a comparative context. Conroy's discussion of economic ties and industrial relations across national boundaries make this work interesting and useful reading not only for Russian and Soviet historians, but for anyone concerned with European and North American economics in the 1920s and 1930s.

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JEFFREY J. ROSSMAN. *Worker Resistance under Stalin: Class and Revolution on the Shop Floor*. (Russian Research Center Studies.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. 314. \$49.95.

Challenging the notion that working-class opposition to the early Soviet state was impossible, Jeffrey J. Rossman's study joins a growing body of literature on popular resistance to Stalinism. Focusing primarily on textile workers in the important Ivanovo Industrial Region (IIR) of Soviet Russia during the industrialization drive of the First Five-Year Plan (FFYP, 1928–1932), the author details individual and collective acts of resistance to Joseph Stalin's "revolution from above." Working-class resistance included mass demonstrations, bread riots, strikes, slowdowns, individual acts of industrial sabotage, distribution of subversive literature, acts of violence against authorities or property, and subversive speeches at factory assemblies (p. 8).

When the Stalinist leadership launched a program of rapid industrialization in 1928, many workers viewed the state's new labor practices as a betrayal of the October Revolution (1917) rather than its fulfillment. Despite the implementation of a seven-hour workday, Stalin's "revolution from above" entailed the intensification of the labor process, increased production quotas and work norms, reductions of wages, the influx of tens of thousands of raw recruits, housing shortages, and diminishing supplies and rising prices of food and basic commodities. These policies resulted in a drastic decline in workers' standard of living. Implicit in workers' willingness to make sacrifices that would strengthen and defend Soviet power as determined by the Bolshevik Party was the expectation that living standards

would never fall below a certain point and workloads would never rise above a certain point. When the party stopped honoring this social contract, textile workers responded with myriad acts of resistance (p. 8).

Rossman charts the ebb and flow of worker opposition beginning in 1928 and reaching its peak in April 1932 in a weeklong wave of occasionally violent strikes by 20,000 textile workers in the IIR. In his view, it was the moral economy of the textile worker that dictated a collective response to what they perceived as an incomprehensible conspiracy by the party to shatter the workers' standard of living (p. 234). Arguing that collective action by textile workers was grounded in the language of class, Rossman notes that resistance on the shop floor was shaped by workers' understandings of who was—and was not—a "worker" (p. 10). At its core, worker resistance during the FFYP was determined by workers' social identities and by how they understood the October Revolution. To workers, "Soviet power" did not mean the dictatorship of the party, but rather the abolition of workers' suffering, hunger, humiliation, and exploitation. As living standards declined, workers increasingly viewed the party as an elite, exploitative class. Essentially, textile workers' opposition was anti-Bolshevik, not anti-Soviet.

Shop-floor resistance and worker unrest was common throughout industry during the FFYP. What makes this study particularly salient is the focus on textile workers. No industry had a greater proportion of women, adding an important gender dimension to the discussion of worker resistance. Further, the textile labor force was more stable and experienced than any other sector of production. Consequently, most textile workers had participated in the revolutionary events of 1917 and had their own understanding of the October Revolution. These veteran workers claimed the moral authority to resist policies that betrayed "their" revolution.

Ending in dismissals, reprisals, and in some cases brutal repressions, the 1932 wave of strikes ultimately failed. Nonetheless, the Politburo immediately took steps to improve workers' living standards. While never acknowledging its policy failures, the Stalinist leadership abandoned "fantastic planning" and shifted toward "more realistic planning" (p. 232).

A leitmotif in the book is the convoluted relationship among the regime, the workers, and the trade unions. While many (35.6 percent) trade-union activists joined the strike in 1932, the vast majority opposed the strike, indicating that that by the end of the FFYP, trade unions had evolved from organizations that represented workers' interests, to vehicles through which workers were to be kept passive and productive (p. 205).

This volume affords new insights into working-class resistance under Stalin and enhances our understanding of the ways in which workers forced the regime to make accommodations and retreats. However, the author overstates the ramifications of worker unrest in 1932, arguing that the strikes transformed the govern-

ment's economic program, exacerbated the crisis of public morale, and facilitated the Great Terror of the 1930s (p. 207). Such claims are thinly supported and unconvincing. It should also be mentioned that, aside from a list of archival materials, there is no bibliography, and the copious notes make scant reference to the background material that must have informed this work.

These flaws should not detract from the overall value of the book. This study adds much to our understanding of worker resistance under Stalin, is solidly researched, and is very readable. It will be highly useful for anyone interested in the early Soviet years and the symbiotic relationship between the Soviet regime and the Russian working class.

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ANNA SHTERNSHIS. *Soviet and Kosher: Jewish Popular Culture in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2006. Pp. xxi, 252. \$24.95.

Anna Shternshis's study of popular Jewish culture in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s reflects both intellectual curiosity and personal involvement. A considerable part of the book is based on more than 200 interviews with Soviet Jews born between 1906 and 1930, most of whom emigrated to the West. The text is extensively interspersed with lengthy quotes from these interviews. The style is too close at times to the doctoral dissertation on which this book is based. In spite of this, it is a significant contribution to Soviet Jewish studies.

Shternshis's study indicates that in spite of the increasingly totalitarian regime and the impact of socialist realism, a considerable Jewish popular subculture still existed in the USSR on the eve of World War II and the Holocaust. Most studies concerning Soviet Jewry conducted before the Jewish mass exodus from Russia in the last decades of the former century dealt with official Soviet attitudes and policies toward Jews and with "high" Jewish culture in the Soviet Union. This is one of the first attempts to investigate Soviet Jewish culture "from below," relying to a large extent on the life stories of the interviewees.

The book explores a wide range of cultural phenomena, such as books, newspapers, amateur theaters, theatrical trials, and holiday celebrations. Jewish-related content in Soviet films, a rather neglected aspect in Soviet Jewish studies, is discussed at some length. We learn that in the 1920s close to forty silent movies based on Jewish themes were shown all over the country. *Seekers of Happiness*, produced in 1936, a film about a Jewish family traveling from Palestine to Birobidzhan, was widely popular, and its soundtrack became a hit. Why would a Soviet propaganda film about Jews' settling in the Soviet Far East become a hit with Jewish audiences? One of Shternshis's interviewees hit it on the nail when commenting, "We knew it was a propaganda movie, but this did not matter . . . Still, it was a

movie about us, about Jews" (p. 167). What mattered were not so much Soviet ideological and propaganda intentions but the subjective, ethnicity-oriented perceptions and interpretations of the viewers. The author concludes that *Seekers of Happiness* became a significant manifestation of Soviet Jewish identity in the late 1930s.

The discussion of Soviet Yiddish songs and their relation to Jewish identity in the USSR is most fascinating. Shternshis quotes extensively song texts in Yiddish transcribed into English and provides English translations. Many popular Yiddish tunes were adapted to convey new political messages. Thus, the extremely popular "Oyfn pripetchik" (At the fireplace), became "Arbeter's marsh" (Workers' march). Some songs, especially in the 1930s, glorified Soviet leaders. The image of Joseph Stalin appeared in Soviet Yiddish marches, love songs, and even lullabies. The most famous "Stalin song" was Itsik Fefer's "A lid vegn firer" (A song about the leader). A highly popular klezmer tune, "Lomir trinken a lekhaime" (Let us drink a toast) turned into a most successful official Soviet Yiddish song. It praised "Undzer liber khaver Stalin" (Our beloved comrade Stalin). A most popular Yiddish song was "Dzhankoye," praising Soviet-Jewish agriculture in the Crimea. It was sung even outside the Soviet Union. A special genre was the increasingly popular unofficial folk type dual-language songs.

Another way of boosting Jewish consciousness and pride was the "adoption" of prominent Soviet cultural figures of Jewish origin. A point in case is Leonid Utesov, an extremely popular performer of jazz and other songs. One respondent remarked, "Because Utesov was open about his being Jewish, many Jews saw him as their representative" (p. 173). A song performed by Utesov in the late 1930s, "Uncle Elia," resembled "Az der Rebbe Elimeylekh" (When Rabbi Elimeylekh), a tune popular among Yiddish-speaking Jews all over the world. Soviet Yiddish audiences used to sing along with Utesov. Although a very small number of Utesov's songs were genuinely Jewish, the popular image of the singer as perceived by Soviet Jews was one of a "Jewish singer."

Shternshis's study indicates that Soviet Jews, in spite of official policies increasingly aimed at complete assimilation, found ways and strategies in the sphere of popular culture to maintain and nourish their Jewish identity.

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SHEILA FITZPATRICK. *Tear Off the Masks! Identity and Imposture in Twentieth-Century Russia*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 332. Paper \$24.95.

How did Soviet citizens reinvent and reconfigure themselves under revolutionary circumstances? What did the regime do to expose the authentic identities of its constituencies? What were the social consequences of

the interaction between the two? In her new book Sheila Fitzpatrick addresses these weighty questions in elegant, lucid, and compassionate style. The book is full of entertaining tales of a wide-range of Soviet individuals and groups. Divided into fifteen chapters, it covers adjustment practices in the shaping of class and gender identities, appeals to authorities and denunciations of friends, foes, and family members, and concludes with imposters.

By any measure, this is an impressive endeavor. Especially suggestive are the chapters on the functions of patron-client relations in Soviet society and the unintended inculcation of the official rhetoric of Soviet leaders as benefactors of the people, and the chapter on postwar wives, which ties the demographic catastrophe of the war to women's assertiveness in divorce cases after the war and their extension of invitations to the state to intervene on their behalf against straying husbands. Fitzpatrick focuses on impersonation as the key practice adopted by individuals to cope with turbulent and often unpredictable circumstances. Men and women from all walks of life strove to manipulate the intrusive authorities through sheer lies, denunciations, and claiming of new identities, all in an effort to stave off pressure from above.

So far so good, but the strengths of the book are overwhelmed by its weaknesses. First, as a compilation of disaggregated articles published over the course of a decade and a half, the book lacks monographic coherence. The essays are lumped together by an introductory chapter that is methodologically confused, historiographically misleading, and often bears little relation to the rest of the essays. Fitzpatrick is at pains to make the case for her distinct voice in the field of Soviet articulation of identities. She emphasizes her "low tolerance for totalizing theory"—a charge she levels at a group of young so-called "cultural historians" who focus on the self, subjectivity, ideology, and discourse in contrast to her own interest in social practices and everyday life (pp. 8–9). Anyone familiar with the works of these scholars (Igal Halfin, Jochen Hellbeck, Stephen Kotkin, and this reviewer) will be baffled by the portrayal of their works as cultural and the misrepresentation of their works. These historians engage social, political, and economic practices but, unlike Fitzpatrick, are aware that seventy-four years of Soviet existence cannot be explained only by individuals' manipulation and the regime's use of terror. Soviet society was a Stalinist creation where politics and ideology were the primary shapers of the social milieu and where official rhetoric was accompanied by formidable institutions that sought to penetrate every possible sphere, albeit with various degrees of success. Soviet identity-making was taking place within a given framework, not outside it.

Second, despite the introduction's claims for originality, the concepts, data, and language of these "cultural" historians are visible throughout many of the essays. From Kotkin's "speaking Bolshevik," to Hellbeck's "fashioning of the self" and Peter Holquist's

"human archives," the contributions of other historians are sometimes acknowledged, sometimes not, and if they are, often with an unnecessarily dismissive tone. For example, Holquist's path-breaking work on the use of social statistics for surveillance and population control is referred to as one with "overtones of these anachronistic terms [that] can sometimes be misleading" (pp. 114–115), without offering evidence for this charge. Kotkin's *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* (1995), lauded as seminal by both social and political historians and which served as a model for Fitzpatrick's own *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times* (1999) is belittled here as a seminal work only for cultural scholars (p. 8, n. 9). At no point, however, does Fitzpatrick constructively engage the works against which she claims to set her own. Having it both ways is elevated here to a methodology in and of itself.

Third, almost all of the individuals paraded in the book speak through media created and offered by the regime. How much can one discern about reinventing oneself from letters to the authorities, police investigations, and public representations of class and ethnic groups? It is not surprising that such venues create the impression of *Homo Sovieticus* as the ultimate rational choice persona and manipulation as the preferred *modus operandi*. Their only interaction with the overwhelming regime that regulated their social, economic, cultural, and political activities and taught them a new language was through manipulation. Miraculously, they remained immune to the attempts to impose on them artificial values from above. This is too easy. Individuals often convey convictions and make choices that betray preconceived biases that cannot be explained by the rational choice model. Hence, we find in the Soviet case multiple individuals who rejected the guilt of their loved ones while accepting the fantastic charges leveled at others, rarely contesting the very categories of "internal enemies," "spies," and other surreal charges concocted by the regime. That Soviet citizens were immune to the most intrusive system in modern history is rather implausible. Fitzpatrick's focus on Ostap Bender, the perennial literary trickster, during and after the Soviet era, as a Russian rather than Soviet phenomenon, says it all. While Fitzpatrick is oblivious to the Russian intelligentsia's ethos of introspection, there is also precious little Soviet in her Soviet Man.

Equally problematic is the absence of non-Russian voices. As a multi-ethnic polity, the Soviet Union offered a fascinating case study of the encounter between multiple historical, religious, and cultural traditions and the drive to forge a *Homo Sovieticus*. In a book on identity and imposture, one would have expected to learn, for example, about Jewish understanding of and responses to the official campaign that identified them as the ultimate con men rather than recycling the well-known story of postwar state antisemitism (chapter fourteen, "The Con Man as Jew") or the travails of Russian identity, which make a sudden cameo appearance only at the very end of the book.

Fitzpatrick's valorization of history as laying out

facts, telling stories, and avoiding large interpretations may be excused by some familiar with Isaiah Berlin's classic division between the hedgehog who knows one big thing and the fox who knows many things. Yet one wonders whether historians, social historians included, are exempted from the obligation to make up their minds and establish a framework for their empirical findings instead of offering a laundry list of possible explanations. The essay on denunciations, to cite one example, offers a large number of equally weighted functions and motives for Soviet citizens to engage in the deplorable practice of denouncing their brethren to the authorities, leaving the reader wondering whether the state's initiation and use of denunciation is assigned the same weight as the individuals' perspective (pp. 235–239).

Soviet social history deserves better than a mere descriptive telling of tales.

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JUKKA RENKAMA. *Ideology and Challenges of Political Liberalisation in the USSR, 1957–1961: Otto Kuusinen's "Reform Platform," the State Concept, and the Path to the 3rd CPSU Programme.* (Bibliotheca Historica 99.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2006. Pp. 396.

The overall aim of Jukka Renkama's book is to demonstrate that ideology does matter, that Nikita Khrushchev was not the only reformer in the political leadership of his era, that socialism was changeable, and finally that Otto Kuusinen, who became a member of the Soviet supreme leadership, played a central part in thinking up the content and paving the way for what has traditionally been labelled the Khrushchev reform policy. Renkama on the whole fulfills his plan. The book is the result of much effort and conscientious work, the scope is impressive, and there are many interesting details. Apart from what concerns Kuusinen's role, however, no new knowledge is added to what is already known of the period in question. (For example, see Amy W. Knight's *Beria: Stalin's First Lieutenant* [1993] and William Taubman, *Khrushchev: The Man and His Era* [2003].)

The reader is guided through the history of socialist ideas in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The point of focus is the making of the 1961 Soviet Party Program, which was carried out by a special commission under the surveillance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Kuusinen had a strong influence on reform-minded members of the commission and on Khrushchev personally, and much of the inspiration came from Hungary and Yugoslavia.

Kuusinen was a spokesman for the abandonment of the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat that had been the ideological cornerstone of both V. I. Lenin's and Joseph Stalin's terror. In his younger days he had been an ardent Stalinist, and at the end of the 1950s

Kuusinen still admired Stalin's efforts in "building the economic foundations of socialism." He nevertheless blamed Stalin for clinging to the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat—that is the use of terror—long after the internal enemies of socialism had been dealt with. The replacement of the doctrine of dictatorship by that of "socialist democracy," which was the outcome of the whole thing, was the final departure from rule by terror and at the same time the first proof of the fact that socialism was able to reform itself.

According to Renkama the ideological discussion of the Khrushchev era should be evaluated by the standards of those days. One should not give in to the temptation of pinpointing the naïveté and contradictions in Kuusinen's political thinking but try to understand how meaningful and radical it was at that time and—most important—at that particular place. The author's line of argument is by the first impression convincing; however, I am not so sure he is right. It is probably true, as Renkama writes, that Kuusinen, Khrushchev, and their fellow travellers fought with a great element of personal bravery, as their opponents were very strong, and as the outcome of the battle was not at all evident. What I doubt is how radical their political thinking was even within the Soviet Union. Allow me to refer to my book, *Dissent in the Years of Khrushchev* (2002), in which the political thinking of ordinary Soviet citizens is dealt with. They had been called upon by the political leadership to take part in a "democratic discussion" of the draft of the party program. The most interesting letters are the ones that were not chosen for publication. The writers show an astonishingly clear understanding of the nature of the Soviet system and how primitive was the political thinking of the leadership. They understood perfectly well that real democracy was equivalent to a multiparty system, that dictatorship would continue to exist if single-party rule was maintained, and finally that state ownership of the means of production was incompatible with real democracy. These writers were, in other words, much more in line with sober-minded Western political theory than with even the most reform-minded Soviet or East European politician. The socialist politicians were surrounded by a strong ideological fog that prevented them from seeing the road leading out of the swamp they had led the country into.

Someone should have edited this book more thoroughly. Too many chapters (such as the ones on the fundamentals of Marxism, the history of socialism, the "meaning of history," and "methodological considerations") can only have been aimed at members of a doctoral committee. I agree with the author that the use of literary genres should not be exaggerated, but focus on language, structure, composition, and narration does not necessarily turn serious stuff into pop.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

JAN ASSMANN. *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*. Translated by DAVID LORTON. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 490. \$59.95.

This "abridged" version of the author's *Tod und Jenseits im alten Ägypten* (2001) is nonetheless a lengthy book that includes a large number of ancient Egyptian texts in translation scattered through seventeen chapters of "Images of Death" and "Rituals and Recitations," with introduction, afterword, notes, and an index. Characteristic of the broad scholarship of Jan Assmann, the book contains a number of references to ancient Near Eastern, biblical, classical, medieval, and modern (mainly German) sources, often quite removed from the field of Egyptology, and—also typically—some creative, idiosyncratic vocabulary, the meaning of which is generally clear or made clear (e.g., "constellative" [p. 54] or "cosmotheism" [p. 407]).

The translations of both the Egyptian and the German read very well with even a few colloquialisms to bring the sense up to date. For the translations from Egyptian, however, there is a lack of connection to the original texts or earlier translations that specialists will miss and that generalists could find misleading. Assmann's translation "realm of the dead" (which he equates with a "topsy-turvy world" [p. 139]) for Egyptian *Kheret-netjer* is a far cry from "necropolis," the usual translation of the term, and, while it fits his argument at the end of chapter five, this new meaning seems both unlikely and unnecessary. Likewise "eastern mountain" (p. 37) as a translation of the proper noun *Bakhu* misses the point of the reference to this interesting "mysterious" location in the *Book of the Dead* 172. And is "Light-land" (p. 151) really an improvement over "Horizon" (p. 43) for *Akhet*?

Assmann's chapters provide convenient loci for the inclusion of a large variety and sampling of relevant texts, but his categories are never really established as necessary or even as all inclusive. It is a convenient, rather than a compelling, categorization that enables him to order his texts topically instead of chronologically, geographically, or socially, which others might have done with a corpus of texts from such divergent times, locations, and social strata. Assmann frequently has a different way of looking at things, something that might be seen as a humanistic rather than a scientific or for that matter a historical approach.

Assmann likes to generalize, and he does so with statements that he knows will get attention. In a number of cases he will follow his generalizations with explanations—texts and interpretations designed to prove his points—and some of these work more successfully than others. Assmann's opinions are generally informed, but in one case (p. 15), where he notes Egyptian literary evidence that clearly contradicts his view, he states that "these are exceptions that only confirm the rule"—not a good argument. He weighs in on the discussions of the two Egyptian terms for "heart" (pp. 29–30) and the two terms for "eternity" (pp. 371–372)

with suggestions that may or may not provide useful distinctions. There is no justification that I can see for calling the "shadow" one of the "souls" of an individual (p. 14), although it is clearly one of the seven attributes of a person. His comment that "the Egyptian word *djet* means both "body" and "eternity" (p. 142) is certainly misleading, since these homonyms are generally clearly distinguished in hieroglyphic by separate determinatives. On page 78 Assmann states that "[p]rior to the Graeco-Roman Period, there are no traces of shamanism, prophecy, or mysticism in Egypt." It is mystifying to me that he would make a statement such as this with such an abundance of examples for each of these in earlier periods.

Assmann is very interested in demonstrating the anteriority and to some extent the influence of Egyptian thought on both the classical and Judeo-Christian worlds. In this particular book he is probably quite correct in making the case that "If Egypt has succeeded in remaining present in the cultural memory of Europe, it is above all because of its concepts of death and of the ability to overcome death through moral investment" (p. 86). He believes that "one . . . task of Egyptology is to contribute to general cultural theory" (p. 2), and clearly this area of concern informs this book. In the "Afterword" he emphasizes the vast difference between the "Egyptian Elysium" and both "Hebrew She'ol" and "Greek Hades," on the one hand, and on the other he argues that the "concept, that death is a threshold that brings us near to God and allows us to gaze upon Him face to face, links Christianity and Egypt" (p. 416). Another reference of interest to historians of religion is his mention that "Christian myth is itself thoroughly stamped by Egyptian tradition, by the myth of Isis and Osiris" (p. 115). These are intriguing suggestions that are not really demonstrated in the work at hand.

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DAVID BRAKKE, MICHAEL L. SATLOW, and STEVEN WEITZMAN, editors. *Religion and the Self in Antiquity*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. vi, 268. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

Interest in the formation and history of the self has flourished in the last quarter century, inspired in large part by the seminal work of Michel Foucault. Scholars in various fields and disciplines have tackled the concept of the self with vigor, and as always in the investigation of newly defined areas of interest, the deeper the explorations go and the longer they last, the more slippery become the definitions and boundaries with which the investigation began. The present volume participates in this current scholarly fascination with the self, focusing in particular on the role played by religion in the history of the self in the cultures of the ancient Mediterranean and ancient Near East. While the thirteen essays contained in this collection illustrate the "fuzziness of the central terms and boundaries of the topic" (p. 2), the insights offered by the individual au-

thors and the interactive questions raised by reading the group as a whole add to and deepen our understanding of the religious self in antiquity.

The concept for this volume grew from a conference on "The Religious Self in Antiquity" held at Indiana University in Bloomington in 2003. As a collection of essays, however, the final product represents more than the simple publication of the conference papers. The editors included essays not presented at the conference in addition to those selected from the conference, and they encouraged the authors to revise their work so as to incorporate the ideas that flowed from discussions at the conference. The end result is a volume that holds together nicely, in part through the occasional interaction of the various authors with one another.

The book begins with a brief introduction that outlines the complexity of the self and its study, and introduces the papers by illustrating various ways in which their diverse subjects interconnect as "Turning Points in the History of the Self," as examples of "Seeking Selves in Antiquity," and as cases of "The Self Seeking the Divine." The thirteen individual essays follow, organized into three distinct parts or categories that only partially mirror the three areas noted in the introduction, a difference that illustrates the complex and varied ways in which these papers can be read and interconnected. Part one, "Seeking Religious Selves," includes six papers; part two, "Sensing Religious Selves," three papers; and part three, "Teaching Religious Selves," four papers.

Individual essays offer fascinating insights into their topics, some seeming especially to push the boundaries of our knowledge. Patricia Cox Miller's paper, "Shifting Selves in Late Antiquity," for example, suggests a basic turning point in the history of the self between the third and fourth centuries when Christian and non-Christian thinkers alike shifted their understanding of the self with respect to materiality by moving from what she with nuance identifies as a "touch of transcendence" (Plotinus and Origen) to a "touch of the real" (Iamblicus, Proclus, and Victorinus). Steven Weitzman's contribution, "Sensory Reform in Deuteronomy," offers an equally intriguing reading of Deuteronomy that finds in the text "a radically new interpretation of Israelite memory and ritual practice, a program of sensory reform" (p. 135).

Linkages among the papers abound. Weitzman's location of the self in relation to the senses finds an analogue in Susan Ashbrook Harvey's paper, "Locating the Sensing Body: Perception and Religious Identity in Late Antiquity," which identifies a shift in the use and appreciation of the senses associated with the Christianization of the Roman Empire. In the following paper by Georgia Frank, "Dialogue and Deliberation: The Sensory Self in the Hymns of Romanos the Melodist," Romanos serves as a more specific example of the positive evaluation of the senses noted by Harvey. Aligning the papers slightly differently, the shift noted by Harvey and Frank connects nicely with the changing understanding of the self with respect to materiality

identified by Miller. The significance of the fourth century is likewise underscored in Guy G. Stroumsa's paper, "From Master of Wisdom to Spiritual Master in Late Antiquity," though he identifies the major change that occurred in this period as a shift in emphasis from knowledge to salvation. His analysis emphasizes Christianity's "rupture with the past," setting it apart in this regard from Jewish and pagan traditions. Miller's paper, by contrast, underscores the shared nature of change in the pagan and Christian traditions.

Many of the papers grapple with the difficulty in identifying the "self" behind the text. Michael L. Satlow ("Giving for a Return: Jewish Votive Offerings in Late Antiquity") hears in Jewish votive texts the voice of the "people of the land," evidence of popular religion to set over against the words of the rabbis. Saul M. Olyan ("The Search for the Elusive Self in Texts of the Hebrew Bible"), by paying close attention to the artistry in his texts, identifies aspects of the author's individuality behind the constructed voices of the Hebrew Bible. In a less direct fashion, Esther Menn ("Prayer of the Queen: Esther's Religious Self in the Septuagint") hears in Esther's prayer the voice of a Jewish minority community in a cosmopolitan Hellenistic world. J. Albert Harrill's analysis of Paul's first person discussion of the "self" in Romans 7 ("Paul and the Slave Self") reveals it as a literary device. Paul uses the discursive "I" in connection with the Roman conception of the slave to fashion "a metaphor for the transformation of the religious self" (p. 63).

The remaining essays offer similar insights. David Brakke's intriguing analysis in his "Making Public the Monastic Life: Reading the Self in Evagrius Ponticus' *Talking Back*" distinguishes the inner space of Evagrius's monastic self from that narrated by Cassian and Augustine. For Evagrius, the inner thoughts that the monk shared with his master were in fact not his, but those of demons. Rather than finding its inner self, the self's task is to ward off the demonic *logismoi* lest it "lose its self and fall short of its transcendent goal" (p. 231). Peter T. Struck's analysis in his "The Self in Artemidorus' *Interpretation of Dreams*" likewise reveals the complex nature of Artemidorus's self/soul, a self that is also "to some extent alien to itself" (p. 119). In "The Beastly Body in Rabbinic Self-Formation" Jonathan Shofer illustrates how the rabbis used discussions of the body, its dangers, and its care in the process of rabbinic self-formation. And finally, Edward Watts's examination of "The Student Self in Late Antiquity" offers a refreshingly less theological explanation of student conversion. Peer pressure and freedom from the familiar social world of home appear to play an important role, just as they do among today's students.

While the individual essays stand on their own and will appeal as such to various persons, they offer as a set a fascinating look into the complexity of the religious self in the ancient world. There is much here to reward the careful reader.

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NORA LAFI, editor. *Municipalités méditerranéennes: Les réformes urbaines ottomanes au miroir d'une histoire comparée (Moyen-Orient, Maghreb, Europe méridionale)*. (Zentrum Moderner Orient, number 21.) Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag. 2005. Pp. 373.

The work under review is a very broad collection of essays—ten in French, one in English—on the issue of municipal government in the Mediterranean littoral during the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. The intellectual weight of the work seems to be on Ottoman municipal reform during the later nineteenth century, set in the context of comparisons with north Mediterranean municipal forms in the prereform era and with south and east Mediterranean forms after the end of the Ottoman Empire. Only the municipalities of Beirut and Tunis enjoy attention during successive Ottoman and post-Ottoman periods. Thus, there is some disjointedness for Ottomanists and for Middle East specialists overall. Nonetheless, these scholars and municipal historians in general will find much of value here.

Editor Nora Lafi begins with a sweeping introduction that offers a rich analysis of the utility of comparative history and of the transformation of municipal forms over the period. She has divided the book into four parts, followed by a comprehensive bibliography. Part one consists of essays by Samuel Fettah and Denis Bocquet on Livorno and Rome, respectively. They focus on the municipalities of the *ancien régime* along the north Mediterranean littoral and seek to illustrate the value of comparative history, drawing on the rich historiography of the Italian cities. Part two, mainly on municipal reforms during the Ottoman era, really is the core of the book and consists of four essays focusing, more or less, on the post-1860 era. The contribution by Yasemin Avcı and Vincent Lemire concerns the reforms in Ottoman Jerusalem while J. Hanssen's contribution focuses on Beirut. Stefan Weber's essay is about changes in the Damascus municipality, and the last, by the editor, treats Tunis. While, at first glance, Lafi's contribution on a city at the margins of Ottoman power may seem out of place in this Ottoman-centered section, the Tunis example in fact well illustrates the main themes of the collection. A third, brief part, consists of two essays on municipal reforms: in Beirut during the French mandate, and on Rhodes in 1912, caught between nationalism and colonialism. Respectively the authors are Carla Edde and Bocquet. The last part of the book treats municipalities and urban projects in the late twentieth century, with the focus on the Tunis municipality, by Emma Behir El Aouani.

In summary, the book treats non-Ottoman municipalities in the north, Ottoman municipalities in the south and east, and the impact of both mandatory and colonial administrations on eastern and southern Mediterranean municipalities. Emphasis is placed on continuities between older and newer municipal forms and municipal elites as they changed, or did not, over time. Thus, in many of the case studies we find elites of the prereform era exercising power through bodies such as

guild-like organizations. We read about the Ottoman state's implementation of a reformist municipal agenda and how the *ancien régime* elites retained their power in the new forms. We also learn that in at least one Ottoman city, Beirut, the reforms did not create urban structures where none had been but rather built on existing institutions. This tendency is said to demonstrate the weakness of the reformers in Beirut. I would prefer to emphasize that the results typify the great and continuing *pas de deux* between imperial and local elites. The Ottoman state, in its essence, was a compromise between local and central groups, in which one or the other alternately yielded ground to superior force, not merely military or political but also social, cultural, and economic. Also, the presence of continuity rather than radical breaks in nineteenth-century Ottoman municipal changes is consistent with broader historiographical trends in the Ottoman field. These argue against an early-to-mid-nineteenth-century rupture created by radical Westernizing reform, whether land reform or bureaucratic development or municipalities legislation. Instead, recent works argue for gradual transformation during the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries. The famed Tanzimat legislation, in this revisionist scholarship, thus is part of a larger set of processes, a continuity rather than a rupture. In this collection of essays, municipal change is part of an ongoing evolution of institutions and of society itself, not merely a set of mid-nineteenth-century laws. And, many of the authors hold, the changes were not sharp breaks because local elites successfully continued to represent their interests.

The Tunis example isolates the colonial factor since there the colonial power was directly felt, without the filter of mandate expectations of eventual independence. In Tunis, local precolonial elites maintained a continuous rear-guard resistance. On the one hand, Lafi argues, the ongoing architectural transformation of the city physically isolated the existing elites, who nonetheless remained important. On the other hand, she shows, power did shift to the newly built European part of the urban fabric.

In its emphasis on the elites, the collection maintains the existing emphasis in port cities' literature upon the "middle class" as the agent of change. While this volume usefully delineates and reminds us of middle-class activities and agency, other forces were at work in urban communities. The contributions collectively do not pay sufficient attention to the urban majorities—the skilled and unskilled workers—who also helped to shape urban forms and municipal reforms. It is a pity that the opportunity was missed.

Within these limitations, the collection offers a nuanced portrait of social and political transformation in which the agents of change are not missionaries or foreign consuls but rather municipal reforms. The net effect is to help decenter the West as the locus of change and emphasize the importance of the interactions of local forces from the upper and middle strata. Together the various articles reveal the halting, imperfect, and

partial nature of change that accommodated the demands of local, imperial, and colonial factors.

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IRIS AGMON. *Family and Court: Legal Culture and Modernity in Late Ottoman Palestine*. (Middle East Studies beyond Dominant Paradigms.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 2006. Pp. xxiii, 264. \$35.95.

Since the 1970s historians of the Middle East have increasingly used Ottoman Shari'a court records. These offer glimpses of the lives of the people who came to the courts, not only for litigation or as defendants in criminal cases but also to notarize important legal transactions. Using court documents requires special skills: one must be familiar with Shari'a law and with the organization and culture of these tribunals. The merit of Iris Agmon's book is that she pays ample attention to the institutional and cultural background of the legal documents used by her as sources for a history of the family in Palestine around 1900. She realizes that using these sources requires an insight into court practice and a contextualization of the records. Therefore, her book is not only about the family, but also about the Shari'a court (p. 6).

The book is organized after the model of a lawsuit. It is divided in four parts (each containing two chapters), whose titles refer to the various stages of litigation. In part one ("Entering a Sociolegal Arena") the locales (Haifa and Jaffa) are introduced, followed by a historiographic essay on the development of family history of the Middle East. In part two ("Presenting Claims") the author discusses the Shari'a courts of Jaffa and Haifa, their personnel, their procedures, as well as recording practices. "Negotiating Versions" is the heading of part three. In its first chapter ("Gender and Family") Agmon argues that "the concepts of gender and social justice were intertwined with that of the family and underpinned the family's patrilineal structure" (p. 129). Further she addresses state-family relations. Focusing on the newly created State Orphan funds, she shows that the state assumed responsibilities that previously belonged to the family. The following chapter discusses the effects of the emergence of professional attorneys on the Shari'a courts. The last part ("Reshaping Solutions") contains a chapter on family experiences and the author's conclusions.

Agmon shows that on the one hand Shari'a norms, reinforced by the practice of the courts, continued to shape gender roles and the division of labor within the family and that, on the other hand, migration and urban growth affected household structures and there existed various types of household structures among the middle classes in Haifa and Jaffa. However, the strongest parts of her study are those on the courts and courts' practices. Her description of them and of Ottoman judicial reform is rich and full of interesting biographical details

on judges and court staff. She convincingly shows that the emergence of the professional attorney had a great impact on court proceedings and on the judge's role.

The organization of the book is not felicitous. That the headings of the four parts reflect the different stages of litigation is a form of literary technique that looks contrived and owes more to style than to content. It certainly does not contribute to clarity of presentation.

There are other flaws. Although the court cases offer interesting insights, Agmon's reading of them is at times speculative. She is also somewhat naïve in accepting the claims of the parties at face value. A movie like *Divorce Iranian Style*, made by the anthropologist Ziba Mir-Hosseini, shows how often, in family law cases, fictitious claims are introduced to embarrass the other party and strengthen one's own bargaining position. In one case Agmon contends that the judge was reluctant to turn a wife's claims of marital violence into issues requiring testimony (p. 164). However, my reading of the case is that these claims were not legally relevant. The wife did not refuse cohabitation with her husband but wanted to be housed separately from her mother-in-law, as was her right under the Shari'a. Within the framework of the proceedings, the allegations were no more than an irrelevant smokescreen, which must have been obvious to the judge. In a few instances, Agmon reads too much into the records. Under the heading "Deputy Judge Tawfiq's Discretion" (p. 144) she analyzes a case between two former spouses, Muhammad and Husun. The ex-wife, Husun, claimed various amounts of money on different grounds from her ex-husband. Some of these Muhammad acknowledged, but with regard to others he claimed to have settled them. The way the judge ruled on the burden of proof (Husun had to prove the existence of the debts and Muhammad that he had paid the debts that he claimed to have paid) was fully in accordance with the basic rules of Shari'a procedure, and I do not think that a judge in this case could have decided otherwise. Yet Agmon assumes that the judge used his discretion here and speculates about his motives in finding for the ex-wife.

Agmon's book makes for interesting reading, especially where she gives voices to ordinary people. Moreover, her treatment of the courts and the effects of Ottoman legal reform is detailed and fascinating. However, I fear that she has been too ambitious in combining her research findings on the courts with those regarding the family in one monograph. Putting both on the Procrustean bed of her stylish structure has been detrimental to the lucidity of her arguments.

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ONUR YILDIRIM. *Diplomacy and Displacement: Reconsidering the Turco-Greek Exchange of Populations, 1922–1934*. (Middle East Studies: History, Politics, and Law.) New York: Routledge. 2006. Pp. xvi, 309. \$95.00.

This is a study of *The Convention Concerning the Exchange of Turkish Nationals of Greek Orthodox Religion Established in Turkish Territory and of Greek Nationals of the Moslem Religion Established in Greek Territory* that went into effect on May 1, 1923. The title of the convention tells us a lot. Turkey, more than Greece, insisted on the word "religion" rather than "minorities" so as not to politically enfranchise its other Muslim non-Turkish minorities, such as the Kurds and Chechens. The convention legitimized the exchange of nearly two million people: 1,104,216 Greek Orthodox from former Ottoman-held territories and 388,146 Muslims from Greek-held territories. Both countries also accepted refugees from other territories (p. 105). The exchange resulted in the largest voluntary exchange of peoples in the twentieth century.

Onur Yıldırım sets out to revise what he considers, rightfully in this reviewer's opinion, the two major historiographical emphases addressing the origins, implementation, and consequences of this population exchange, especially for the exchanged peoples themselves. One is "a policy-oriented scholarship . . . that attempted to sanction the exchange of populations as an instrument for solving inter-state disputes and settling minority problems under the aegis of international organizations" (p. 109). This scholarship is represented by Stephen P. Ladas, C. A. McCarthy, John H. Simpson, and Joseph B. Schechtman. The second type is "the nationalistic-minded Greek scholarship [that] hastened to read this tragic occurrence into the existing narrative of the Greek nations" (p. 189).

The text makes clear, however, that the reason for the second emphasis is that the historical archives of Greece are open for the period in question and have been researched extensively by scholars, especially Greeks. Notably, they are open to scholars from Turkey and to Turkish scholars from elsewhere. But the archives of Turkey concerning this period are virtually closed, open to only "select" scholars, and the "classification process is still under way." With the Turkish archives virtually closed, there is little to sustain Yıldırım's hope that a "balanced" narrative will be able to be constructed regarding the exchange. The author does establish (chapter seven) that Muslim refugees received little aid from Turkey's institutions and that they were left with only self-help solutions. The refugees, both Orthodox and Muslim, also had little access to lands and properties left behind by their counterparts as the latter were quickly taken over by locals—many times not by the indigenous poor or landless, but by well-off people. But here again Yıldırım makes clear that Greece's institutions dealing with the exchange were much more effective than Turkey's.

The government of Greece was also much more willing to cooperate with the League of Nations and private banks to obtain loans (Greece accepted £12,300,000 in loans) to help settle the refugees and to do so within a national economic development plan. Ankara was averse to such schemes in order to protect its newly defended national sovereignty and to create a state to en-

compass ethnic Turks. The sad part of the lack of access to Turkish archives is that there is little information on the influence that refugees had on Turkey's domestic economic and political development during the period 1924 to 1950. It seems likely that we will never know to what extent the lack of land, loans, government aid and/or support affected the course of the refugees'—and hence, of Turkey's—politics during this crucial period of state formation. Research from the Greek side shows how the refugees influenced the role of Venizelos (Eleftherios) republicans and the strengthening of the Communist Party, among other developments.

Unfortunately, the author's caveat—that present-day politicians should not accept the conclusions of those scholars mentioned above who supported the exchange of populations and the supposed homogeneity this would engender to make more viable nation-states—has fallen on deaf ears. International institutions were involved in the "voluntary" resettling of peoples in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s and it is again being mentioned as a solution to the sectarian and ethnic challenges in Iraq: *plus des échanges des populations, plus des mêmes choses*.

Since much of this research from the Greek sources is already known, one wonders if the arguments and conclusions of this study could not have been confined to an article that also would obviate the need for a \$95.00 book.

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ANNABEL JANE WHARTON. *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 272. \$32.50.

There are a few cities in the world—Rome, Istanbul, Agra, Jerusalem—in which cosmopolitan tourism meets with an old and often universally known history bathed in myth, an array of striking remains, and a contemporary vibrancy that can be socially depressing as in Agra or tragically politicized as in Jerusalem but that adds a spice absent from mere monuments. Jerusalem possesses two additional qualities. One is a paradox: a standard late medieval Islamic city is mostly revered for events that took place many centuries earlier—Solomon's Temple and palace, the Second Temple of Herod, the Passion of Christ, the mystical journey of the Prophet Muhammad—and that, except for Herod's Temple enclosure, left traces only in the memories of men and women. The other quality is that Jerusalem will be the first place on earth to witness the end of time, the return of the Messiah, and the Last Judgment rewarding or punishing all men and women with imaginative variations in each of the three monotheistic religious systems claiming allegiance to the same God.

This city has often been presented as an archaeologically retrieved artefact, as a sacred place where different groups practice, proclaim, praise, and worship the divine, and as a history in which ethnic, religious, local, foreign, and national, pursuits are affected by a variety

of unique political and social conditions. The book under review presents it as an economic commodity, as an object that can be reproduced and sold in a variety of ways going from early medieval relics to Mel Gibson's *The Passion of the Christ* (2004) and the theme park of "The Holy Land Experience" in Orlando, Florida.

The first chapter on the "fragmentation" of the city into relics is the weakest one. It surveys a well-known pattern of preserving parts from the city and redistributing these parts everywhere. It brings out unexpected documents, like J. P. Morgan's travel accounts or Mobil Oil ads, to argue its point of relics as gifts in the economic sense of the word, but the examples hardly reflect the richness of Jerusalem as a source of relics.

The second chapter on "replication" is much stronger. It concentrates on the Knights Templar, their buildings based on Jerusalem models, and their financial power explained through the "invention" of capitalism and the development of monetization. This may well be true, but the architecture of the Templars is not that different from a long tradition of using the Holy Sepulcher as a model for churches, and eventually for "new Jerusalems" in Russian Orthodox monasteries.

The third chapter on the "fabrication" of Jerusalem deals with the Franciscan reconstructions of the Jerusalem of Christ's Passion, especially the striking one in Varello in Italy. To see it all as an "expression of a Franciscan commitment to redistributing the increased material and spiritual resources" (p. 126) of the West to a wider segment of the population is to miss the depth of the piety that led Franciscans and others to Jerusalem. The chapter is rich in fascinating documents and discussions, even when, as with Samuel Butler's restrictive Protestantism, they do not really deal with the subject. A similar wealth of unusual documents like Benjamin Disraeli's *Tancred* (1847) or Emile Zola's *L'Argent* (1891) associated with the survey of photographs and related new techniques of reproducing visual perceptions makes the fourth chapter into interesting reading.

The last chapter handles the contemporary "spectacles" of Jerusalem developed in Orlando, Florida, or in the archeological parks and hotels of the holy city itself. However historically accurate these reconstructions are, they fail to make their point without live participants—hence the power and success of Gibson's film. Annabel Jane Wharton's arguments about the worldwide impact of Disney operations is well taken, but the real Jerusalem seems removed from it. In fact, Catholics and Muslims are absent from a discussion dominated by Jews and evangelical Christians. And the parallel with the transformation of bullion into bills and eventually checks and digital credit seems unnecessary and not very helpful.

This is a paradoxical book. By transforming the development of the city of Jerusalem through the ages into a commodity like money and by stressing parallels between the operation of money and the meanings of the city, Wharton gives too much credence to a hypothesis that fails to explain why that particular city re-

mained so physically meaningful for so many centuries (she could have added its appearance in the imagery of contemporary Shi'ite Iran). Piety and pilgrimages were not only economic procedures, but expressions of deeper feelings and needs that seem cheapened by their reduction to economic practices. The latter, however, are Wharton's subject. Despite their secondary importance, they have led to a learned and fascinating book illustrating many unexpected sides of an extraordinary city.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

RICHARD ROBERTS. *Litigants and Households: African Disputes and Colonial Courts in the French Soudan, 1895–1912*. (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann. 2005. Pp. xii, 309. \$29.95.

Richard Roberts has used early colonial court records to examine social change in French Soudan (modern Mali) during the period when colonial rule was consolidated over the interior of West Africa. The French courts were new, introduced to replace existing Islamic courts and local tribunals in non-Muslim areas, and became a focal point for contesting power and seeking to acquire or confirm rights to property, inheritance, marital assets, and the custody of children. In each of these areas of jurisprudence, there was a long tradition of litigation that in some ways was reformed and in other ways was grafted onto the new court system. Moreover, because French rule was thin on the ground, the new system had to rely on local legal opinion and personnel, so that the extent to which French rule actually altered relationships of influence and power was subtle and often haphazard. The achievement of this study is that Roberts realizes the limitations of his data, and indeed uses the limitations to reveal patterns of change and conflict. When particular issues were brought before the new Native Courts, and how frequently, reveal that domestic disputes and disagreements over ownership of property, whether land, livestock or trade goods, can be used to examine the social and political transformations that accompanied the French conquest.

Roberts examines the long tradition of French confrontation with indigenous legal systems, tracing early interaction in West Africa, beginning in 1673, and also examining the impact of the occupation of Algeria and legal traditions of the four French "communes" in Senegal. Hence the introduction of a new legal system in 1903 occurred in the context of a long history of legal interaction. However, earlier intervention had usually been tied to military considerations, while the legal reforms of the late nineteenth century, and especially those of 1903, were related to the consolidation of a civilian government. Roberts draws on 2,062 civil disputes in four districts between 1905 and 1912 to trace the ways in which local customs and legal authority were incorporated into the new legal system. The cases that

he examines include those related to the ending of slavery, divorce, bridewealth disputes, conflicts over property (including land and livestock), and disputes over inheritance. Each of these spheres featured into pre-existing Islamic law based on the shari'a and Maliki school of law, although the decision not to recognize the legal status of slavery in the courts was a departure and had a profound impact on other areas of dispute, as was also the case in British areas of West Africa. The colonial courts could be used in ways that the shari'a courts could not be. Roberts successfully demonstrates that the colonial court records thereby uncover friction and fields of contention within local society that were exacerbated by the slavery policy.

Although this book is a significant contribution to the study of social history of early colonial rule, and specifically the impact of legal reform, there are several weaknesses that should be identified. Roberts does not use the official reports of G. Poulet and G. Deherme and overlooks an equally significant report of E. Roume, all written in 1905–1906 and concerning the impact of legal reforms on issues relating to slavery. Moreover, Roberts does not examine the continued operation of shari'a courts along side the new colonial courts. How were similar cases involving marriage, property, and inheritance disputes handled in these courts, and why was it that individuals sought to have their disputes settled in the new courts? It is hard to imagine that there are not similar records in other parts of West Africa where there was a strong tradition of such courts. The theoretical discussion on the use of court records would have benefited from a consideration of the extensive Arabic documentation of the Islamic courts, especially those from the early colonial period.

Despite these reservations, the book is a major contribution to the study of the transformation of the slave societies of the western Sudan. As Roberts shows, the colonial conquest unleashed the large slave population of the region, as the mass escapes that occurred in the decade or so after 1895 demonstrate. The period 1895–1912 was an era of rapid and profound change, as the slave economies of Muslim societies gave way to the postemancipation colonial state of Sudan. This book is essential reading for scholars interested in postemancipation slave societies for its comparative value in considering the transformations that altered the various parts of the Americas, and indeed elsewhere in Africa and the Islamic world.

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STEVEN PIERCE. *Farmers and the State in Colonial Kano: Land Tenure and the Legal Imagination*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 262. \$55.00.

After the military conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate in 1903, Frederick Lugard, the governor of Nigeria, quickly established a colonial administration based on his conception of indirect rule, whereby an existing in-

digenous government would be revived and modernized under the guidance of a handful of British officials. Northern Nigeria was in many ways the perfect setting for Lugard's policy: the Sokoto Caliphate had a well-established system of office holding that managed vast territories and funneled revenue to the center; it had the rudiments of the rule of law under the application of Shari'a; it has a vibrant intellectual life that produced scholarship and literature in both Arabic and Hausa; and it had a thriving economy that linked Northern Nigeria to the wider continental market of West and North Africa. By rights of conquest as defined by Lugard, the British took over the lands belonging to the emir and all the taxes derived from it. Controlling land revenue promised to fund the native administration without recourse to metropolitan resources. Exactly what claiming all the land meant for British colonialism and for Hausa farmers and office holders lies at the heart of Steven Pierce's book, which sets out to disentangle the "two land tenures" that were superimposed by colonial conquest.

Precisely because he refers to land tenure as a "semi-otic system," Pierce is less interested in the history of Hausa farming than in examining the ways in which both Hausa farmers and British officials thought about land and land tenure. Trained in both history and anthropology at the University of Michigan, Pierce brings to this project a rich theoretical orientation. Between 1996 and 1997, Pierce conducted fieldwork in the Hausa town of Ungogo on the outskirts of Kano. Although residents of Ungogo farmed, many commuted to work in the city. Because of his Hausa informants valued secrecy and because of the profound changes in the rural economy of Northern Nigeria especially since the oil boom of the 1970s, few residents of Ungogo could or would provide the author with good oral histories about farming during the colonial period. Pierce's fieldwork also coincided with the devastating reign of General Sani Abacha, when state corruption and mismanagement were especially pronounced. Without good oral data, Pierce turned instead to the archives and honed his interests in the semiotic domain. His chapter on "*Gandu* in the Semiotic Imagination" is a wonderful meditation on the historiographical status of the term that has come to mean the cooperative Hausa family farming unit composed of two or more adult children, their wives, and dependents. Pierce uses legal disputes, which in Ungogo came only with the establishment of a local court in 1972, and a household survey to demonstrate that the *gandu* existed more in the minds of anthropologists and historians than in practice for the residents of Ungogo.

The invention of *gandu* as the central building block of rural Hausaland is indicative of Pierce's major analytical enterprise: how to theorize about the existence of a nonexistent system (i.e., land tenure) that was then elevated to the center of colonialism? Pierce refers to this as "a historical process of misrecognition, making mistaken assumptions in ways that are necessary or at least functional" (p. 5). Since revenue from land taxes

partially supported the Northern Nigerian native administration, this misrecognition proved functional. To explain this misrecognition and the centrality of land tenure to the colonial project, Pierce uses the concept of fetishism: He rejects the Marxian commodity fetish (through which people become less able to perceive labor inherent in a commodity as generative of exchange value) in favor of the psychoanalytical fetish, which stands for something that does not actually exist (the mother's penis). Fans of Judith Butler, Homi Bhabha, and Jacques Derrida will find Pierce's theoretical discussion engaging.

Those interested in historical processes of change may well be disappointed. There is history here, but it is dispersed between long meditations on how to approach the issue of land tenure in Northern Nigeria and how the British colonial officials thought about this problem. Chapter six on colonial taxation would logically seem to follow Chapter three on the invention of land tenure. Chapter four focuses on a fascinating issue regarding female inheritance of real property. Under Maliki law, female heirs are entitled to stipulated shares in a complex rendering of the estate. In 1923, Emir Usman of Kano proclaimed that under Islamic law women were not permitted to inherit houses and that only male heirs could share a dead man's house. Pierce explains persuasively that the ulama of Kano went along with Usman's proclamation not because it was congruent with Islamic law, but because the 1920s witnessed a wave of female independence made possible in part because of women inherited houses. Having a house meant that a woman was not dependent upon a male. In 1954, the newly installed emir, Muhammadu Sanusi, reversed the 1923 proclamation, thus restoring women's rights to inheritance. Sanusi was deeply concerned about elderly women's abject poverty, which he attributed in part to the earlier prohibition. Pierce does a wonderful job interpreting these events, but he does little to explain the intervening thirty years. Pierce includes a glossary to help with Hausa terms, but a map would have helped readers not familiar with Northern Nigeria.

RICHARD ROBERTS
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MARK LEOPOLD. *Inside West Nile: Violence, History and Representation on an African Frontier*. (World Anthropology.) London: James Currey. 2005. Pp. x, 180. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$29.95.

Mark Leopold has taken care to write a fascinating and engaging book about this confusing part of Central Africa on the west bank of the Nile, where Congo, Sudan, and Uganda overlap. His unusual monograph, though short, deserves a thoughtful reading. Concentrating on revisiting previous anthropologists and historians, it is neither conventional ethnography nor history, since most primary material is focused on the latter, but with an inverted chronology. Historians may find this perverse, but the sequence flows well enough. "All mean-

ingful histories, as Collingwood argued, are concerned with a past encapsulated in a context of present thought" (p. 140). The proof of this upended pudding will be in the eating.

Leopold shares feelings of cursedness and violence with the region because bureaucracy and insecurity curtailed his fieldwork by delaying his arrival in Arua and then confining him to this district headquarters. His frustrating restriction, borne in the misleadingly named De L'Ambience hotel and the Continental Club, colors—almost edits—the whole book. Those who have imbibed the hopes and expectations of fieldwork will feel for him as he casts round for the material he never collected from the field itself. The book's second chapter relates what he learned in verandah and bar in Arua and so transmits the feel of town life and its multiple, non-summing representations. The next four chapters produce 150 years of history in reverse, mostly from documentary sources, some unpublished. The book concludes with a search for a reconstruction that will lift the curse that is rooted and flowering in violence. The author intends that the writing of history will bring to light the problems of the past, but seeking a rapprochement with the state, when the "intractable problem of the hostile attitude of most southern Ugandans" (p. 159) persists, offers no salvation.

At least Leopold is honest (p. 162) about the "inequities of the fieldwork," but try as he may, his lack of grounding in East Africa still betrays itself in what he does choose to write about. For instance he relays the information that Boma "stands for 'British Overseas Military Administration.'" Apart from there being no such acronym, *boma* is a common feature of the East African landscape and of Kiswahili usage, denoting a base for security forces. It is a loanword from the Persian for "garrison." Yet a more diligent documentary search would also help, for Albert Dalfovo's work is underrepresented.

The minute examination of the sources for the Yakan "movement" is interesting, but by the end, we know less than before. If the same hermeneutic of suspicion were applied to Leopold's sources, including the (great-) grandson of the "first Sub-County Chief of Belgium" in the days when there were no sub-counties, he would be able to bring little to the table of knowledge, not even the curse on collaborators. Could it not be the case that the onset of imperial administrations in the first quarter of the twentieth century provoked many people to resistance, who were therefore quick to adopt a new trait (cult is far too grand a term for drinking water) to help them resist rifle-bullets? *Dawa* (medicine) was, both before and after, considered an indispensable means of confounding the enemy.

Towards the end features creep in whose investigation might go beyond both John Middleton, damned for his "functionalism," and Leopold. Rituals, cleansing, elders, and genealogies (pp. 140, 145, 153–155) are suddenly vital to the Lugbara/Madi, but are not transparent to the baleful "Western gaze" (p. 119)—which, having failed to go outside itself, feels it has to "reintroduce

them as active agents" (p. 147). Thus we are shown "inside" a tiny Arua town but are left with the problematic external views of West Nile.

BEN KNIGHTON

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ANDREW BURTON. *African Underclass: Urbanisation, Crime and Colonial Order in Dar es Salaam*. (Eastern African Studies.) Oxford: James Currey. 2005. Pp. xviii, 301. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$26.95.

Andrew Burton rides the crest of a new group of urban historians in East Africa. His book follows the pioneering works of Charles Van Onselen and Luise White in attempting to uncover the social reality of African experiences in the colonial city. Burton's topic here is the development of an "underclass" in Dar es Salaam, the capital of Tanzania during the British colonial era between 1916 and 1961. This book is part of a cohort of works by anthropologists and historians on urban Tanganyika including Kelly Askew, Laura Fair, G. Thomas Burgess, James Brennan, Justin Willis, Anne S. Lewinson, Eileen Moyer, Sheryl McCurdy, and Andrew Ivaska.

Burton takes the reader through the dramatic growth of Dar es Salaam in the twentieth century. Dar es Salaam developed as a new city along the East African coast. While Swahili settlements at Kunduchi, Misasani, and Mzizima (now all part of greater Dar es Salaam) had linked local agricultural communities to the Indian Ocean trade, these settlements served as secondary locations connected to the Swahili cities of Malindi, Mombassa, Zanzibar, Bagamoyo, Tanga, Pangani, and Kilwa. In the late nineteenth century, the ruling sultan of Zanzibar created Dar es Salaam as a base on the coast, away from the potentially autonomous older cities. In the few years before a succeeding sultan sold the part of the coast that became Tanzania to the Germans little happened. Under German rule the pace picked up. They decided that the natural harbor at Dar es Salaam outweighed its marshy malarial environment and put the main terminus of the principal railway in the colony there. In 1905 Dar es Salaam also became the capital of the German colony.

The city sprang up almost overnight. Like the other created colonial capital of East Africa, Nairobi, Dar es Salaam quickly became a mixture of both the older Swahili tradition of urbanization and the result of the efforts of Europeans to create their vision of a tropical colonial city. It became a segregated city, with sectors for European, Asian, and African settlement. Burton argues that as urbanization proceeded in Dar es Salaam sharp social divisions developed, not only between the officially designated racial groups but also especially within the African communities of the city. Burton focuses on the *wahuni*, a term often translated as "hooligans" but usually applied to any group of young men. He argues that the colonial state criminalized a wide range of activities undertaken by people to make a living in the urban area. Following the example of South

Africa, the colonial state attempted to make unauthorized residence illegal.

Burton focuses on the continuing effort of the colonial state to define who could reside in town. The state wanted to restrict residency rights to those Africans having formal, wage employment. Instead, a substantial number of residents supported themselves in the "informal" sector, as it has become known. This defiance involved both day labor and petty theft; domestic work and construction work; prostitution and food service. All broke the residency law. The colonial state sought to separate stabilized, civic-minded Africans with regular employment and families from migratory, de-tribalized, irregularly employed young men and women. The latter they attempted to send "home" to the "tribal" areas right down to the end of colonial rule. Their successors in power, the "citizens," continued much of the same set of policies.

The results, Burton suggests, remain with the people of Dar es Salaam and Tanzania today. Like the colonial state, the independent state still saw many activities such as types of casual labor and street vending as threats to public order. Periodically, the independent state like the colonial one sought to drive people back to the countryside. As in the past, such efforts have been abject failures. Criminality of all sorts—both perceived and real—remains widespread. Instead of protecting Europeans and Asian merchants from Africans, the postcolonial state sought to protect the new urban elite from the rural masses.

Burton's study makes an important contribution to the historiography of urban Africa. His sources in part have dictated his focus. Colonial records concentrated on males and not females. In Dar es Salaam, even prostitution received relatively little attention compared to other colonial urban areas. As a result, as Burton acknowledges, the gendered dimension of urbanization in Dar es Salaam remains little explored. Likewise, in this volume, Burton touches only briefly on the role of religious organizations in the development of social life in the city. His coverage of leisure activities also remains spotty.

Despite these limitations, Burton's book is a masterful survey of the development of Dar es Salaam's underworld. As such, it demonstrates the manner in which communities come into being inside and outside publicly recognized social boundaries. Burton's work already has helped shape the development of urban history in East Africa, and this volume will cement his influence.

GREGORY H. MADDOX

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NIGEL PENN. *The Forgotten Frontier: Colonist and Khoisan on the Cape's Northern Frontier in the Eighteenth Century*. Athens: Ohio University Press. Pp. ix, 388. \$24.95.

In South Africa's Northern Cape frontier in 1772, a "Bastaard-Hottentot" (mixed-race Khoi) worker

named Thys, who had been sent to the Bokkeveld to fetch a horse for his farm manager, stopped to visit a Dutch trekboer named Pieter van Heerden. Van Heerden asked Thys whether the "Hottentots" (Khoikhoi) and "Bushmen" (San) were still stealing cattle and sheep in the Roggeveld, Thys's home territory. When Thys replied in the affirmative, van Heerden proclaimed that "if that is the case and they do not want to keep the peace, I shall come with a commando of Bokkeveld people . . . and shoot dead all of the kraal-dwelling Hottentots and bastards because they only exist by stealing." Thys, alarmed that he too was the object of van Heerden's wrath, returned home to spread the news, galvanizing a rebellion among dependent and independent Khoikhoi alike. The Company commando (a type of civilian militia) formed to quell the Roggeveld Rebellion of 1772 included large numbers of Cochoqua Khoikhoi, who had a long history of collaboration with the Dutch colonists. In the final battle six of the Khoi rebels were shot dead and sixty-two were arrested and escorted to Cape Town for trial and punishment. As a result of the sentences delivered on the last day of December 1772, one of the rebel leaders was tied to a cross and "broken thereon alive" and another hanged. Most of the rest received severe floggings, had their Achilles tendons cut, and were sentenced to a life of hard labor at the Company's slave lodge (pp. 99–107).

The Roggeveld Rebellion encapsulates the violence as well as complexity of the Cape's northern frontier in the eighteenth century, a subject that is handled meticulously and masterfully by Nigel Penn. Penn points out that much of South Africa's "frontier" historiography fixates on the Eastern Cape frontier, site of a dramatic series of wars against the Xhosa as well as birthplace of Afrikanerdom's Great Trek.

Penn seeks to resurrect the history of the Northern Cape frontier and transform it into something more than a sideshow. In fact, he argues convincingly that the Northern Cape played a crucial role in shaping the attitudes and institutions that contributed significantly to the subjugation of the Khoisan peoples. Penn relies heavily on the records of the Dutch East India Company, which ruled the Cape Colony from 1752 to 1795 and again briefly between 1803 and 1806 before giving way to British rule. In the frontier districts, the authority of the district *landdrost* (a salaried Company employee) was carried out by a handful of prominent trek-

boers (known as *veldwachtmeesters*), whose principal function became that of organizing or leading commandos. The commando received guns and ammunition from the Company and was theoretically subject to Company control. In reality, the commandos often acted independently. One of Penn's most important insights is that the commando system, such an essential ingredient in the subjugation of the Khoikhoi and the San, evolved on the Northern Cape frontier and was transplanted to the Eastern Cape. As he argues, "the commando was to become the most important political institution of the frontier zone" (p. 78).

Penn's extensive research in Company records reveals other significant themes as well, providing nuance and complexity to South Africa's colonial past. For example, for much of the eighteenth century the Northern Cape was "open" in that no one particular group exerted its dominance over another. Indeed, Khoisan resistance to trekboer expansion increased in magnitude and ferocity as the century wore on. However, in addition to the commando system, two other factors spelled doom for the Khoisan peoples. First, the advent of the "loan farm" system, a type of land tenure practiced throughout the frontier zone in the eighteenth century, provided cheap and easy access to vast tracts of precious grasslands for the seminomadic trekboer pastoralists. As Penn writes, "trekboer possession increasingly meant Khoikhoi and San dispossession" (p. 44). The Khoikhoi, pastoralists themselves, could only resist, retreat, or as many chose, enter the service of white farmers as subservient laborers. Second, the trekboer propensity for killing game, the subsistence resource of the San hunter-gatherers, left the San no choice but to hunt cattle and sheep. In retaliation, trekboer commandos launched extermination campaigns against the San throughout the eighteenth century. By century's end, the endless competition for resources, the continuous cycle of violence, and the power of the colonial state as represented by the commando system, effectively "closed" the Khoisan frontier. Upon seizing the Cape in 1806 the British institutionalized this closure with the Caledon Code of 1809, which required all Khoikhoi to carry passes. In Penn's words, "the Caledon Code served to confirm and entrench [Khoisan] *de facto* subjugation" (p. 268).

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

KATHRYN C. STATLER and ANDREW L. JOHNS, editors. *The Eisenhower Administration, the Third World, and the Globalization of the Cold War*. (The Harvard Cold War Studies Book Series.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2006. Pp. xxii, 304. \$75.00.

ANDREW L. JOHNS, Preface: The Eisenhower Administration, the Third World, and the Globalization of the Cold War. CHESTER J. PACH, JR., Thinking Globally and Acting Locally. KENNETH A. OSGOOD, Words and Deeds: Race, Colonialism, and Eisenhower's Propaganda War in the Third World. JOHN PRADOS, The Central Intelligence Agency and the Face of Decolonization under the Eisenhower Administration. MICHAEL R. ADAMSON, "The Most Important Single Aspect of Our Foreign Policy"? The Eisenhower Administration, Foreign Aid, and the Third World. ROBERT MCMAHON, "The Point of No Return": The Eisenhower Administration and Indonesia, 1953–1960. KATHRYN C. STATLER, Building a Colony: South Vietnam and the Eisenhower Administration, 1953–1961. YI SUN, Militant Diplomacy: The Taiwan Strait Crises and Sino-American Relations, 1954–1958. JASON C. PARKER, Small Victory, Missed Chance: The Eisenhower Administration, the Bandung Conference, and the Turning of the Cold War. JAMES H. MERIWETHER, "A Torrent Overrunning Everything": Africa and the Eisenhower Administration. JAMES F. SIEKMEIER, Persistent Condor and Predatory Eagle: The Bolivian Revolution and the United States. PETER L. HAHN, The United States and Israel in the Eisenhower Era: The "Special Relationship" Revisited. NATHAN J. CITINO, Middle East Cold Wars: Oil and Arab Nationalism in U.S.-Iraqi Relations, 1958–1961. DAVID L. ANDERSON, Conclusion: The Devil Is in the Details: Eisenhower, Dulles, and the Third World.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

CATHERINE A. BREKUS, editor. *The Religious History of American Women: Reimagining the Past*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. 340. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

CATHERINE A. BREKUS, Searching for Women in Narratives of American Religious History. MARILYN J. WESTERKAMP, Puritan Women, Spiritual Power, and the Question of Sexuality. ELIZABETH REIS, Revelation, Witchcraft, and the Danger of

Knowing God's Secrets. EMILY CLARK, Hail Mary Down by the Riverside: Black and White Catholic Women in Early America. CATHERINE A. BREKUS, Sarah Osborn's Enlightenment: Reimagining Eighteenth-Century Intellectual History. JANET MOORE LINDMAN, Beyond the Meetinghouse: Women and Protestant Spirituality in Early America. ANTHEA D. BUTLER, Unrespectable Saints: Women of the Church of God in Christ. SUSANNA MORRILL, Women's Popular Literature as Theological Discourse: A Mormon Case Study, 1880–1920. KATHLEEN SPROWS CUMMINGS, The "New Woman" at the "University": Gender and American Catholic Identity in the Progressive Era. ANN BRAUDE, Faith, Feminism, and History. AMY KOEHLINGER, "Are You the White Sisters or the Black Sisters?" Women Confounding Categories of Race and Gender. PAMELA S. NADELL, Engendering Dissent: Women and American Judaism. KRISTY NABHAN-WARREN, Little Slices of Heaven and Mary's Candy Kisses: Mexican American Women Redefining Feminism and Catholicism.

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

NICHOLAS HOWE, editor. *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2007. Pp. vii, 160. \$25.00.

MARGOT FASSLER, *Adventus* at Chartres: Ritual Models for Major Processions. MICHAEL S. FLIER, Seeing Is Believing: The Semiotics of Dynasty and Destiny in Muscovite Rus'. GORDON KIPLING, The King's Advent Transformed: The Consecration of the City in the Sixteenth-Century Civic Triumph. EDWARD MUIR, The Eye of the Procession: Ritual Ways of Seeing in the Renaissance.

BUCHANAN SHARP and MARK CHARLES FISSEL, editors. *Law and Authority in Early Modern England: Essays Presented to Thomas Garden Barnes*. Newark: University of Delaware Press. 2007. Pp. 246. \$50.00.

BUCHANAN SHARP, Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* and the Crisis of the 1590s. CONRAD RUSSELL, Topsy and the King: The English Common Law, King James VI and I, and the Union of Crowns. ALLEN HORSTMAN, The Parliament of 1621 Revisited: The Beginning of Impeachment. STEPHEN J. STEARNS, Military Disorder and Martial Law in Early Stuart England. LAMAR M. HILL, "Extreame Detriment": Failed Credit and the Narration of Indebtedness in the Jacobean Court of Requests. WILLIAM M. ABBOTT, Anticlericalism and Episcopacy in Parliamentary Debates, 1640–1641: Secular versus Spiritual Functions. MARK CHARLES FISSEL, Early Stuart Absolutism and the Strangers' Consulate.

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CHRISTINE KINEALY, Famine Queen or Faery? Queen Victoria and Ireland. ROLAND QUINAULT, Victorian Prime Ministers and Ireland. JANE JORDAN, The English Delilah: Katharine O'Shea and Irish Politics, 1880–1891. DIANE URQUHART, Political Hostessing in the Age of Victoria: A Londonderry Case Study. MICHAEL HUGGINS, "Mere Matters of Arrangement and Detail": John Mitchel and Irish Chartism. DAVID DWAN, Young Ireland and the "Horde of Benthamy." ALAN O'DAY, Nationalism and Political Economy in Ireland: Isaac Butt's Analysis. VIRGINIA CROSSMAN, Peculation and Partiality: Local Government in Nineteenth-Century Rural Ireland. N. C. FLEMING, Landlords, Power and Loyalism in Late-Victorian Ulster. GARY PEATLING, Whatever Happened to Presbyterian Radicalism? The Ulster Presbyterian Liberal Press in the Late Nineteenth Century. MARK RADFORD, The "Social Volcano": Policing Victorian Belfast. JEREMY SMITH, Sir Edward Carson and the Myth of Partition.

MICHAEL GEYER and LUCIAN HÖLSCHER, editors. *Die Gegenwart Gottes in der modernen Gesellschaft: Transzendenz und Religiöse Vergemeinschaftung in Deutschland/The Presence of God in Modern Society: Transcendence and Religious Community in Germany*. (Bausteine zu einer europäischen Religionsgeschichte im Zeitalter der Säkularisierung, number 8.) Göttingen: Wallstein. 2006. Pp. 490. €37.00.

LUCIAN HÖLSCHER, Historische Rahmenbedingungen religiöser Vergemeinschaftung im 19. Jahrhundert. HARTMUT LEHMANN, Nichtreligiöse Aspekte religiöser Gemeinschaftsbildung im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert. SUSAN A. CRANE, Holy Alliances: Creating Religious Communities after the Napoleonic Wars. DANIEL KOEHLER, Pilgrimage of Protestants:

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

CATHERINE M. COLE, TAKYIWAA MANUH, and STEPHAN F. MIESCHER, editors. *Africa After Gender?* Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2007. Pp. vi, 328. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

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Documents and Bibliographies

Books listed were recently received in the *AHR* office. Works of these types cannot normally be reviewed by the *AHR*.

ASIA

- A Comprehensive, Annotated Bibliography on Mahatma Gandhi*. Volume 2, Books and Pamphlets about Mahatma Gandhi. Compiled by ANANDA M. PANDIRI. Forewords by SUREN-DRA BHANA, E. S. REDDY, and UMA DHUPELIA-MESTHRIE. (Bibliographies and Indexes in World History, number 55.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2007. Pp. xxii, 653. \$132.95.
- GOLDSTEIN, DONALD M., and Katherine V. Dillon, editors. *The Pacific War Papers: Japanese Documents of World War II*. Paperback edition. Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books. 2006. Pp. xiii, 336. \$22.95.
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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

- COHEN, FELIX S. *On the Drafting of Tribal Constitutions*. Edited by DAVID E. WILKINS. Foreword by LINDSAY G. ROBERTSON. (American Indian Law and Policy, number 1.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2006. Pp. xxxii, 200. \$34.95.
- CULPEPER, NICHOLAS. *The English Physician*. Edited by MICHAEL A. FLANNERY. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2007. Pp. x, 113. \$35.00.
- GREEN, ELNA C., editor. *Looking for the New Deal: Florida Women's Letters during the Great Depression*. (Women's Diaries and Letters of the South.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 243. \$39.95.
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- LABARRE, DELIA, editor. *The New Orleans of Lafcadio Hearn: Illustrated Sketches from the Daily City Stem*. (Library of Southern Civilization.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2007. Pp. xlix, 175. \$24.95.
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No letters were received for publication in this issue.

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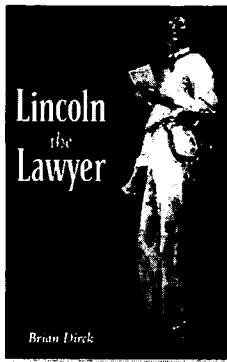
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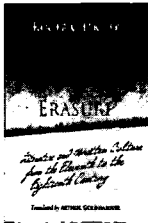
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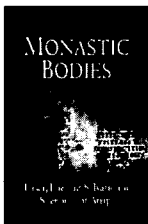
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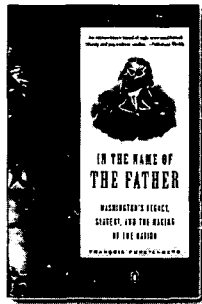
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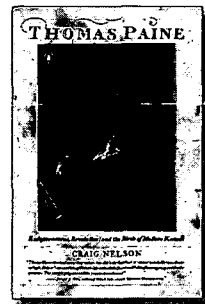
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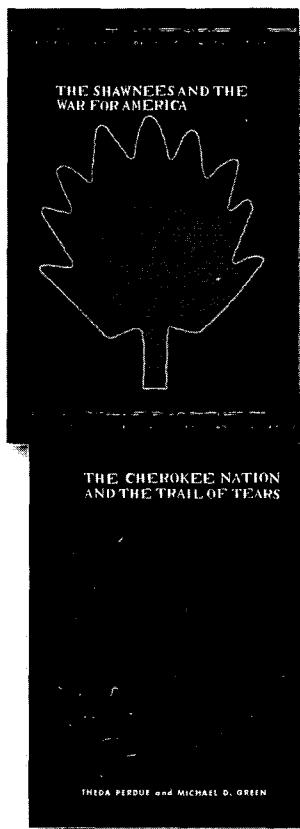
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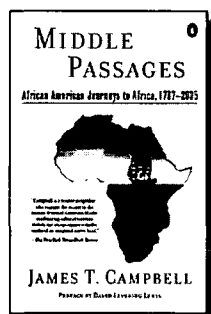
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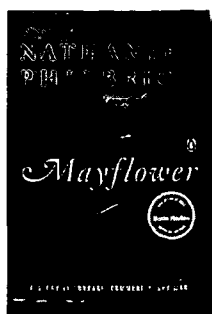
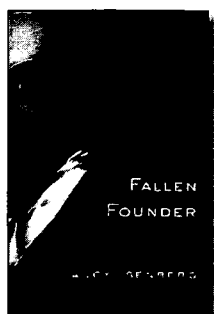
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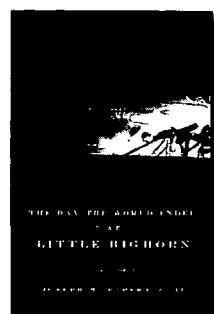
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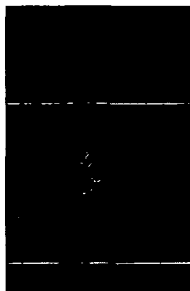
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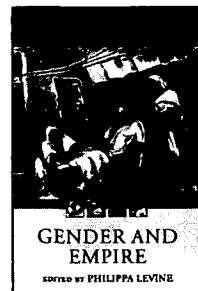
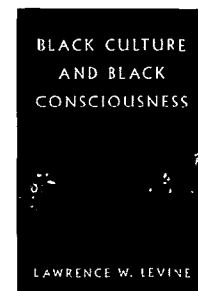
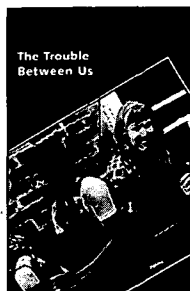


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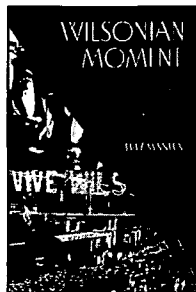
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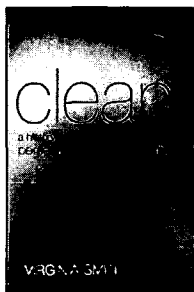
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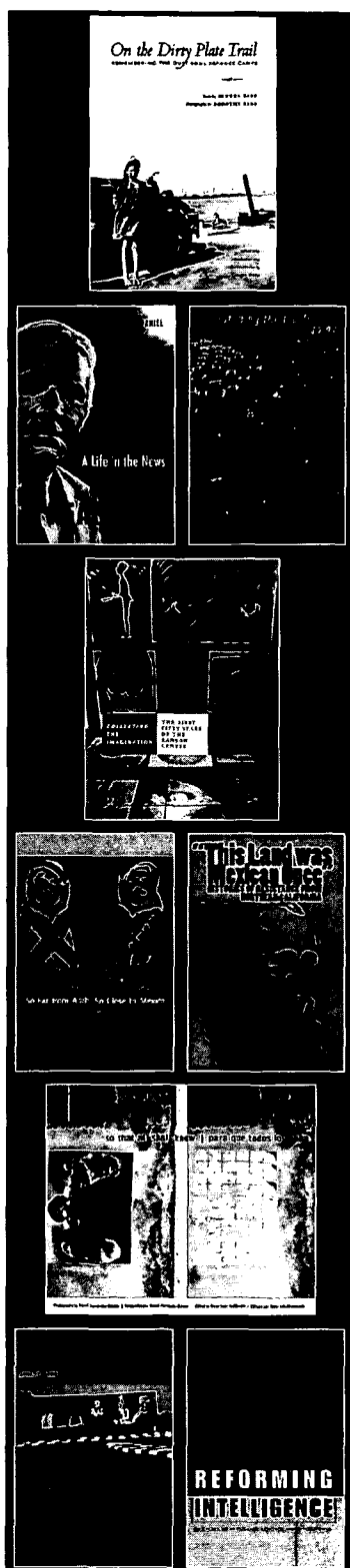
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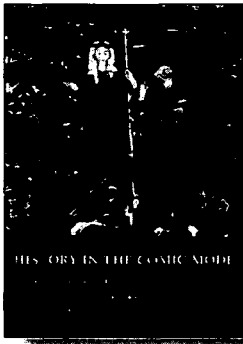
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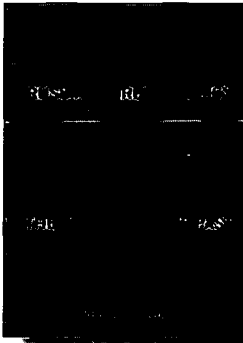
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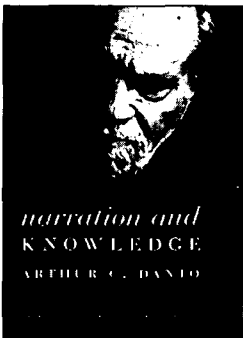
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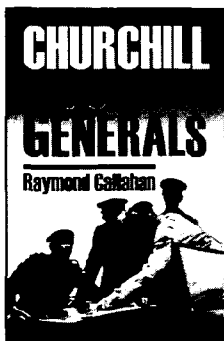
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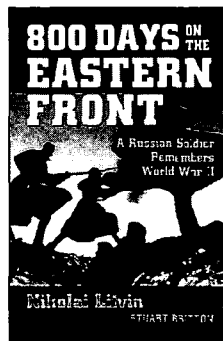
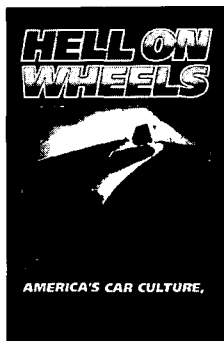
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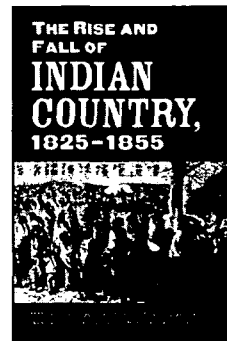
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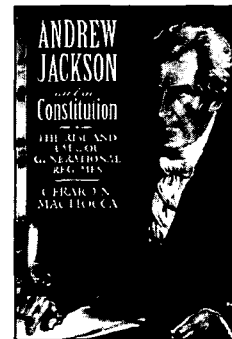
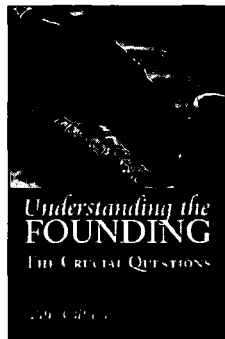
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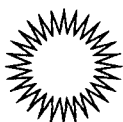
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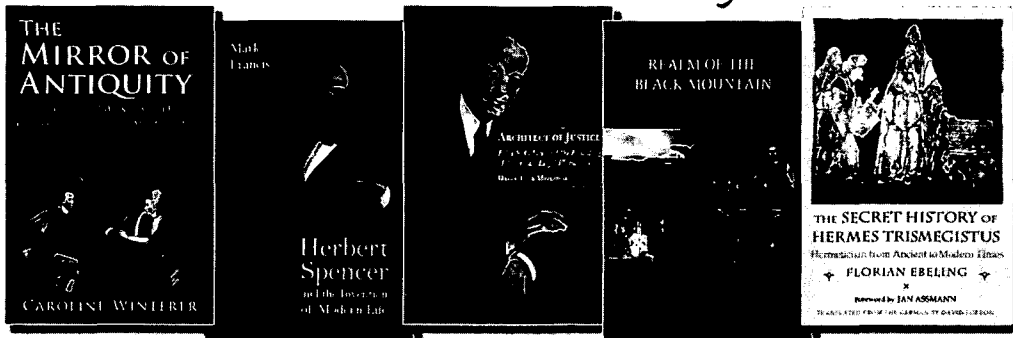
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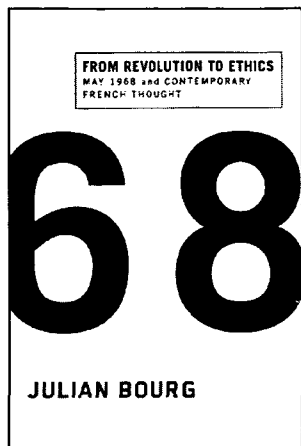
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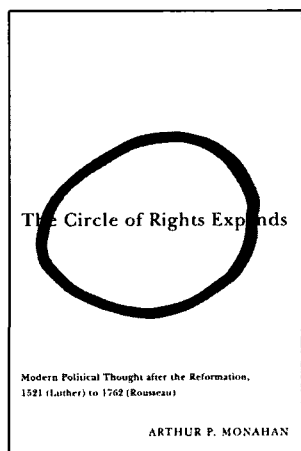
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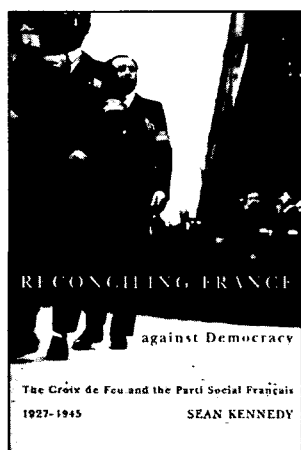
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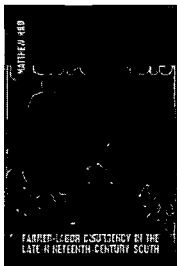
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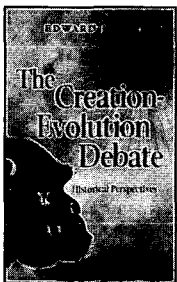


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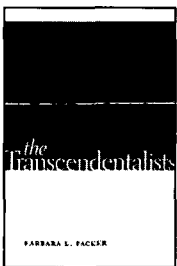
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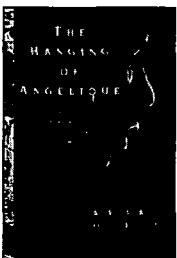
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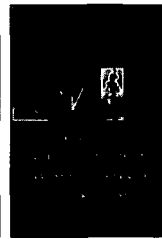


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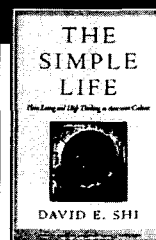
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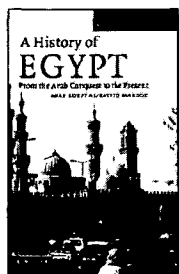
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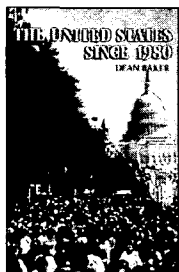
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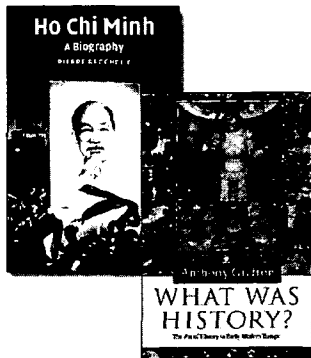
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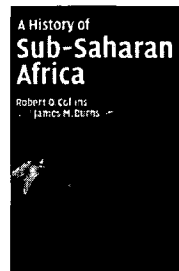
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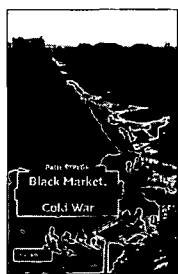
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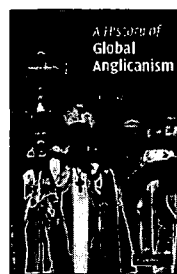
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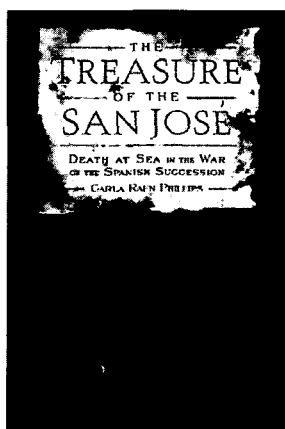
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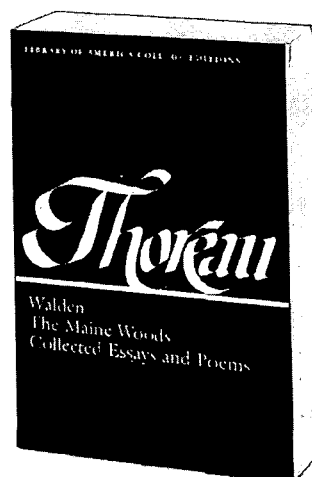
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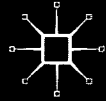


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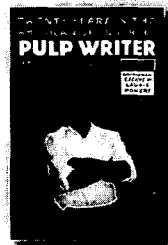
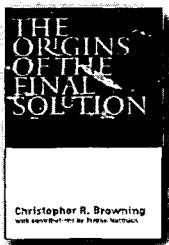
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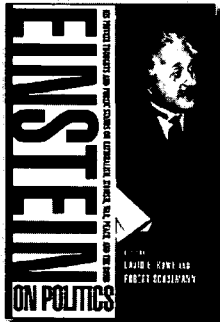
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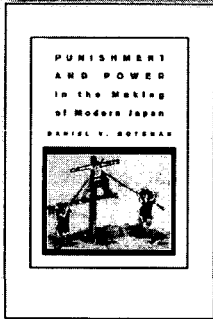
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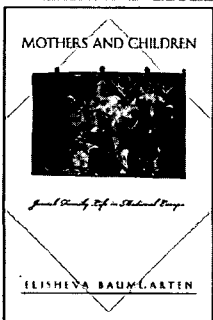
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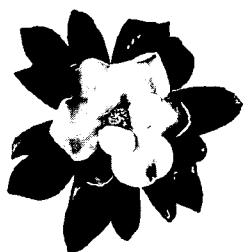
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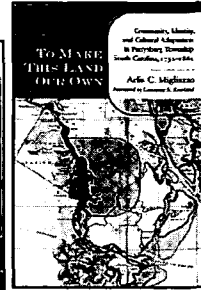
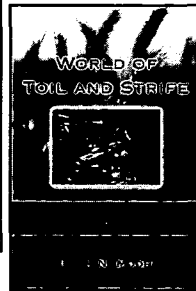
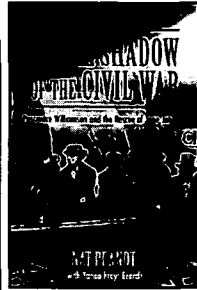
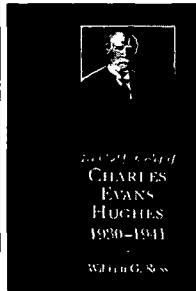
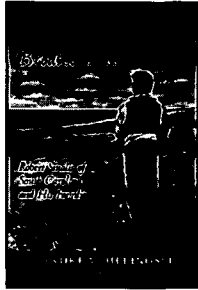
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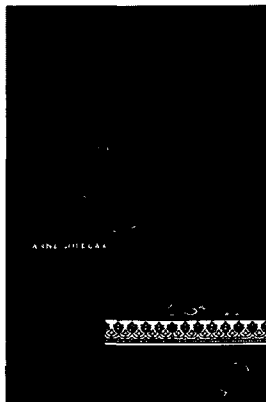
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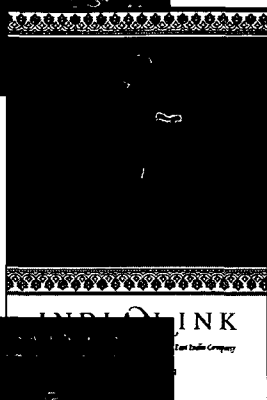


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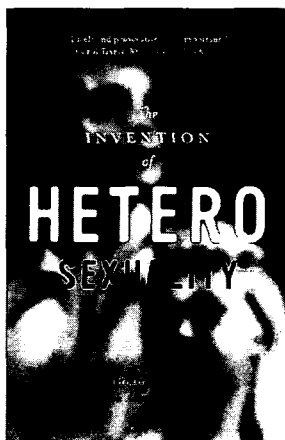
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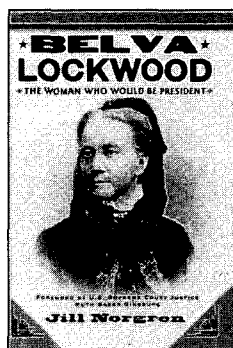
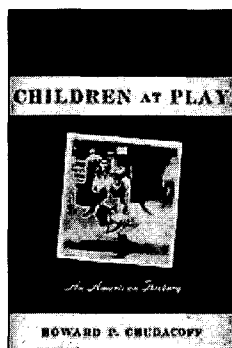
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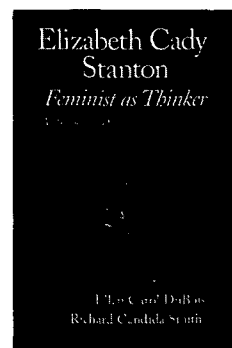
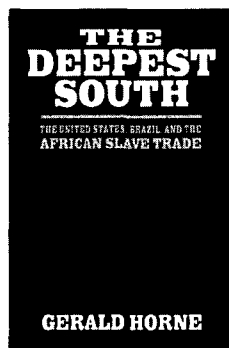
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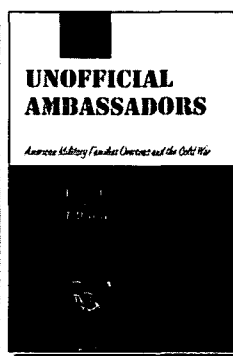
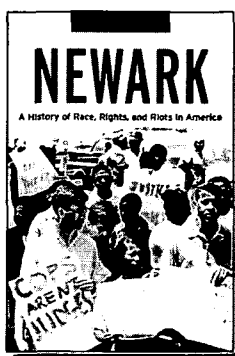
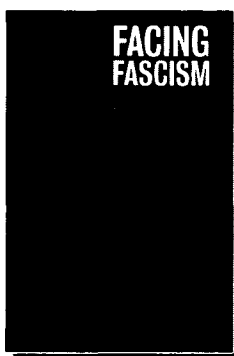
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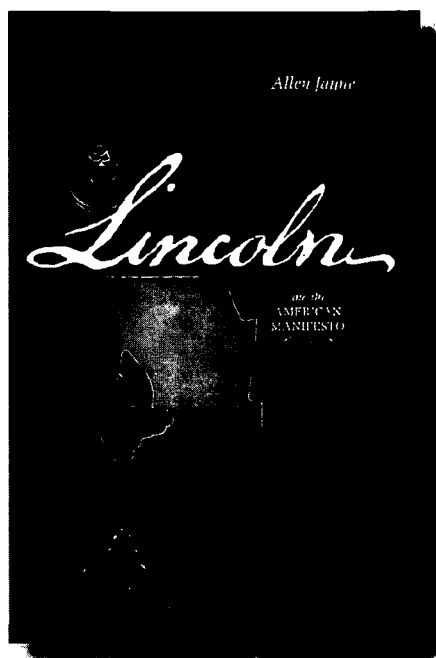


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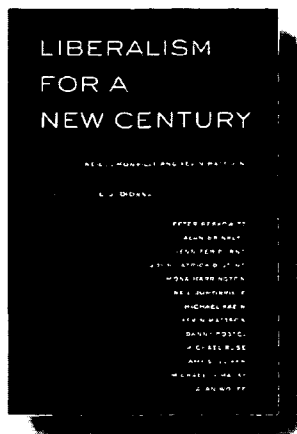
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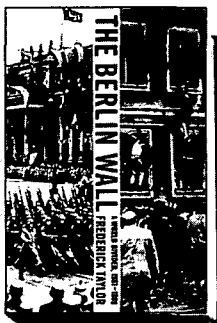
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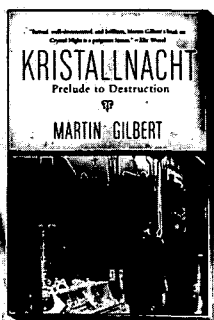
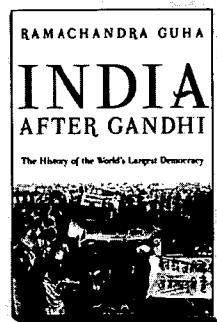
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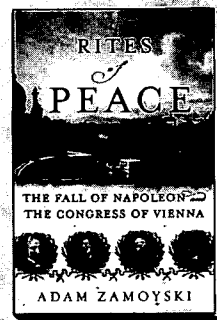
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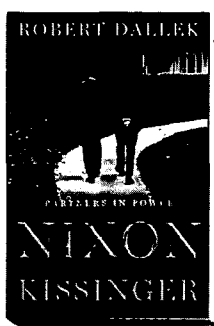
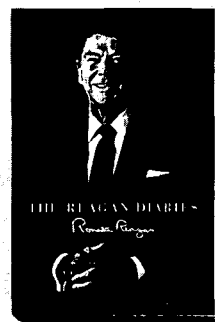
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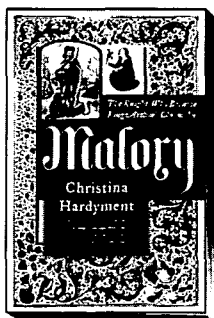
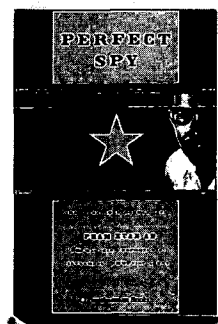
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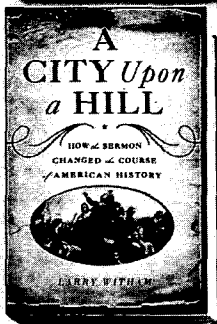
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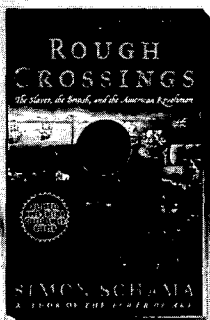
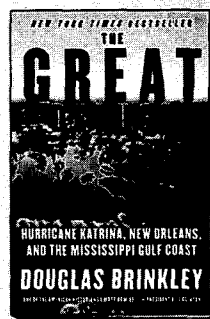
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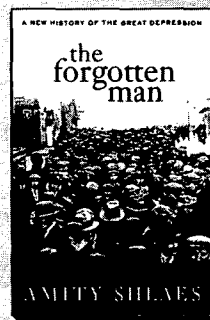
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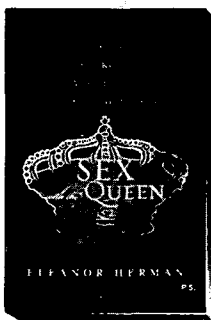
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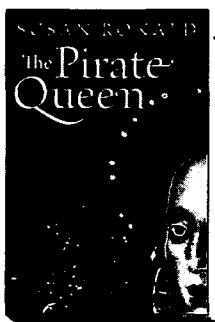
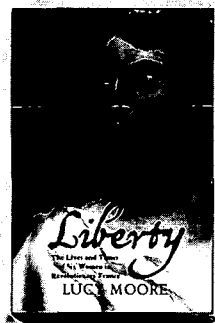
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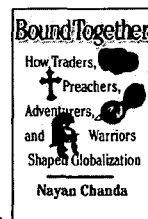
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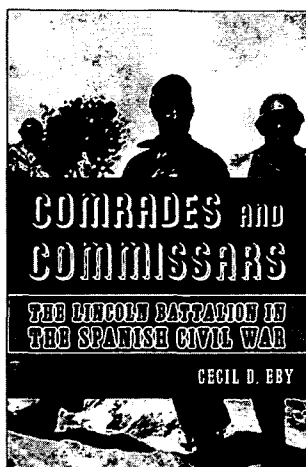
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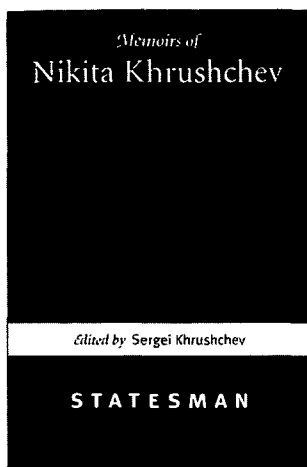
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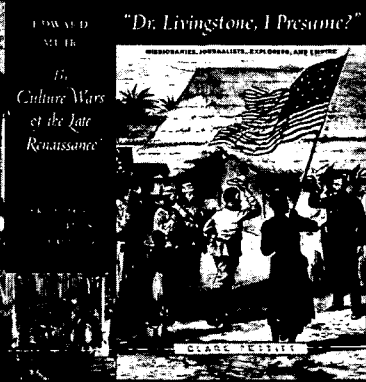
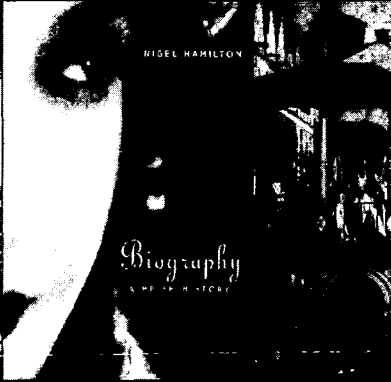
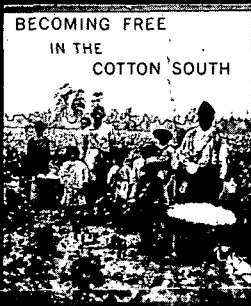
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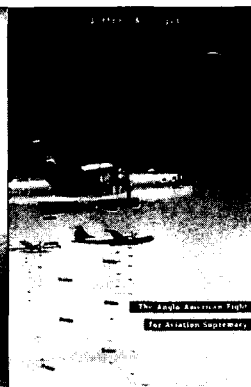
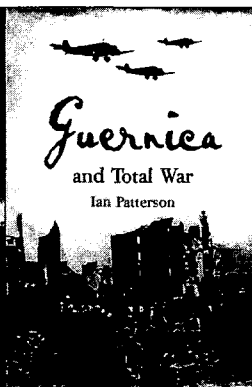
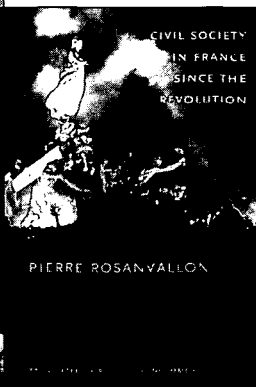
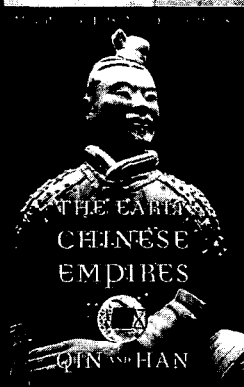
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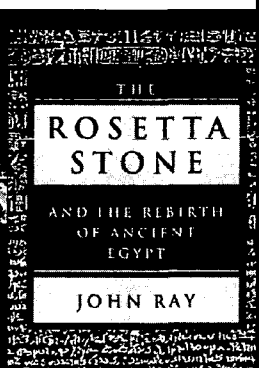
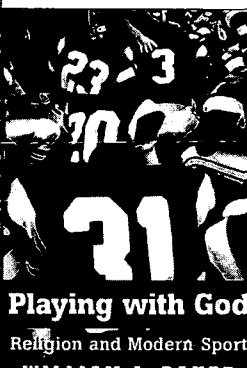
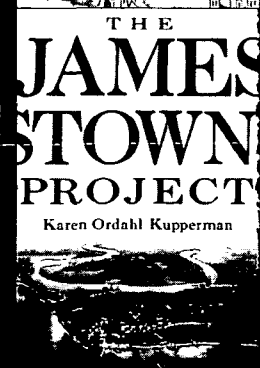
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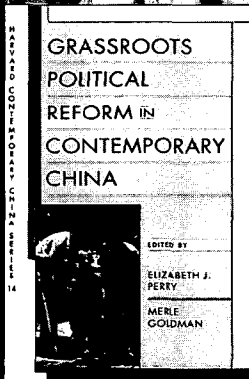
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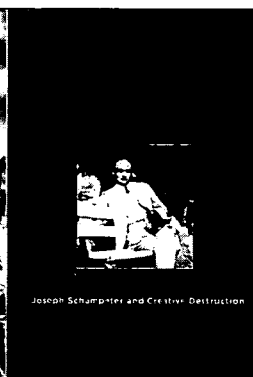
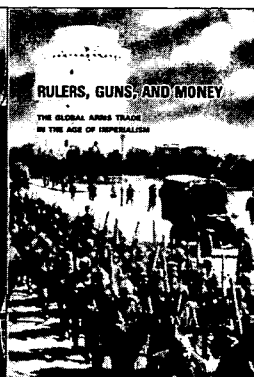
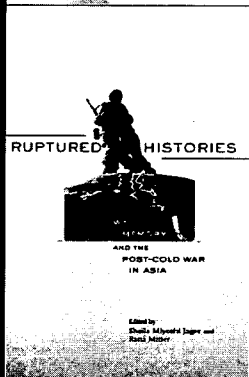
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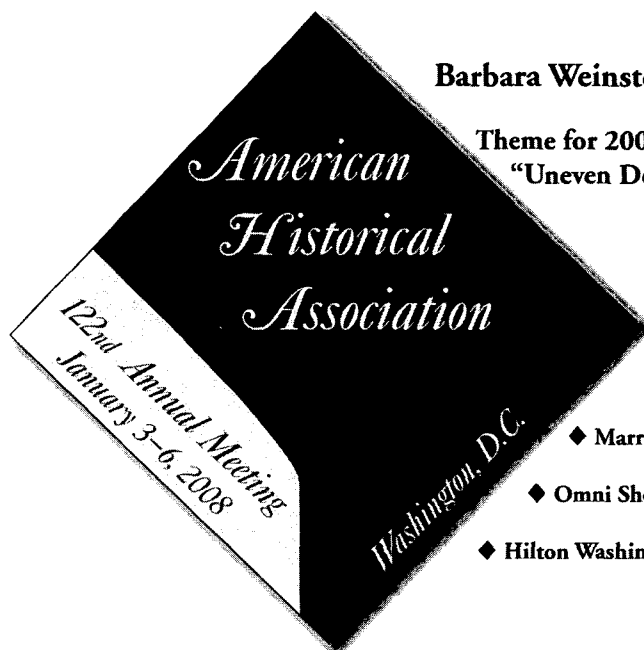
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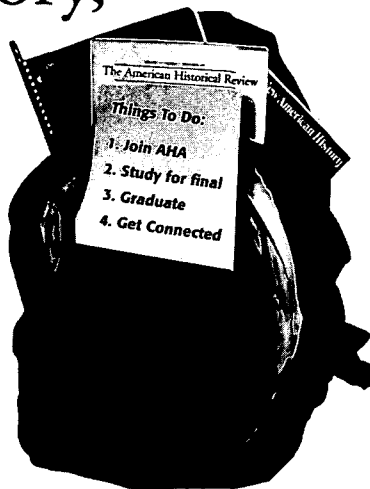
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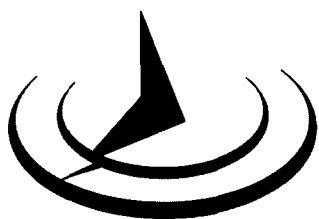
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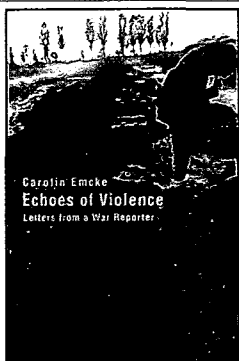
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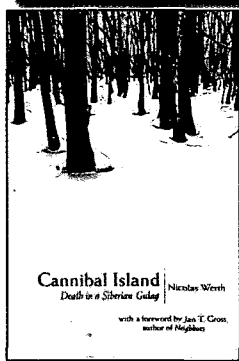
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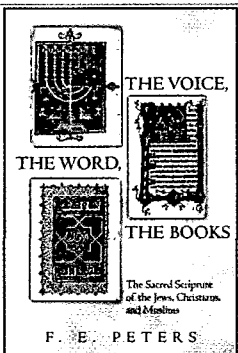
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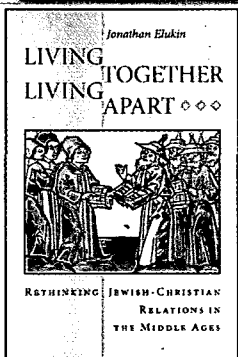
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